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ABOLITION INTERNAL REVENUE.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS SHOULD BE LAST RESORT FOR
REVENUE BY ANY FORM OF TAXATION.

TOBACCO - FRUIT DISTILLATIONS.

REBATE OF DUTIES PAID ON IMPORTED INGREDIENTS
USED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF TOBACCO EXPORTED.

SURPLUS REDUCTION OF TAXES DEMANDED.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. WILLIAM MAHONE,
OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 28, 1887.

W A S H I N G T O N.

1887.

S P E E C H
OF
HON. WILLIAM MAHONE.

THE TOBACCO TAX.

Mr. MAHONE said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I present the proceedings of the Tobacco Association of Lynchburg, Va., urging the abolition of the tax on tobacco.

I also present a similar petition of manufacturers of tobacco at Richmond; a like petition of the Tobacco Board of Trade of Farmville, Va. I also present a similar petition of the South Boston (Virginia) Tobacco Board of Trade, and also the proceedings of the Tobacco Association of the city of Petersburg, Va.

In moving the reference of these petitions to the Committee on Finance, I wish to call the attention of that committee and of the Senate briefly to the subject to which they relate.

Mr. President, on the 14th day of December, 1885, I introduced here two bills relating to the laws affecting the manufacture of tobacco—one, (S. 476,) repealing section 3151 of the Revised Statutes, which subjected tobacco manufactured for export to the perfunctory performance of inspection and the burden of a fee that, till lately, was collected at the rate of ten (10) cents per package.

This fee, which did not in fact nor constructively either go into or come out of the Treasury, composed the salary of the inspector. It was the mere perquisite of an unsalaried office. It in no manner touched the subject of revenue, and yet this bill was reported to the Senate adversely and so stands upon the Calendar now, and was so reported, as I am advised, because it was held to be a revenue measure.

The other of these two bills, (S. 477,) provided for a drawback of duties paid upon all imported ingredients used in the manufacture of tobacco exported. This bill was likewise so reported to the Senate and

for the same reason. Meanwhile, a bill covering the same object as that described in Senate bill 476 came to the Senate from the House of Representatives, and it is now a law.

Likewise a bill (H. R. 2522) of similar import as that of Senate bill 477 passed the House, and is yet with the Finance Committee of this body.

On the third day of August, 1886, I introduced and the Senate referred to the Finance Committee an amendment to House bill 8738, which that committee held and still holds under consideration, repealing the internal-revenue laws so far as they apply to tobacco.

It is conceded, Mr. President, that to the House of Representatives belongs the constitutional right of originating revenue measures—all bills touching the sources of taxation—imposing, increasing, diminishing, or repealing income derived from any form of taxation.

House bill 2522, to which I have referred, sent here for the action of the Senate and remaining with the Finance Committee of this body, is by fair, legitimate interpretation a revenue measure, and must be so regarded by the Finance Committee of the Senate, under its own ruling—by its own deliberate judgment in respect to Senate bills 476 and 477.

If to abolish an office which neither put in nor took out of the public Treasury a dollar, can be considered as a revenue measure, and the Finance Committee of the Senate report adversely upon a bill to refund duties paid upon imported materials used in manufactures for export, because of the conceded prerogative of the House of Representatives to originate revenue measures, House bill 2522, it must be admitted, is a measure, open here in this body to such amendment as a majority of the Senate by virtue of its constitutional authority shall see fit to impose.

It is, therefore, Mr. President, I hold that the Senate is in possession of a desired opportunity to deal directly and practically with a subject which concerns the pretended if not manifest solicitude of all parties—certainly the great body of the people.

We have here, Mr. President, an opportunity to reduce taxes and to arrest the unnecessary accumulations of the money of the people in the national Treasury. It is admitted—by the end of the current year, when there will be no longer any portion of the public debt redeemable

for some years to follow—there comes an annual surplus in the Treasury—more money than is needed for the expenses of the Government—of ninety millions.

Whatever the arithmetical process by which that statement of the Administration is disputed, distinguished leaders of opposing political parties and the President of the United States are all agreed that the income of the Government is in excess of current expenses, supplemented, if you please, by any expenditure for betterments, which may be in the reason of any possible legislation, whether for coast defenses, Navy, or other objects.

The people in every State of the Union, and everywhere in all of the States, are educated to this belief and are inspired with the anxious hope that practical effect will be given, and by this sitting of the National Legislature, to such judgment, by an outright reduction of taxes. They expect, and they have a right to expect, that such action will be taken as will preclude the withdrawal from circulation and the congregation of so large an excess of the needed currency of the country in the vaults of the national Treasury. They sorely need, and are weary of the promise of, a reduction of burdens long and patiently endured.

They will not be content with any play of political parties for future stakes of power which shall longer postpone a reduction of burdens, when the needs of the Government no longer require the imposition of taxes that may be safely removed.

They will hold to account, and justly, those who may be responsible for any inaction which shall leave to proceed that retirement to the vaults of the Treasury and idleness such accumulating sums of money of the country, and for the disastrous consequences to every industrial interests, which such inaction must superinduce.

A policy which can not fail to paralyze industrial development, narrow the employments of labor, and harden the times for the masses of the people.

No attempt by inaction or failure on this question to meet the popular expectation as the means of compelling an abandonment of the successful policy of a tariff for the protection of American products, whether of the field, forest, the mine, the forge, or the factory, and for the welfare of the laboring classes of our own country, will, permit me to suggest, be approved.

Our tax-payers have borne with irritating impatience the imposition and burden of internal taxes. The occasion comes by a hurtful accumulation in the Treasury, when they may be removed and some measure of relief extended.

The Constitutional inhibition which has forbidden legislative action on the part of the Senate is no longer in the way.

Hence, Mr. President, with no thought or lack of the highest and most profound consideration for the Finance Committee of this body, or for any member of it, I venture upon these remarks more in the way of a reminder than for the purpose of compelling the action of that committee upon the subject.

All of us, Mr. President, well know that no system of taxation is more distasteful, more irritating and uneven in its application than that of an excise tax—and the fields of agriculture should be the last resort—however wisely discriminating may be the objects chosen for its application.

What industry, Mr. President, and that an agricultural product, more or less common to the fields of every State in the Union, is so severely embarrassed, incumbered, and harassed as is the growth of and the trade in tobacco?

Under our internal-revenue laws the grower of tobacco is forbidden to barter, or to market, or to manufacture his own crop, and so environed by pains, penalties, and taxes is the distillation of the fruit of the citizen of scanty resources, whose only means of providing clothing and table groceries for his family may depend upon such conversion of fruit otherwise valueless and unmarketable.

The time, Mr. President, has gone by when the pretext to any acceptability may be used for imposing proscriptive laws and burdens upon tobacco as a luxury. "Bread or tobacco," said the philosopher Locke, "may be neglected, but reason at first recommends their trial, and custom makes them pleasant." It has long since ceased to be the nature-imposed narcotic of any race of people. In one form and another its use among men is too nigh universal at home and elsewhere for either of such classifications.

Taking the average population of the United States, for ten years preceding 1881, at forty-five (45) millions, the annual average consumption here and for that period is estimated at five (5) pounds per capita,

while the average for the whole world is stated at seventy (70) ounces, equal to an aggregate consumption of more than two and three-quarter billion (2,750,000,000) tons.

Neither coffee nor tea is classed among the staples of life, and is no more essential to the comfort of man than tobacco. Upon these stimulants the consumer no longer pays any tax, and yet the consumption of coffee in the United States, per capita, is not double that of tobacco, and of tea only one-fifth.

If tobacco is an enemy to the human family, obnoxious to "the general welfare," why not otherwise, as the Constitution may be turned, hinder yet more severely its cultivation here, and its importation into the country.

If a luxury, why so embargo its productions and the trade it creates as to place its use beyond the reach and enjoyment of the masses? If neither, and its cultivation and value are of respectable concern to the fields of industry, the commerce and wealth of the country, why not liberate the plant and the product, and allow them to proceed with their increasing contributions to wealth and employments?

Mr. President, tobacco enters too largely into our agricultural and manufacturing interests, and furnishes too many of our people employment and the means of sustenance; it gives activity to too much capital, and composes too large a share of the commerce, wealth, and exports of the nation, relatively small as these may be, to be classified as a narcotic or a luxury, or to be treated as an alien interest.

We must not forget, Mr. President, that its cultivation in 1885 occupied an acreage of seven hundred and sixty-two thousand two hundred and fifty (762,250) acres of American soil, yielding a crop of five hundred and sixty-two million seven hundred and thirty-six thousand (562,736,000) pounds, which added forty-three million two hundred and sixty-five thousand five hundred and ninety-eight dollars (\$43,-265,598) to our wealth, and gave employment to over two hundred thousand (200,000) of our population—equal to about three and one-third ($3\frac{1}{3}$) per cent. of the persons over ten (10) years of age employed in agriculture.

Until the year 1840 Virginia, where the formal cultivation of the plant in our colonial year of 1607 was introduced, led in this agricultural product, furnishing from her own fields fully one-third of the national

crop. Since then her eldest and esteemed daughter, Kentucky, has held that distinction, and yet one hundred and forty thousand (140,000) acres of Virginia's cultivated lands are now devoted to the growth of tobacco, and of the two hundred and fifty-five thousand (255,000) of her population above the age of ten (10) years engaged in agriculture, forty-seven thousand (47,000), or about eighteen (18) per cent., are employed in that agricultural pursuit.

In measuring the interests which are concerned in the growth and manufacture of tobacco and the commerce it generates, we must remember there were in the year 1880 five hundred and eight thousand (508,000) taxed dealers engaged in the trade, and in the manufacture of chewing tobacco, snuff, cigars, cigarettes, and in stemming seven thousand six hundred and seventy-four (7,674) establishments, where the capital invested was thirty-nine million nine hundred and ninety-five thousand two hundred and ninety-two dollars (\$39,995,292), and eighty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-seven (87,587) persons found desirable employment, and for wages twenty-five million fifty-four thousand four hundred and fifty-seven dollars (\$25,054,457) were paid; where the value of materials converted into other forms of commerce was sixty-five million three hundred and eighty-four thousand four hundred and seven dollars (\$65,384,407), and the value of the product was one hundred and eighteen million eight hundred and seventy thousand one hundred and sixty-six dollars (\$118,870,166).

The manufacture of tobacco, as did its culture, had its crude beginning in Virginia as early as the year 1732.

It has now become an important industry to at least twenty of the States, and its culture is common to all.

Virginia losing the lead in the field, occupies it in the line of the manufactured product. She manufactures the equivalent in quantity of five-eighths ($\frac{5}{8}$) of her own crop, going to Kentucky, Ohio, and North Carolina for a part of the forty-eight million five hundred thousand (48,-500,000) pounds her factories consume. Her proportion of the capital invested in the manufacture of tobacco is nine and one-half ($9\frac{1}{2}$) per cent. of all. Her share of the employment given to labor on this account is sixteen and one-half ($16\frac{1}{2}$) per cent., and her proportion of wages paid is thirty (30); and her measure of our exportations of manufactured tobacco is full eighty-five (85) per cent. of that furnished by all the States.

The plant is the staple of a large section of that State, the dependence of a conspicuous portion of her population in field and factory. Its growth and manufacture enter largely into the trade, commerce, and wealth of the Commonwealth.

As a factor in our export trade, tobacco bears no insignificant part. In the twenty-three years last gone by it has brought into the country six hundred and forty-three million dollars (\$643,000,000) of foreign gold, and to-day represents full seventy (70) per cent. of the merchandise balance to our credit on account of that trade.

It brings into the country now thirty and a half millions gold—equal to the amount derived from our exportation of corn and sixty (60) per cent. of that derived from our exportation of wheat—and thirty-three (33) per cent. of the value of our exportations of wheat and flour.

Once set at liberty and relieved of the espionage and the restraining laws and burdens which hinder and repress development, as I trust it may now be the judgment of the Senate it shall be, and placed upon an even footing with other agricultural products, this important industry, Mr. President, will take new life and go on widening the avenues of employment for labor, and add fresh fields to the cultivated acreage of the nation. It will go on to multiply our manufacturing interests and to increase its contributions to the wealth of the country.

Surely, Mr. President, tobacco and fruit distillations have contributed their full share of the tribute to the exigency on account of which they have now for twenty-three (23) years been held under duress and burden.

In that period tobacco has contributed directly to the National Treasury seven hundred and seventeen millions eight hundred and seventy-three thousand three hundred and forty-three dollars and eight cents (\$717,873,343.08), and of this imposing sum Virginia paid ninety millions seven hundred and six thousand one hundred and seventy-seven dollars and thirty-nine cents (\$90,706,177.39), equal for the twenty-three (23) years of the imposed burden to an annual contribution on her part, and from this single industry, of four millions three hundred and seventy-eight thousand nine hundred and sixty-four dollars (\$4,378,964) or the equivalent of one dollar and twenty-five cents (\$1.25)

on the one hundred dollars (\$100) assessed value of the real and personal property of her people.

In the same period fruit distillations contributed twenty-one millions thirty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-four dollars and eighty-seven cents (\$21,037,584.87), of which Virginia's share was two million two hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and thirty-six dollars and eighty-one cents (\$2,220,536.81), or an average of ninety-six thousand five hundred and forty-four dollars (\$96,544) per annum, equal to twenty-eight (28) cents on the one hundred dollars (\$100) of the assessed value of the real and personal property of the Commonwealth.

Mr. President, there is no longer any occasion for continuing the burden and bondage under which these two agricultural products have been sorely oppressed.

The revenue derived from these sources of an exigency tax is not needed either to pay debts, provide for the common defense, or for the general welfare. The income of the Government from other sources is yet sufficient, and in excess by many millions of any probable demand for these three several purposes for which Congress is empowered to levy taxes.

It appears an arbitrary exercise of the constitutional power, as certain it is repugnant to the spirit which governed the formation of the Constitution, to impose an excise tax as a mere means of revenue when no exigency exists—when it is estimated by the administrative head of the Government that we are to have at the end of the current fiscal year a surplus over and above all demands full ninety millions of dollars (\$90,000,000), not counting thirty-two millions (\$32,000,000) of fractional silver.

Mr. President, it is agreed in all quarters and by both political parties that this excess of revenue ought to be arrested; and to what subject can you apply the remedy more fittingly—with equal justice and with the hope of larger public approbation and better results than to the important agricultural product of tobacco?

If it has manfully borne burdens and will bear them longer, if you please, why continue them when the Government is not needing the tribute exacted of this industry and so largely drawn from the great body of the people—that class of consumers least able to bear the tax

you impose on an article they will and must have—if, as a luxury, it may be said it is a nature-imposed necessity with them for all that?

If it is the consumer who pays the tax entire, the greater is the reason, in this case, for its removal. It is relief which will be more directly and sensibly felt by the working classes of the country than any other which may be conferred by recourse to the tax list. It will enter the home of the workingman everywhere in our own country, and leave a saving on every five (5) pounds of tobacco consumed sufficient to purchase eight (8) pounds of sugar, or three (3) pounds of coffee, or one (1) pound of tea, or fifteen (15) pounds of flour, or five (5) pounds of bacon, or eight (8) yards of calico, or six (6) yards of shirting, or two (2) yards of flannel.

Mr. President, let us remove this odious and onerous tax of an American product, and remind the American citizen that he may once more use this product of his own country upon the same even terms on which we offer it by exportation to the citizens of other countries. Let us unfetter a potential factor of American industry, of commerce, and of wealth, and rid the beneficent policy of protection, which has contributed so immensely to the growth, power, and wealth of the nation, of the singular contradiction which the tax and the proscriptive laws in respect to this American industry—present.

Let us now and here, so far as the action of the Senate may effect such result, emancipate this American industry and save to the national Treasury and the people the five million dollars' (\$5,000,000) expense for collecting a revenue no longer needed to pay debts, or for the common defense, or for the general welfare.

If we assume that the consumer pays the tax, let us not forget that by it his capacity to buy is lessened, and the incentive to increased and increasing production is diminished. Let us remember that each and every successive step taken in the direction of a reduction of the tax has added to the acreage of cultivation, increased the product, and multiplied factories, dealers, and employments.

Let us complete the emancipation of this industry, and, as the amendment to House bill now in possession of the Finance Committee of the Senate since the 18th of June, 1886, proposes, unburden our export of manufactured tobacco, and thus stimulate the expansion of that trade

by remitting the duties paid on imported ingredients actually employed in the manufacture thereof.

There is here, in this proposition, no new principle. It is merely the adaptation of existing laws—liberalized, if you please—as will be seen by reference to sections 3022 and 3026, Revised Statutes, which respectively allow drawbacks on imported salt used in the curing of fish, and on saltpeter used in the manufacture of gunpowder; and further, as will appear by reference to section 3019 and section 3433, Revised Statutes, the latter as amended by section 14 of the act of the 28th of May, 1880. (Supplement, Revised Statutes.)

Under these last-named sections foreign and domestic distilled spirits in bond may be withdrawn without the payment of duty or tax, and after being manufactured into various preparations, these preparations or products are exported without the payment of tax or duty, and the result has been to increase the export of such manufactures.

Let us put this article of American industry and export, whether produced by manufacturers wholly or partly engaged in the manufacture of tobacco for export, upon even terms with those of other home products manufactured for export, and thus conform our treatment of it to established policy, and remove a burden by the indirect tax so levied on export, estimated at 3 per cent. on the value of the article which has largely transferred our export trade in manufactured tobacco beyond the borders of our country, notably to Canada and Australia.

We are advised, Mr. President, by the Internal-Revenue Bureau of the Treasury Department, that there can be no difficulty in ascertaining the quantity of dutiable goods so consumed, and it is seen that the cost of keeping the necessary accounts to this end amounts to a mere bagatelle, the paltry sum of one-tenth of 1 per cent., which if not in full, is largely covered by the non-collectible claims—below \$10.

But why should the owner of such goods be charged for any such clerical work when we have a customs service, the cost of which is paid out of the common treasury of the nation?

It is a trifling affair: too small for a government of such proportions as ours.

In all of such imported ingredients so consumed it is estimated there are of licorice one million (1,000,000) pounds; of sugar, nine hundred thousand eight hundred (900,800) pounds; and of all other ingredients,

assimilated, a half million (500,000) pounds, while in the manufacture of tobacco consumed in the United States there are used fourteen and a half millions (14,500,000) pounds licorice, one million three hundred thousand (1,300,000) pounds sugar, and of other ingredients, assimilated, six millions eight hundred thousand (6,800,000) pounds, leaving, as will be observed, yet such an immense demand for these ingredients as forbids hurtful encroachment upon the market for the home product thereof by remission of duty upon the relatively small quantities of such ingredients as are consumed in the manufacture of tobacco—exported.

Let us, Mr President, now that we may without apprehension of any possible shortage in the income of the Government to meet its every necessary and contingent liability and cover every imaginary demand which either exigency or progress is likely to impose, repeal all laws and parts of laws in any manner restricting the grower of tobacco in the disposition of his crop, and in any form imposing a burden by tax, license, or otherwise, upon the dealer in the same, the peddler, and manufacturer thereof, and by this means enlarge the fields of production, extend the avenues of employment, and level down the barriers which now confine its manufacture and commerce, and without measure of capital, allow all who will, to engage in either.

Mr. President, if I express the hope, as earnestly I do, that the honorable Finance Committee of this body will quicken its consideration of this matter, and return at the earliest day to the Senate, House bill 2522 so amended as to reduce taxes in the respect I have spoken and otherwise, and further, as that committee may advise, I feel that I but voice the impatient sentiment of the people.



2

THE TARIFF.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
OF OHIO,

DELIVERED IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

DECEMBER 9, 1886.

WASHINGTON.

1886.

The Tariff.

S P E E C H

OF

H O N . J O H N S H E R M A N .

The following resolution being under discussion:

Resolved, That the promise of making any revision of the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests, not to injure any domestic industries, but to promote their healthy growth, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital involved, and without depriving American labor of ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country, appears so obviously hopeless and impracticable that any further attempts at revision by the present Congress, in contravention to the foregoing cardinal declarations, are to be regarded as inexpedient and detrimental to the revival of the trade and industry of the country.

Mr. SHERMAN said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: As I entered the Senate Chamber after a temporary absence, I heard the familiar voice of my friend from Kentucky begging in the name of the Democratic party for a chance to reduce taxation.

Since the opening of the present Congress, I watched for over eight months of a long and weary session for a proposition by the Democratic party to reduce taxation.

I believe that the revenues collected by the Government of the United States are too large, and that the public safety and the public interest demand a wise and careful reduction of taxation. There is no dispute between parties on that subject. There is no man of ordinary information who, upon the face of the returns sent to us from the Treasury Department, does not feel that we are now collecting more taxes, internal and external, than are necessary to carry on the operations of the Government. That fact is patent upon its face, is not disputed anywhere; but where is a plan to reduce taxation? Who has the power to propose that plan? The Democratic party. They have been trusted with this power by the people of this country upon a promise that they would reduce taxation, and in such a way as not to affect injuriously the industries of the country. That promise is stated in the platform of the Democratic party, stated in the language of its President, stated in the stump speeches of its orators, but the trouble is they have not proposed a plan—they can not propose a plan, they can not agree among themselves.

When the Republican party had both Houses we did propose a reduction of taxation, and did bring about a reduction of taxation. In the Congress before the last a reduction of taxation of some fifty or sixty millions of dollars was made; but since the Democratic party came into power with a promise to still further reduce taxation they have not been able to propose a plan. Indeed, the propositions made in the House of Representatives—we may consider them now, or speak of them as matter of public debate—have been so diverse and various and some of them so absolutely ruinous to the industries of our country that the party itself revolted from the measure proposed. And let me say to the Senator from Kentucky that if the plan proposed by a majority

of the Democratic party in the other House had been sanctioned by the Congress of the United States and been carried into effect it would have been the overthrow and destruction of the Democratic party. While its scheme might have reduced taxation, it would destroy many industries of our country and thus defeat the very object supposed to be had in view.

Why, Mr. President, how idle and foolish it is for the Senator from Kentucky, high in the favor of the Democratic party, to talk to us about a chance to reduce taxation. They have the House of Representatives by a majority of I do not know how many; they have had it for ten years out of twelve. The only reduction of taxes that has been made in that time was made by the Republican party during the two years it had power in both Houses out of the last ten years. Then we did reduce the taxes and did give an enormous relief from needless burdens. Although some of the provisions of that bill in my judgment were wrong and injurious, yet I voted for it in spite of the evil provisions of the bill, for the reason that it did reduce taxation.

Now, here we have a party in power, and a great and leading member of that party talking to us as if we were responsible for a failure to reduce taxation.

The Senator from Kentucky voted against the only proposition for the reduction of taxes that has been pending in the Senate for ten years because he did not have it in his own way, because he did not have it in a way that according to the opinion of the majority would be absolutely ruinous to the industries of the country, to the laboring men of the country, to the manufacturing and commercial classes. The only bill that was offered to reduce taxation and that did accomplish a reduction of taxation to the extent of fifty or sixty millions of dollars was voted against and opposed to the bitter end by that Senator.

Mr. BECK. I desire to say that I voted for the bill, as the RECORD will show, but when it was changed and manipulated in a conference committee I voted against their act.

Mr. SHERMAN. So far did the Democratic members of the Senate go in their opposition to that bill that they refused to allow their members to serve on committees of conference, and for the first time, I believe, in the political history of this country that party refused to allow and disallowed one after another of its leading members to serve on a committee of conference, where the matter might have been rectified if there was any wrong.

No, sir; in the only attempt that has been made to reduce taxes in this country for ten years, when the Republican party had a bare majority in both Houses, a reduction was made of \$60,000,000, and that reduction was opposed by the Senator from Kentucky. Not only was it so opposed, but it was opposed in violation of the ordinary parliamentary law, which requires members of the Senate to serve on committees of conference and others. By their refusal to serve it was necessary to organize the committee of conference of Republicans alone on the part of the Senate, in order to bring about an agreement on a bill reducing taxes \$60,000,000. True, there were Democratic conferees on the part of the other House.

Now, if they want to reduce taxes, where is their proposition? None has been made. One was made by a majority of the Democratic members of the other House at the last session, but, as I will show hereafter, if I allude to it at all, that bill had provisions in it which would have been utterly destructive to great industrial interests, and therefore the people of this country were opposed to it. Another proposition was made by another branch of the Democratic party, having in view another line of reduction, which the people were opposed to. That is the proposed reduction of the tax upon whisky and tobacco, to which

there is more or less opposition, and on which there is more or less division of opinion.

Until the Democratic party, having a large majority in the House of Representatives, can send to us a bill, we have no jurisdiction here. It is true we have the liberty of debate; but we have nothing to debate about except the resolution of my friend from Vermont. What is that? A simple expression of his opinion that upon the basis of the propositions that have been made in the House by the Democratic party, it is better to do nothing than to do what they propose. That is what I understand my friend from Vermont to say, and I say so too. That is the proposition. But upon the main question that there is an absolute and imperative duty resting upon Congress to reduce taxation, I have proclaimed here year in and year out, and I do now, that when I have a chance to reduce taxes, I will do it. I return the cry to my friend from Kentucky give us a chance, you have the power; the House of Representatives is the sole organ of the people of the United States by whom taxes can be levied or taxes can be reduced.

The Senate at one time contended that we had the power to reduce taxation, although we had not the power to propose taxes, but the House of Representatives refused to grant us that power. They said the power to reduce implied also the power to increase, and therefore we have no power to introduce any bill whatever either to repeal or to raise taxes. So we awaited the action of the House of Representatives for eight long months at the last session, and we waited in vain. The propositions, quarreled over by our Democratic friends, when carried before the people of this country, and now pending in the House of Representatives, created a revulsion in public opinion in large portions of the country, especially in the Northwest, that has reduced the large majority of the Democratic party somewhat, but not so much as it ought to have done; but if they had been able to carry their measures through, their majority would have disappeared into thin air.

Therefore, Mr. President, until some proposition is made to us from the House of Representatives it does not lie in the mouth of the Senator from Kentucky to complain of us, or to scold us, or to chide us, with a failure to reduce taxes. Give us a chance. I make to him the same appeal that he has made to us. He asks for a chance. Let him give us a chance. Let him go and lecture the members of the House of Representatives, call his brethren together and get them to unite on some platform, and I venture to say that when they do agree on a plan for the reduction of taxes it will be a plan for the destruction of American industry, not for the purpose of reducing taxes.

Sir, look at the report of the Secretary of the Treasury which has been laid on our tables and which I have read. What does he say there about the proposition to reduce taxes? His first measure is to wipe out of existence the greenback currency of the United States, to redeem and cancel it by applying the surplus revenue in that way. How many votes would that proposition get among the people of the United States?

The Democratic Senators and Members do not, any of them, seem to act upon the same principles that control the executive branch of the Government now in power. The Senator from Kentucky is opposed to calling in the greenbacks. How does he propose to reduce taxes? In general terms, he is in favor of free trade, free trade in its broadest sense, free trade in its almost unlimited extent, the reduction of duties on all those articles that we can make in this country, and that we ought to make in this country, and can make as cheap in this country if we choose to reduce the wages of our laboring men and measure their labor by the wages paid in Europe. That is what they mean.

But not only that; the Secretary takes up two items particularly to

comment upon and to illustrate his argument. Here he finds that we are collecting the enormous sum of \$5,000,000 of duties on wool. He wants that duty abolished at once. Five million dollars will be an enormous relief by abolishing the tax on wool! Why, Senators, that touches the industries of more than a million of farmers, who believe they have a right for their industry the same degree of protection that is meted out to any other branch of production. That we have the power and the means and the facilities in this country to raise all the wool of certain grades necessary for domestic manufacture, and for foreign manufacture as well, is true. But now, owing to the provisions of our tariff law, we import wool enough, mainly as carpet wool, to yield \$5,000,000 of revenue. That he would abolish, and make wool free, and thus bring our farmers into sharp and hard competition with wool grown all over the world, on the pampas of South America or the plains of Australia, he would do that in order to give relief to the people from \$5,000,000 of taxes!

But then, when you turn and show that we import an article upon which we levy fifty-odd million dollars of revenue, the repeal of the duty on which alone would wipe out nearly all the surplus revenue that is now complained of, with the exception of that portion known by the sinking fund—the whole balance estimated by Mr. Manning is about fifty or sixty million dollars—we levy that on sugar alone; and when the mere suggestion is made that it is better, under the circumstances, to repeal the duty on sugar and make that article free, and place it where coffee and tea now stand, that is met with a loud cry of dissent.

Why is that? Is there any local influence, any sectional motive, any party interest there involved? If so, let us face it and meet it. Is the Senator from Kentucky in favor of the repeal of the duty on sugar—to make that free? I have not heard him answer that question yet. Here is an opportunity, if they will only give us a chance, by which we could at once wipe out this large unnecessary surplus revenue. But no; that is not what is wanted. It is not to reduce taxes.

The Senator from Kentucky and I could sit down and in five minutes we could select two or three articles now taxed and make them free, by which we would be able to strike off from the people a direct burden of taxation, and thus relieve us from this surplus revenue. In doing so we would relieve our people from a direct and oppressive tax. Sugar in all its forms should be as free as tea and coffee, and for the same reasons. If sugar could be produced in this country by any skill or aid whatever that industry could give to it—if we had the soil, the climate, and the means of producing sugar in this country—then I would be in favor of maintaining the system of protection in order to build up our sugar industry. If we had so developed our sorghum production, if we had so developed our beet-root sugar, or other means of raising sugar in this country, I should be in favor of maintaining this duty in order to build up a domestic industry wherever it might be carried on; but a long experience of thirty or forty years shows that we can not produce sugar and we have not been able yet to produce it.

In Germany and France they are already producing sugar, although their climate is less favorable than ours, because they give high bounties to the producers of sugar. In this country there is a prejudice against building up industries by bounties, and therefore no one is bold enough to propose it, no one does propose it; and the result is that we do not raise in this country, with all the high protection that is given to it, a rate equal to 60 per cent., more than one-eighth part of our domestic consumption. It varies between one-twelfth and one-eighth. That is all we produce. Why not wipe out this tax? They say it is an injustice to the sugar planters of the South. So say I, and I should be

willing, even if it is unpopular, to declare that I would give to the sugar planters of the South a fair and reasonable bounty, say 2 cents a pound on what they can produce. But it is shown by long trial that they can not produce enough to even make the sugar-candy of our country, much less to supply the great body of our people with that article of prime necessity in every home and family. If, therefore, the object is the reduction of taxes, why not take such an article that yields enormous sums and repeal the duty on it? But that is not the object.

All this is a subterfuge—not intended as such. I do not use the term in an offensive manner, but it shows the effect of local spirit, of party spirit. If the object is to reduce taxes we can reduce them at once by a few strokes of the pen. But that is not the object. The object is to tamper with that great industrial system which has built up in this country a growth of manufactures without parallel in the history of mankind, a system that has raised our production in manufacturing industries from \$1,800,000,000 in 1860 to \$54,000,000,000 in 1880, and now a great deal more than that. It is to repeal those duties which have fostered and built up the industries of our country so that now we are beginning to compete even in foreign markets with some of the older countries of Europe. How is it that we are now competing in England with Sheffield cutlery? Because by a system of protection followed by domestic competition our home industry has been defended against foreign importations until it has been built up, and now our home product is as cheap as the article made in foreign countries, made so by domestic competition and by increasing skill and art.

Mr. President, it is against the modification of these duties that the Republican party stands like a wall, not only to-day, but will at all times. We are in favor of a reduction of taxes. You take the \$650,000,000 of imported goods, and what are they? More than \$220,000,000 are admitted free of duty, of which over one hundred millions are articles of food—tea, coffee, and the like. Suppose you add to the free-list about \$90,000,000 of sugar brought into this country. Then you have over \$300,000,000, or about one-half of the importations of this country, that will be absolutely free of all tax. These are mainly articles that can not well be produced in this country, that experience has shown can not profitably be raised in this country, and they are such as are in use by every man, woman, and child here.

Take that large class of articles that are the base of our manufactures, all articles that can not be produced in this country are now practically free. If there is any one in the whole list that pays a duty, I would like to know it. I know of no article now, I can not recall any, which enters into our manufactures as the base of manufacturing, that can not be produced in this country, which pays any duty at all. If any, name it, and I will vote to put it on the free-list. Where we have not the power by reasonable protection and domestic competition to produce any article, I say let it be free from all taxation. In that way our free-list can be greatly increased, and we have free trade with all the world for more than one-half of all foreign importations.

But there are now about \$300,000,000 worth of goods imported into this country that directly or indirectly compete with our domestic productions. They compete with our domestic growth. We have the raw materials and facility for the manufacturing of all these articles. Why should we not make our own woolen goods? Why should we not make our own cotton goods? Why should we not make our own machinery, our own cutlery, and all the various articles which enter into the ordinary employments of human life? We can do it. We can not start these industries without protection; we can not produce them at once; but in a little time and by reasonable protection we can build up all those industries. Experience has shown that whenever we have

fairly started in this kind of competition, and have been protected for a time against the changes and oscillations of foreign competition and the low wages of foreign labor, we have been able to reduce the price of the domestic article, so that we are now able in the markets of the world upon the principles of free trade to compete with foreign countries in many branches of industry.

Sir, the theory and doctrine of the Republican party which we represent is this, that we will maintain the system of duties on foreign goods, not to the extent of a prohibition, not at such rates as would relieve our own people from reasonable competition, but such as will induce home competition, and thus reduce the price to a reasonable rate. We will levy such duties on foreign goods to the extent that they are imported as will induce their production here. And now, sir, it so happens in the progress of this system that nearly every article necessary for ordinary human life consumed in the homes of the families of our country is of American growth and production.

There are \$300,000,000 of foreign goods imported, manufactured abroad, which compete with ours. There are more than \$3,000,000,000 manufactured in our own country out of the \$5,500,000,000 altogether, the production of which has been caused by this protective policy. Now, we have built up this system of industry. We do not want it tampered with except with great care and by men who are disposed to foster and favor it. The Senator from Kentucky is not in that position; he never was. He has a theory of free-trade. It is true he denies that he is a free-trader, and I suppose he would deny that he was a free-trader as long as we ever laid any import duties and did not throw our ports open to all the world. But whenever it is proposed to reduce any tax which tends to foster or benefit any American industry, then my friend from Kentucky is sure to vote yes and fight it to the bitter end.

I did not intend to get into this argument. I do not want to go into it any further. I wish to say to our Democratic friends there are three months yet left in their lease of power, conferred two years ago. If you can propose a scheme to reduce taxation, that will bear the test and promise of your Democratic platform, that is, to reduce taxes without injuring the industries of this country, you will find on this side of the Chamber that we are ready participants and partakers with you in that great and glorious work; but when you strike at the industries of our people, and seek to derange that which is now well, and tamper with these protective duties which foster and diversify and have built up our great industries, then we are opposed to you, first, because we do not want to see the labor of our country brought down to a hard and grinding competition with the illy paid labor of Europe; next, because we want to see a diversified production in this country, so that the United States may be absolutely independent, not only in a political sense, but in a financial and a commercial sense, and so that we can make in this country every article essential to ordinary human want and employment. This is what we believe in, and until the Democratic party can agree among themselves and present to us a plan which they will be willing to stand up by, they have no right to chide us, and no right to complain of us. When they send us a bill we will show them that we have the power to reduce taxes, and will propose a method by which taxes may be reduced without crippling our industries or decreasing the ordinary wages of labor paid to our workingmen.

3.
TARIFF REDUCTION WITHOUT THE SACRIFICE OF
HOME INDUSTRIES AND HOME LABOR.

S P E E C H

OF

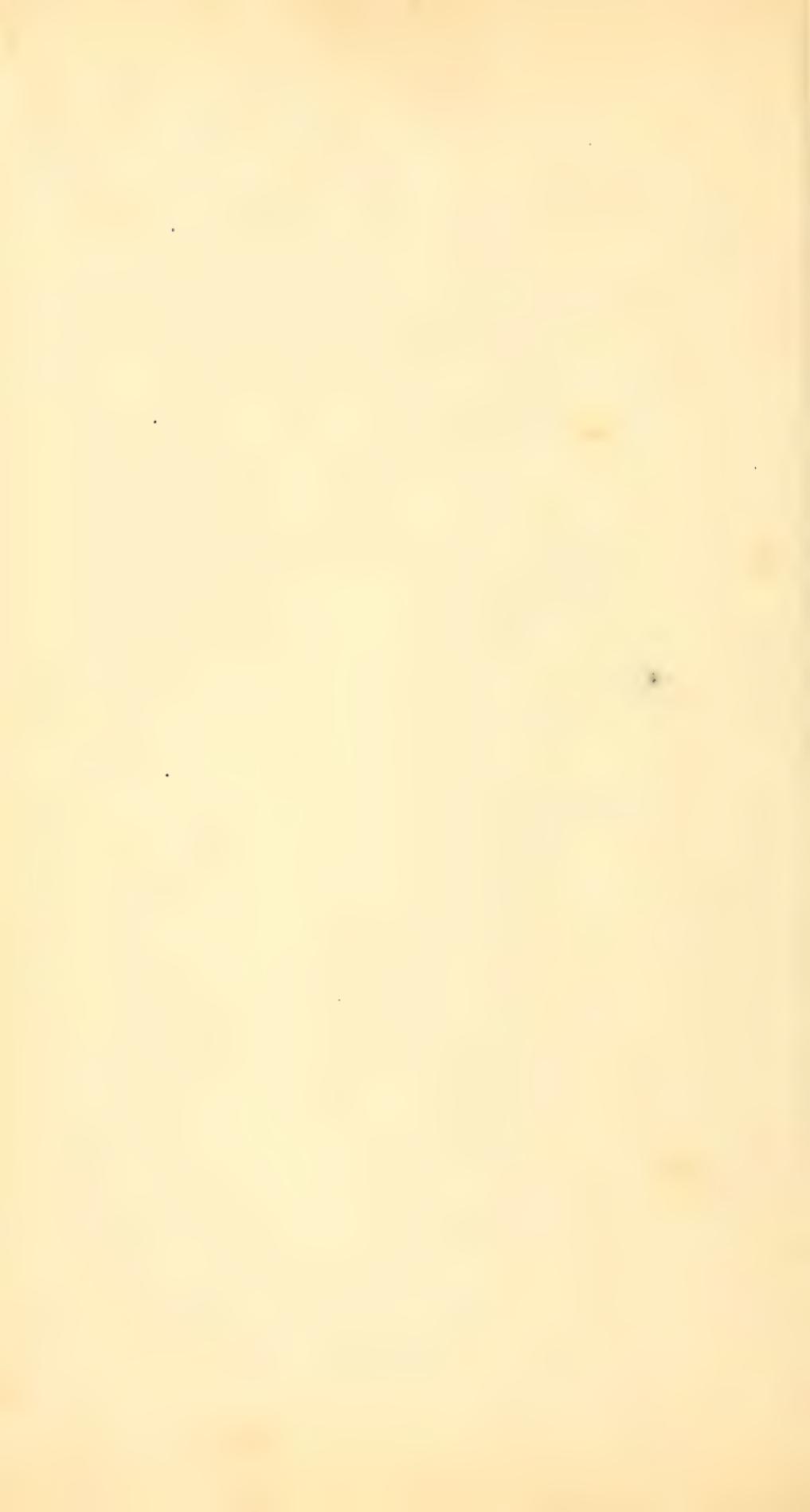
HON. HENRY L. DAWES,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1886.

W A S H I N G T O N.
1886.



**Tariff Reduction Without the Sacrifice of Home Industries and
Home Labor.**

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY L. DAWES,
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Monday, December 13, 1886,

On the resolution submitted by Mr. MORRILL on December 7, 1886.

Mr. DAWES said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I did not seek the floor at the close of the discussion last week upon this resolution with any desire to crowd myself into a debate which more properly belongs to the members of the Committee on Finance, and which has been already carried on with signal spirit and ability; but I had myself introduced a resolution on the second day of the session which seemed to me so completely to cover the whole matter under discussion that it would be impossible to debate the one without debating the other, and therefore I deemed it not improper for me to submit in this discussion the reasons which had led me to offer the resolution that I presented.

It often happens, Mr. President, that the ablest debaters find it convenient to cover up and put out of sight the real point in issue by drawing off the discussion, if possible, to some matters about which there is no dispute; and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] will pardon me for saying that I think even he never showed more skill or discretion than in the effort he made in the debate a few days since to keep out of sight by a multiplicity of words upon other things what was and what is the real difference between him and those for whom he speaks and those who were speaking in that discussion.

There are some things which are facts, and it is quite unnecessary and useless to multiply words in the discussion of them. It is certain that all of the interest-bearing public debt within our reach will be paid before the next session of Congress will be half passed. The Senator from Kentucky stated accurately the condition of the public debt. It is just as certain, if the receipts and expenditures shall continue in their volume in the future the same as they are now, that after that extinction of the public debt there will be accumulating in the

Treasury beyond the ordinary and proper expenditures of the Government somewhere about the sum he stated, of \$100,000,000 per annum. And it is equally certain that no man has openly asserted, and, so far as I know, no one entertains the idea, that the continuation of such a condition of things is desirable. I have not heard that any Senator, and I have yet to learn that any one whose assignment here or whose studies lead him to consider the proper condition of the finances of this country, has ever advocated a continuance of that condition of things.

Long ago the party that had control of the financial condition and of the receipts and expenditures of this Government took the position that it was the duty of the Government to reduce from time to time the customs duties and internal taxes to the point that would come nearest to the economical and proper expenditures of the Government, and to maintain them there. As long ago as the last general revision of the tariff laws before that of 1883 was under consideration, in the tariff revision of 1872, the then chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, in closing the debate upon that general tariff bill, stated the principles and the purpose of that bill in these words:

Now, sir, let the ultimate adjustment of these necessary duties be equalization. Let no more duties be imposed than the exigencies of the Government demand, but let those duties be so adjusted between manufactured articles and raw material as to equalize the conditions of production in our own country with those of foreign nations, and the highest possible good, the true end of legislation, is attained. Thus will the necessities of the Government be met and no more, and at the same time the material prosperity of the nation assured. ⁶

So far as I know, Mr. President, those were the sentiments entertained by all for whom he then spoke. The bill itself was framed upon that principle, was carried through for that end, and from that day to this those who then spoke have maintained that position in reference to the receipts and expenditures of this Government, that they should at all times be brought as nearly as possible in the condition of public affairs side by side, and that whenever the receipts should exceed the expenditures, efforts should be made by the reduction of customs duties and internal taxes to bring them nearer, if possible, together. If called upon to state the position of the Republican party to-day upon the same question, I must use the same words. The position then taken and the bill which then became a law had the support and the vote of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky. If any one has changed position upon this point or upon this policy, it is not those for whom the then chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means then spoke in announcing the policy of the party then responsible for the finances and the expenditures of this Government.

Another point raised by the Senator from Kentucky and in more recent discussions may as well be disposed of here and in this connection. We hear much about taxing raw materials and the cry is raised as something new in certain quarters that the great cure, the panacea for all our trouble, is to make raw materials free. Sir, the bill which became a law in 1872, if any one will open the statute-book and look at it, is full of instruction and is a full and complete answer to the question and to the discussion now and so recently raised by those who for some reason or other are disposed to depart from the policy established early, and announced, and enacted into that law of 1872. That statute contains more than one hundred and eighty different articles put upon the free-list, almost all articles of raw material which entered into the consumption and production of this country. I invoke the inspection of that bill by those who cry out that the present need is to remove war

taxes upon raw material. It was done in that bill, and to that policy the Republican party has ever held. Whatever good can come from the putting of raw material (not competing with our own production) upon the free-list was secured by that act.

It was the purpose of that bill to find out every possible article from which the duty could be taken for the purpose of bringing down the receipts to the line of expenditures, and no article of raw material that did not enter into competition with raw material here at home escaped, so far as the knowledge of the committee that framed that bill was concerned, being put upon the free-list. There never was one that had encountered in committee or in the House of Representatives the slightest objection to its going on the free-list.

If it is meant by taking off the tax, as it is called, the duty on raw material, that raw material from abroad, placed at the door of the manufacturer here in this country, shall encounter there the raw material produced in this country, and shall take the place of that and take from the resources of this country and supplant them by the resources of foreign nations, and the labor of this country by the labor of foreign nations—if that is what is meant to-day by the cry that the duty must be taken from raw material, the principles which governed those who made that law, and who maintain it to-day, require that they and that this country should, as between these two articles of raw material, give the preference to the American—give the preference to our own and to the labor spent upon our own. It is but another form of stating the difference between those who believe in the protection of American production and American labor and those who believe that as between American production and American labor on the one side and foreign production and foreign labor on the other there is absolute indifference. And let me say to-day to those calling for free raw material, if there can be found any article of raw material which, after fair effort and reasonable outlay, can not be produced here at home, but which must be brought from abroad to enter into the productions of this country, I have yet to see the man on either side of this Chamber, or elsewhere, who will not vote to place it on the free-list.

When the tariff bill of 1872 became a law, as I have said, every article then known of that kind entered upon the free-list. That there are new articles of that kind not yet upon the free-list, I do not doubt. Every day new elements that enter into consumption and into production in this country are coming to light. That which yesterday was worthless and cast aside becomes to-day by the application of new methods and by the discovery of new elements and new applications of old ones raw material capable of entering into valuable manufactured products and thus contributing to wealth and to the opportunity for labor and the compensation which is the reward of labor. So, I doubt not, there are now, not known then or if known then nobody having interest in them to ask that they be put upon the free-list, articles of raw materials of that kind; but let us not debate the question whether it be proper or not to put them on the free-list until some one stands up here or anywhere responsible for what he says and objects. But if they are of the character that enters into competition with the production of the labor of this country, they stand in the class of those articles which seek to displace our labor and products with those of foreign nations and can be advocated only on the ground that our market deserves at our hands no higher consideration than the markets of foreign nations.

Subsequent events have demonstrated the wisdom of the policy thus reaffirmed in the tariff bill of 1872, first inaugurated in the previous tariff bills which met the great exigencies of the times which called them into existence.

If the revision of 1883 failed in any degree to come up to the conditions there announced and hitherto maintained, it was because it encountered the opposition of those who no longer supported the principles and maintained the enactments under which thus far we had gone. Just so far as that opposition would permit, the purpose and object of the revision of 1883 was the same as that of 1872.

I said that the result, the influence upon the country, upon its wealth, upon its development, upon its industries, manifold in variety and in number, and upon those who earned their livelihood through them, wholly justified the wisdom of the policy that had been the basis and purpose of those laws. Under that policy in a single decade there was added to the wealth of this nation thirteen thousand millions of dollars. The value of the manufactures which sprung up under the beneficent influence of that policy which regards our market with more interest than it does the markets of foreign nations, and considers our products and those engaged in production here more entitled to consideration than those engaged in like pursuits in foreign lands—the value of these manufactures increased from 1860 to 1870 from eighteen hundred million dollars to thirty-eight hundred million dollars, and from 1870 to 1880 from thirty-eight hundred million dollars to fifty-three hundred million dollars, giving employment to two millions of wage-earners, who supplied by their daily toil their own tables and their own homes with comfort, and made for themselves places of influence and power under a Government that is open alike to all. This number was increased in the last decade to two millions seven hundred and thirty-two thousand five hundred and twenty-five, an army of wage-earners in this country, to whom was paid yearly nine hundred and forty-seven millions of dollars, an increase in wages in the last decade of 52 per cent., and an increase in the number of those finding employment at this increased compensation of 33 per cent. And thus was laid also the foundation for wealth and enterprise in other pursuits out of which 125,000 miles of railroad have been built, and thus has been built up, also, the credit of the nation, which when the first of these tariff bills was enacted was for our 6 per cent. bonds, at a discount of 11 per cent. To-day our 4 per cent. bonds are selling for 27 per cent. premium.

But in the ordinary course of events the increase of importations and curtailment of expenditures render another revision of the tariff in the near future necessary. But others in the mean time have come into the control of the Government. That control has passed out of the hands for the time being of those whose policy has worked these fruits and these beneficent results; and as the day came to be more clear by the payment of the public debt and the increase of receipts and diminution of expenditures, so came to be more clear and near the fact that this revision must soon take place. Those who have come into power have accordingly undertaken the work; but in so doing they have departed from the principles of the tariff bill of 1872, which received the support of their leaders; and this departure excites alarm and apprehension in the vast industries of this country, and the great numbers of wage-earners depend upon those industries for the opportunities of life.

The very first effort at revision of this tariff in these new hands has been in the face of the principles announced when the tariff of 1872 was enacted, and in which, I am happy to acknowledge, those who had it in charge had the earnest and sincere support of the Senator from Kentucky. If they could be now assured that there was to be no departure on his part, leader and controller of the public sentiment of his party in this particular as he is, if the industries of this country, vast in amount as they are, and the army of wage-earners dependent upon their continuance and prosperity could be assured of the continued support of the Senator from Kentucky, they would be greatly relieved and much of the cause for alarm would disappear. They would then renew with confidence their efforts to develop the wealth and greatness of their country by bringing out of the bowels of the earth and gathering together the supplies of every industry out of which the ingenuity of man can bring value and profit, and at the same time furnish in every avenue, in every workshop, in every mill, and in every private home of the operative the well-earned wages and competence that abundance of labor will always secure in this country.

But, sir, instead of doing as was then done, and in their revision to bring about ostensibly the same end, to wit, the reduction of duties and internal taxes to the line of necessary and proper expenditure, instead of seeking out raw material that does not enter into competition with home production; instead of ~~reducing~~ ^{removing} those articles paying ~~excessive~~ duties that do not enter into competition with home manufactures, the effect of the bills introduced in the House of Representatives for the revision of the tariff has been to strike at those very industries in this country more largely interested and more deeply affected by competition with foreign production than any others.

The great lumber interest of this country, with all the capital invested in it and all the laborers employed by it; the whole fishing interest of the country; all the fishermen employed on our coasts, all the capital invested in it, all the benefits to be derived from it; wool and woolens, cotton productions—one and all—are struck at. The first provision for a revision of the tariff that came from those fresh in power, upon whom is devolved this necessity, is to strike them down and put into our market in place of our productions upon which our labor has been performed, and for which our laborers are receiving their compensation, instead of these, the productions of foreign producers, upon which foreigners have expended their labor, and taken their compensation, taking away thereby from the home labor of this country all that is connected with the lumber interest, with the fishing interest, with the wool interest, with the cotton interest: just so far as there can be brought by superior inducements of profit from foreign countries that labor to take their place.

It is true that these great industries and this large body of men looking to them for their support have until lately been lulled into security by the belief that there were dissentients enough in the party representing this idea of free foreign competition to prevent its infliction upon the country; but the course of events has been tending more and more to dispel that illusion. One after another of those in that party who have had courage enough to stand up and express their preferences for their own country and its productions and its labor has dropped out. It has been sounded abroad as the law to govern them in the future that they must be loyal to this idea of indifference to American production and American labor, and stand by the attempt

to revise the tariff on the principle that instead of seeking to reduce revenue by taking off duties upon non-competitive articles and reducing internal taxes upon articles that do enter into home consumption and home production, they shall stand by the propositions of the Morrison bill to lay low great and important interests as an entering-wedge to a more perfect and complete consummation of the idea that between this nation and its productions and its wealth and its labor, on the one hand, and those of other nations on the other hand, there is, and ought to be, in the shibboleth of that party, **no distinction**.

But, sir, the Secretary of the Treasury has come into the field and taken an advanced position in this contest against home-protection and labor, causing increased apprehension and alarm in all the broad industries that fill this land and those dependent upon them—alarm and bewilderment, for it is impossible for one to understand by what principles and upon what theories so novel and so conflicting and so incompatible propositions can be maintained as are announced in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury; sober, conservative business men; thoughtful, anxious, and clear-headed men, dependent upon those industries, inquire seriously upon what they may not be wrecked if such doctrines and such principles and such theories as are announced in this report are to govern in the revision of the tariff which is near us. First he throws overboard entirely and in so many words all idea of protection to American industry. Henceforth, according to his theories and his dogmas, there is to enter into the policy which is to control in imposing the duties of the future no idea of protection to American industry. Let me read what he says:

The true ground of choice among articles suitable for taxation is not the circumstance that they are produced at home or imported from abroad.

Leaving out the reasoning, I complete his statement:

The true ground of choice is that among all articles thus consumed within our own borders some are better suited for an equitable taxation than others. They are universally consumed, like sugar, or easily identified, like coffee, or their consumption may be safely impeded, like distilled spirits or fermented liquors or tobacco, or they are luxuries, like wines, silks, and diamonds.

These are the considerations, not what may be the effect upon home production, not whether it shall be advantageous or injurious to the vast interests, more than five thousand millions of dollars in 1850 invested in productions of this country, or the two million seven hundred thousand wage-earners dependent upon them. That has nothing to do with the tariff reform that is to govern this administration. It does not enter into the consideration of the imposition of a duty hereafter in the mind of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The true ground of choice among articles suitable for taxation is not the circumstance that they are produced at home.

He even looks forward to the time when, after the removal of what he calls the war taxes on raw material, we shall live in the elysium of supplying all our expenditures from the taxes on "whisky, tobacco, and beer," though perhaps we may be driven back to get "ten millions of revenue from 2 cents a pound on coffee and half as much from tea."

He looks forward to the time when our manufacturers, driven out of our home market by a cheaper production from abroad, shall find their compensation in selling at a greater profit in a foreign market, exchanging our own for the uncertain and distant and fluctuating markets of foreign nations. This is the picture presented to those great

industries of this country that have so developed and made this country great and strong under the influence of the tariff revisions from time to time; that have maintained until now, for ourselves, our own markets and our own labor with a consistency and persistency worthy of the grand results that have attended it.

Going on with these theories, the Secretary repeats the old cry, that the duties upon protected articles cause a monopoly to a favored few. And then he answers his own statement by declaring that they set on foot "a ferocious competition at cut-throat prices" at home. A monopoly in favor of a favored few, a tax added, says he, to the price paid by the consumer; and yet in the next breath he says that they directly set on foot "a ferocious competition at cut-throat prices" at home, bringing "long periods of glut and so-called overproduction," * * * "entailing overproduction for the home market, reckless competition, with no established outlet in working off the surplus product."

It passes my ability to reconcile all this. If our protection be a monopoly of a favored few, it can not produce overproduction and glut of the market. If it be an addition of the duty to the cost to the consumer, it can not be that it produces the result that the consumer can be compelled to buy otherwise than at the lowest price in a glutted market, and under a ferocious competition at cut-throat prices. The consumer can find no market so favorable to him at which he can purchase that which he consumes at so low a price as the very market which the Secretary of the Treasury says is the direct effect of these protective duties, and no man will pay the addition of the duty to the cost of the material when he can buy in such a market. All this and all these results, the Secretary of the Treasury pronounces "brutal policy." This is cold comfort for that policy which has been crowned with such grand results, which has built up and spread throughout this country these vast manufacturing establishments, has put into the hands of more than 2,700,000 wage-earners in this country the means of livelihood, of fair compensation for every day's work, which has enabled them to place in the savings banks of this country, at this very moment, of wage-earnings, more than \$500,000,000, laid up by the wage-earners themselves against a day of need if it shall ever come.

It is a sorry failure to comprehend this policy and these great interests which gives utterance to the opprobrious epithet that it is a "brutal policy," and that it is a policy toward which those who represent power to-day in this country are to turn with hostile hand and deadly opposition.

While the producer and the consumer and the world generally have hitherto believed that the higher the price paid for the labor bestowed on any given article the greater the cost of the article, it has been reserved for this Secretary to dispel this delusion and announce a new law of production—that the very reverse of this is true, and that in fact the higher the price paid for the labor on any given article the cheaper will be that article. "High wages to labor and cheaper product are correlative terms. Low wages to labor and a costlier product are correlative terms." From these theories the Secretary turns to the concrete, and proposes a specific remedy. It is the removal of "war taxes on raw material." He specifies one only—the duty on wool.

We are told in his report that it is not worth while to reduce the receipts by removing \$51,000,000 of duties from sugar, because that is only 90 cents to each individual, and he turns from that to the re-

moval of \$5,000,000 of duties upon raw wool, which is only 8 cents to each individual, and to the removal of the duty upon ready-made clothing, that would relieve the people of only 2 cents per capita. If it be any reason why we should retain the duty on sugar that it is only 90 cents per capita, is it any reason that we should remove the duty on raw wool that it is only 8 cents per capita, or upon ready-made clothing, which is only 2 cents per capita? The grand climax is reached in the single sentence, printed in capitals:

"UNTAX THE CLOTHING OF SIXTY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE."

And the people are to be relieved just 2 cents each in the clothes they wear while they are still to pay 90 cents each for the sugar on their table, and, if the scheme works well, in addition, "2 cents a pound tax on coffee and half as much from tea."

But look at this proposition to remove the duty upon raw-wool and untax in large measure the clothing of sixty million of people by removing the duty upon ready-made clothing and thereby reducing the revenue the paltry amount of \$13,000,000. Four-fifths of the woollen manufactures of this country are manufactures for the clothing of the sixty millions of people, and if we remove the duty on ready-made clothing is to provide that the cloth for all the clothing made for this country shall first be manufactured abroad and made into garments there and then admitted free of duty. Such are the facilities of intercourse at this time that it is just as easy for the man who wears the finest broad-cloth coat to order it made in London as to order it made in New York, and every article, under this proposition, of woollen manufacture, four-fifths of all being made for clothing, will be first made abroad, manufactured into clothing abroad, and then introduced here free. The proposition itself, the day it becomes the law of this land, extinguishes the entire woollen manufacturing interest of this country; and what is that?

His report does not seem to comprehend the magnitude of the interests it is dealing with, from the wanton and careless and thoughtless manner in which it deals with interests the like of which till lately the revenues of the Government itself did not equal. That interest, which could not live an hour if wool were introduced free and all the cloth manufactured for consumption in this country were, in the manner I have indicated, free, has a capital of \$158,000,000, employing every year one hundred and sixty-eight thousand hands, paying them at the end of each week of the year what they have earned, amounting at the end of fifty-two weeks to \$17,180,618, and producing every year a product of \$267,699,504. Great comfort it will be to these great interests, said this body of men dependent upon them, while the Secretary's hand is raised in this deadly attitude to strike them down—great comfort it will be to them to hear from the President these softening and quieting words:

In readjusting the burdens of Federal taxation, a sound public policy requires that such of our citizens as have built up large and important industries under present conditions, should not be suddenly and to their injury deprived of advantages to which they have adapted their business.

Comfort, indeed, will it be to the one hundred and sixty-eight thousand men thrown out of the opportunity of their daily labor and daily earnings to gather round their table at night and read these words:

Due regard should be also accorded in any proposed readjustment to the interests of American labor so far as they are involved.

And I have no doubt both classes will take to themselves this exhortation to resignation:

A reasonable and timely submission to such a demand should certainly be possible without disastrous shock to any interest.

I fear, however, that its effect will be much like that of the kind Texas judge upon the doomed man before him for sentence, when he ordered him "to be hung as early the next morning as would be convenient to the sheriff and agreeable to him."

What value can such words be to them, taken from him who has expressly in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury commanded his policy and his method of dealing with the customs duties of this country? They will take note of what is done and lay up for what it is worth what is said.

But, Mr. President, this idea of taking the war tax, as it is called, off from the raw material of wool for the relief of the manufacturers in this country does not meet the approval of the manufacturers themselves. The woolen manufacturer sees clearly that his is not an isolated industry, that industries depend for their permanent development and growth and prosperity one upon another. When in the other branch, two years ago, the idea of striking at the wool and woolen interest was incorporated into a bill for the consideration of Congress, and the woolen manufacturers were summoned before the committee to make report, and to give support to this idea of raw material for them, one of the clearest headed of them, Mr. William Whitman, now at the head of the Woolen Manufacturers' Association of New England, one who sees all its bearings in all the phases in which it may come up, when brought before the committee was asked these questions:

Mr. MCKINLEY. How would it affect wool?

Mr. WHITMAN. I think it would drive the wool-producing interest of the country out of existence.

Mr. MCKINLEY. As a manufacturer, do you want that?

Mr. WHITMAN. As a manufacturer I am in favor of a duty on wool, so that we will not be dependent upon foreign countries for our raw material.

Mr. HEWITT. Does the duty on wool increase the price of your raw material?

Mr. WHITMAN. Yes.

Mr. HEWITT. Then you want in your business a dearer raw material?

Mr. WHITMAN. No.

Mr. HEWITT. You say that the duty on wool does add to the cost of wool?

Mr. WHITMAN. Yes.

Mr. HEWITT. And raw wool is your raw material?

Mr. WHITMAN. Yes.

Mr. HEWITT. Therefore you want your raw material to cost you a higher price?

Mr. WHITMAN. No; I want cheaper raw material, and I propose to get it by raising such an abundance of wool in this country that it will keep down the price of foreign wool.

Mr. HEWITT. Has that been the effect of the duty on wool?

Mr. WHITMAN. That has been the effect.

Mr. HEWITT. Do you get wool cheaper now than you used to get it?

Mr. WHITMAN. Decidedly. Wool is cheaper now than it has been in my experience.

Mr. MCKINLEY. Is not the cost of wool coming down since 1867?

Mr. WHITMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. HEWITT. If the duty were taken off, would wool be cheaper, or dearer?

Mr. WHITMAN. It would be dearer. We speak first of the immediate effect and then of the future effect. I suppose that if the duty were taken off wool absolutely to-day the first effect of that would be lowering the price of the wool of this country to the level of the price of wool in other countries. That would be the first effect. The discouraging effect of it would be to destroy the sheep-raising industry in this country, and then the price of wool abroad would rise.

That is the voice of the woolen manufacturing interest for the support of which the Morrison bill made the bid of free raw wool.

But the most surprising—I will not say absurd—but the most astonishing feature of this report is that in which the Secretary of the Treasury undertakes to classify industries in this country into such as are not affected by competition, and those that are affected by competition, and those that are partially affected by competition. In order to obtain that classification he does not go to the business itself, he does not go to the marts of trade, he does not go to the man at the helm to inquire what influences are at work to deflect the course of the ship, he does not go to the manufacturer of wool, of cotton, of iron, or of any of the many industries in this country to inquire of him or anybody about him or anybody connected with the business what competition may affect him. He goes to the very respectable gentleman who furnishes assorted statistics to the State Department, and to two mathematicians, one up in the Treasury Department and the other in the employ of the Government here, men learned in their profession, high-minded and honorable men, and men who could tell you the exact position to a quarter of an inch of any planet in the solar system a thousand years hence, or tell you the force and effect of the last quiver of any earthquake that in any reasonable calculation of the next one hundred years this earth might experience, but whose practical knowledge of that which affects labor and the industries of this land hardly exceeds their experience with the servant that attends upon their door or serves their table. From them he obtains the classification of the industries of this land into those not affected by competition, those affected by competition, and those partially affected by competition. No man would have ever asked for such a table as that who had acquired any portion of his education in the committee-room of Ways and Means, or that of Finance in this end of the Capitol. No man who reflects can fail to see that there is no industry in this country so isolated and independent of all other considerations that it matters not with it whether other industries prosper or wane. All of these industries are one grand brotherhood, and that which affects one more or less must affect others. "The eye can not say to the ear, I have no need of thee; nor the head to the feet, I have no need of thee." They are one grand network spread all over this country, and you can not loosen one strand of it without dislocating others and affecting the grand whole. You might as well put to these mathematicians with their logarithmic tables the problem of how many of the particles of the great deep shall have been disturbed and affected, how many rest undisturbed, and how many are "partially affected" by the casting of an anchor in mid-ocean.

It is upon such theories, impossible in themselves, that the Secretary of the Treasury holds out to the great business interests and those dependent upon them the prospect that in such hands and by such wild and wanton methods and theories are these great interests to be controlled and manipulated in the future. But, sir, with all the effort of the Secretary to aid in the reduction of this anticipated \$100,000,000, he has been unable to find any other war tax except that on raw wool that he can consent to have taken off, and he succeeds in that way in reducing the surplus, with the help of ready-made clothing, \$13,000,000; and what does he propose to do with the rest? The proposition with which he deals with the three hundred and more millions of dollars after this application of his own skill as a tariff reformer is novel, and I venture to say was never heard of before the publication of this report.

Let me read it that he may have the full benefit of it in his own words:

I therefore respectfully recommend: * * * *

Gradual purchase and payment of \$316,681,016 outstanding promissory notes of the United States with the present and accruing Treasury surplus, issuing silver certificates in their room, and gold certificates if need be, without contraction of the present circulating volume of the currency.

There was a time when those for whom the Senator from Kentucky spoke on Thursday had an affection for these greenbacks "passing the love of woman." When they were at a discount the war for their protection and for their circulation was waged incessantly, and year after year measures were devised in bills introduced into this Chamber and elsewhere to give them a wide circulation as the fittest and most desirable currency for the people. It is only when they came up to par, when they were worth dollar for dollar with gold in this country and the world over, and there came to be another currency that was below par, that the affection for the greenback was transferred to the silver dollar. The same zeal that characterized the attachment and love for the greenback when it was at a discount manifests itself to-day in the attempt to compel the people of this country to take another currency, of every dollar of which the intrinsic value is but 73 cents, and which is held up only by force, by the strong power of enactment, as a sinking substance in the water is held up by some power above. It is "passing strange" to me that this love of silver is so precisely like that love of the greenback when it was below par, and this indifference to the greenback bears date and is commensurate with the time that it has become, dollar for dollar, equal to gold in every part of the country and of the world.

The people are told that poor money is cheap money, and therefore when the greenback ceased to be poor money and became par with gold it ceased to bear that quality by which it is commended to the people, and if you cannot get poor money get it as nearly poor money as you can.

As a substitute for the greenbacks, and with them the national banking currency, without contraction of the volume, the Secretary says issue six hundred millions of silver certificates, worth nowhere else but within the force and effect of a statute that holds them above water more than 73 cents upon the dollar. This is the remedy, the last remedy, recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury in his prescription for dealing with this superabundance of receipts over expenditures.

I, for one, can not comprehend the zeal that searches through all the industries and productions of this country for those only from which to take off the duties or internal taxes which, when brought here from abroad, take so much away from the labor and the productions of our own country. What there is about it so fascinating, after having themselves overthrown every argument that pertains to economy in consumption or economy in production, leaving themselves naked and bare of every other consideration except that which holds them to an utter indifference as between their own country and its growth and development and that of foreign countries, I can not see. It is these considerations, as I have said, that have awakened serious and well-grounded apprehension throughout the country in the varied and vast industries, and the many thousand wage-earners dependent on them for their livelihood, and support, and competence, and hope.

It is this attitude of those who have this tariff to reform that leads

to this serious apprehension, and they turn to this body, in which alone are those who have hitherto been able to maintain a policy so fruitful of grand and of rich-rewarding results to all classes, high and low, for the alternative. They look to those who speak for this body, as they have spoken for the policy of the Government in the last twenty-five years, to know what the alternative is. They know that under the Constitution the Finance Committee of this body can originate no law that shall remodel or reform the tariff, but they know, too, that it is within the province and the ability of the Finance Committee to consider this question and formulate in a report that shall carry quiet and confidence to the home industries and home labor of this country a method to bring the receipts of this Government down to the line of its expenditures, without impairing the development or prosperity of those industries or diminishing the compensation of that labor. It was for that purpose that I introduced the resolution to which I have alluded. It is in these words:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to inquire, and report as soon as practicable, what specific reduction can be made in customs duties and internal taxes which will, in their judgment, reduce the receipts to the necessary and economical expenditures of the Government, without impairing the prosperity and development of home industries or the compensation of home labor.

The operative words in this resolution are "specific reduction," and the limitation upon those words is, "without impairing the prosperity and development of home industries or the compensation of home labor." Generalizations like those contained in the President's message, wild, wanton, and reckless assaults upon these industries, are not what the public demand and crave at this moment. It is specific reductions, if possible, and it is specific reductions under the imperative limitation that they shall not impair the prosperity and development of home industry, nor shall they diminish the compensation of home labor.

The inquiry submitted in this resolution to this able Finance Committee is whether it be possible to so reduce customs duties and internal taxes as to bring them within the line of reasonable and economical expenditure without impairing the prosperity of these great industries or diminishing the compensation of the labor dependent upon them. I say the limitation is imperative, for there are other evils greater than an accumulation in the Treasury. He who weakens or impairs or diminishes the efficiency, clouds the prospects, and weakens the hopes of the industries of this land or the compensation of its labor, strikes a deadlier blow at the welfare of this country than can be dealt in any other manner short of war. It is treason towards the great underlying interest and prosperity of this country upon which is built its future, and by which alone its stability can be maintained; and he who impairs and weakens these comes very near to sapping and minning the citadel itself.

Therefore, sir, the question is submitted in this resolution, and I believe that these great interests await with confidence the answer that it is possible to so reform this tariff as to bring it within the line which was the doctrine and the basis of the tariff of 1872, reformulated in the resolution I have offered. Therefore, I have thought that it was not out of place in this body, although prohibited by the Constitution from originating legislation upon this subject, yet for its Finance Committee to deliberate upon the situation, to determine upon principles to which they have adhered from the beginning of this policy, and to present to

the public the possibility of the reform of the tariff that shall leave these results unimpaired, shall give a freer and broader scope to the energies and enterprise and vigor of this American people.

It is not for me to forestall or foreshadow their report, but, speaking for myself alone, I can see all this accomplished by abolishing the duty on sugar, \$51,000,000; the tax on tobacco, \$26,000,000; and the tax on alcohol which enters into the mechanic arts; correcting the phraseology of the worsted tariff and that on tin plates, and then putting on the free-list every remaining raw material which can not be by fair outlay and reasonable expenditure produced here at home.

Those who met the exigencies of the past are capable of grasping the problems of the future, and in the great struggle which is upon them for possession of the opportunities open to them in their country, and under their own flag, our home industries and our home labor must turn to those who lifted labor from degradation and servitude to dignity and honor and power, and whose policy has built up the strength and wealth and greatness of the nation.

I shall, therefore, to this end, after the disposition of the resolution now before the Senate, ask the adoption of the resolution I offered on a previous occasion.

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LET

REPUBLICANS

Keep this Record in readiness for Democrats who
howl about

INTERNAL REVENUE.

Democratic Leaders and Broken Pledges.

THE HYPOCRACY OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERS EXPOSED.

THE TAX ON
TOBACCO ^{AND} FRUIT BRANDIES,

In the opinion of the Leading Spirits of the Democratic
Party is, and must be treated as a

WAR MEASURE,

And cannot be abolished until all the WAR
DEBT is Paid.



The Democratic press of Virginia, and the leaders of that party, notably its candidates for Congress in the canvass of 1884, were profuse in their promises and emphatic in their pledges to the people, that, if their candidates were elected and their party entrusted with the control of the House of Representatives, the hated system of Internal Revenue taxes should be removed.

Their candidates were elected to eight out of ten seats to which Virginia is entitled in the House of Representatives, and then the Democratic party had a majority of forty-three in the last or 49th Congress. That Congress expired on the 4th day of March last—having sat during its first session continuously for nearly nine months, and for its second session three months.

In all that long period of daily session, what effort does the *Congressional Record* show was made by the Democratic party of the House, or by its delegates from Virginia, to redeem the earnest promises and emphatic pledges made to the people of Virginia, to effect on the one hand the passage of the Blair Educational Bill, and on the other the repeal of Internal Revenue taxes? As I shall presently show, the record proves that nothing was accomplished and no effort was seriously made, either to pass the Blair Educational Bill or to repeal any part of the Internal Revenue taxes, beyond the perfunctory introduction of bills looking to the removal of certain of such taxes, and notwithstanding it was claimed in the famous correspondence between Messrs. Randall, Wise and other members of the Democratic party and speaker Carlisle, that "two-thirds or more of the House were in favor of the repeal" of all taxes imposed on Tobacco, not one effort was made on the floor of the House to bring action on that question. And while it cannot be affirmed that "two-thirds or more" of the House favored the passage of the Blair Educational Bill, yet it is believed that number does not overstate the strength of that popular measure; and notwithstanding that strength, not one effort was made to break the unprecedented control of the three Democrats,—Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Morrison and Mr. Randall—over the will and desire of a large majority of the House, and to save the Blair Educational Bill from the

strangling grasp of the Democratic majority of the Committee on Rules.

I challenge any refutation from the *Congressional Record* of this charge of broken promises; this arraignment of representative inefficiency.

The main object of this paper is to expose an attempt, by which it is now sought to mislead the people of Virginia in respect to the attitude of the two National parties in the Congress on the subject of "Revenue Reduction;" and especially to unmask and uncover an effort now being made to misrepresent that part of the subject which engages, and justly so, the watchful and anxious solicitude of our own people—the removal of the tax on tobacco and fruit brandies.

In the morning really of the 4th day of March, Mr. Henderson, a Democratic member from North Carolina, moved suspension of the rules that a "bill to modify the internal revenue system of legislation, and for other purposes," might be passed. The vote on that motion is now paraded over Virginia, and every Democrat is called on to keep it "in readiness for the Republicans who howl about Internal Revenue." It is the *people*, Democrats as well as Republicans, whom the inefficiency of the Democratic representatives have made to "howl about Internal Revenue, and it is because of that popular "howl," that I deem it to be my duty to show that Mr. Henderson's bill was not to repeal internal revenue taxes—but was not an effort to redeem the Democratic pledges—but a bill "*to modify*" the provisions of law as to small distilleries with a single reference to tobacco, that farmers and planters might sell their leaf tobacco at retail.

If the tobacco provision had stood alone, every Republican would have sustained the bill; if fruit brandy distilleries had been the only distilleries involved, there would have been but few dissenting voices; but it was apparent that the bill disguised its real object, namely, the relief of the moonshiners—four (400) hundred of whom were in North Carolina, and the bulk of them in Mr. Henderson's district. But what did the Democrats from Virginia do even for that bill? In the debate that ensued not one Democratic member from any State mentioned the subject of repealing the tax on tobacco. Mr. Henderson spoke of the Internal Revenue as it applied to whiskey distilleries in his District and State—the whole debate turned on the whiskey tax and the provision of law for its collection. Fruit Brandies were not mentioned. The *Congressional Record*

cord shows that Mr. Cabell, "contented himself with asking the privilege to print some remarks"—"Mr. Cowles, Mr. Wise, Mr. Daniel and Mr. O'Ferrell made similar requests" and finally Mr. Taulbee asked and obtained unanimous consent that permission to print remarks in the *Record* on this bill be given to all members desiring to do so." *

It is by these speeches that were never delivered, the arguments that were never made, and the explanations that were never given to the House of Representatives, that Democratic pledges are redeemed. These speeches will be scattered broadcast over the State under the *false pretense* that they were made in the House in behalf of Virginia's great tobacco interest.

If the *debate* on the Henderson Bill was a deception on the part of the Democrats, the introduction of the Bill was equally insincere. No printed copy of the bill can be found; it had never been printed; no Committee had ever considered the whole bill; no report upon it had been made. It was in manuscript when read by the clerk and in the noise and confusion of the last night was unintelligible.

Its very title refutes the suggestion that it aimed at a repeal of the Internal Revenue System or of the tax on tobacco. Nor does the text of the Bill directly propose any repeal of

* The first of the Speeches, which *were not delivered* in the House, to be issued and distributed, is the "Speech of Hon. George D. Wise of Virginia in the House of Representatives, Thursday, March 3rd, 1887. Thursday was the Legislative day the debate was on the Calender day of Friday, March 4th. That speech, though never delivered in the House, is nevertheless a valuable contribution to the literature of the approaching campaign in Virginia, and if used by Republican speaker's and papers will not fail to contribute largely to the success of the Republican party. It is a confession by Mr. Wise, as well as the proof of the truth and exactness of all I shall state in this letter. The printer has put the fragments of which the speech is made up rather clumsily together. Mr. Wise's contribution ends at page 7, and the appendix on page 8 is the really valuable part of the speech. That is extracted from the *Congressional Record*, and is the debate on Henderson's Bill. But in the appendix from the *Record* Mr. Wise has interjected, on page 19, some further remarks of his own, which are not in the *Record*. This doubtless is the error of the printer in not distinctly showing when the remarks of Mr. McAdoo, *also not delivered*, ended, and the comments or after thoughts of Mr. Wise's again begin, as a preface to the correspondence between the Democratic factions on Revenue Reduction. That correspondence *was not* read in the House during that night—debate, and the printer again grossly erred in making Mr. Wise say: "In connection with this question, I will put before the *House* and the country these letters, which speak for themselves. However, the correspondence is inserted in the printed speech, and the rest of the debate, with the vote, follows and concludes Mr. Wise's speech to his constituents and not the *House*."

Now, as it was the House of Representatives, and not Mr. Wise's constituents, that was considering the Henderson Bill, it is pertinent to inquire what possible good, what practical end did that speech serve? Is that speech a redemption of Mr. Wise's promises to effect the repeal of the Internal Revenue system? Was that undelivered speech an honest, earnest attempt on Mr. Wise's part to redeem his promises? If so, would it not be wiser and cheaper to keep such Representatives at home and give them "leave to print" in the newspaper?

that tax, and beyond granting to the grower the right to market his own crop without the intervention of a licensed dealer, had no reference to the tobacco tax. Not a single Republican opposed that provision of the bill—Mr. Buchanan, a Republican from New Jersey, remarking that “*it does seem to me that when a farmer raises tobacco he should be allowed to dispose of it without any tax being imposed on that particular product. And had the bill stopped at that point I should have given my voice and vote heartily in favor of it.*”

Mr. Henderson, the author of the bill, did not pretend that his bill covered the repeal of the Internal Revenue Taxes, for he says:

“This Congress”—(Democratic by 43 majority,) “has lost the opportunity of repealing any portion of these taxes; the agitation of that question has been postponed until another Congress shall assemble.”

Why, then, should every Democrat in Virginia be called on to keep the vote on that bill “in readiness for the Republican who howl about Internal Revenue?” Of what good were the votes of “such tariff reformers as Morrison, Tucker, Mills and the two Breckinridges” for such a bill? Wherein did that vote redeem the broken pledges of the Virginia Democrats? What relief to the tax-burdened people would that bill have brought? Will the vote for that bill “wholly exonerate the Democratic party and its members of the House from Virginia, for failure to make some honest effort to repeal the Internal Revenue System, or so much as to remove the tax on tobacco?” A discerning and fair-minded people, so solicitous for their own individual welfare, and seeking to ascertain the real facts and the truth as to the failure of the Congress to unburden their great industry, will not be deceived by the hollow pretences of this Henderson Bill.

The hour selected to introduce the bill, the very closing moments of the last night of the Congress, the well-known impossibility of any revenue bill which the House might pass that night being considered in the Senate, are all badges of fraud and deception, which color the whole affair with the insincerity of the trickster rather than with the integrity of honest legislation. The moment chosen to spring this unconsidered, unprinted bill upon the House was when the 49th Congress was in the final throes of dissolution. The appropriation bills, without which the machinery of the government must stop, had the right of way, and Democratic negligence

had made it a grave question as to whether it would be possible, in the few hours that remained, to pass these bills, and when, in point of fact, the power of endurance of the clerical force was not sufficient to engross one of the most important of these bills in time to receive the Executive approval, and it failed to become a law.

By the failure of that bill the courts are without means to proceed with the administration of justice, and an extra session of Congress may be necessitated.

It may, in this connection, be well to enquire into the hope and purpose of Mr. Henderson's motion at that late and unseasonable hour. That it was not with a sincere and reasonable expectation of the bill becoming a law is apparent, and the proceedings in the House must be taken to have been a political movement by which the leaders of the party in Virginia, and its delegation in Congress, would hope to cover their own neglect of representative duty during the whole two years of the 49th Congress; and escape the condemnation which was felt to await them at the hands of the people for manifest incompetency and broken promises, that find a parallel in each recurring campaign since the Republican Senate in 1884 passed the Blair Educational Bill.

In that connection it will not be forgotten how persistently the Democratic press, orators and politicians have sought to excuse the failure of their representatives to meet the popular expectation in the passage of this Educational measure, and how positively and earnestly they promised in each succeeding campaign to mend their ways for the future, and to give the people, from an overflowing treasury, the means of educating their children. And yet early in the first session of the Congress just closed, the Republican Senate for the third time passed this bill, and the Democratic House the third time strangled it, finally—by a singular and unprecedented device which, while referring the bill to the regular committee on Education, subjectd the vital question of its consideration to the Committee on Rules, of which Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Morrison and Mr. Randall, Democrats, were the majority, Mr. Reed and Mr. Hiscock, Repbulicans, the minority. Whether designedly or accidentally, can be known only to the majority of the Committee on Rules, but it is a fact, sustained by the *Congressional Record*, that no order of proceedings was reported from that committee during the whole of the last session of the 49th Congress; and it is generally believed and

extensively charged that the reason was that the vote in favor of the Blair Bill was strong enough to amend any order of proceedings which that committee might report, and pass the Bill. Thus, to avoid giving the House an opportunity to pass that Bill, the Committee on Rules withheld all orders of proceeding, and the Speaker *did not* recognize any member during the last session to move to take up this Educational Bill.

In the light of their past disappointments, my belief is that the people are *weary* of the professions and protestations of Democratic leaders, and my respect for their intelligence forbids the fear that they can be deceived by any such proceeding as that in the House on the morning of March 4th, in the matter of the Henderson Bill "*for the relief of moonshiners.*" But the people will quickly observe that such political legerdemain in no sense complies with the promises, in which the leaders of the Democratic party in Virginia and its representatives in Congress sought and obtained support. They will not be hoodwinked into the belief that such a proposition made at such a time, offers any apology for the neglect of the Democratic party and its representatives in Congress to make one honest effort in the two years of the 49th Congress to secure the repeal of the Internal Revenue System, or the removal of the tax on their leading agricultural product—tobacco.

The empty performance of the Henderson proceedings will not serve to content a people whose hope for relief languishes upon unfilled promises of Democratic leaders, nor can the brief discussion and the vote which followed be distorted to put the Republican members of the House in opposition or enmity to the repeal of the Internal Revenue System, or in antagonism to the repeal of the tobacco tax.

In the light of the famous correspondence between certain Democratic members of the House and its distinguished Speaker, to be found in the lucid speech of the Hon. Mr. Payne (Republican) of New York, and hereto annexed, the insincerity of the Henderson motion and the foul attempt to take credit for an effort to reduce the tax on tobacco are so apparent, "that the way-faring man, though a fool, cannot err therein."

In that correspondence, under date of Feb. 7th, 1887, speaker Carlisle stated that *he would refuse to entertain a motion to suspend the rules in order that the House might proceed to*

consider a bill repealing the tobacco tax, and he did not break that word when he entertained Mr. Henderson's motion, because that bill did not propose either the repeal or a reduction of that tax. In that correspondence Messrs. Henderson, (the author of that motion) Wise and Randall, under date of Feb. 8th, complain of the refusal of the Speaker, and say:

"We believe that the friends of the repeal of the tobacco tax were so strong in the House that we would save to the oppressed tax payers, * * * if the motion for repeal could be made in the House on Monday of this week (the 14th day of February), the latest day when such a motion, to be effective under the rules, would be in order during the 49th Congress. The motion, if made during the last six days of the session, would almost certainly be too late to secure favorable consideration for the question in the Senate." Then for what practical purpose was Mr. Henderson's motion made but a few hours before the Congress stood adjourned by operation of law? If Monday, the 14th of February, was the latest day (in the written opinion of Mr. Henderson) when such a motion could be made to be effective, and if made in the last six days of the session could not be considered in the Senate, why, I repeat, was that motion made in the small hours of March 4th? For what other purpose than that to which it is now sought to put this little piece of political legerdemain? But if recognition by the Speaker could be obtained for a bill their own correspondence shows could not become a law, if passed at so late an hour in the session—when there would be no time left for its consideration in the Senate—why, I would ask of the Virginia members, did not some one of them obtain recognition and call up for passage *into a law* one, at least, of the four public building bills which had passed the Senate and would become law by the favorable action of the House even at that hour? These four bills passed the Senate in the early part of the 1st session. The passage of the bill for a public building at Norfolk, which surely would have been effected if any one of the Virginia members had seen fit to call it up, there would have been expended in the State \$250,000, and that city given much needed accommodations for courts and post-office, or if any one of these members had secured consideration of the Bill for the completion of the long neglected Mary Washington Monument, it would have passed the House and become law. Twenty thousand dollars would have gone into circulation at Fredericksburg and just

recognition extended to the people of that City for the ceaseless efforts they have made to secure the accomplishment of that object. Or why did not some Virginia member, particularly Mr. Tucker, call up and pass the bill sent down from the Senate returning the *direct tax* collected from the people of Virginia to the amount of \$517,000.00? Any one of these bills would have served the people of the State, and would not have taken half the time consumed in the Henderson "trick mule act:"

Turning away from this attempt to misrepresent the real issue as to the subject of Revenue Reduction, let the people consider that important matter in the open light of the record made by the two political parties in the 49th Congress.

Under the Constitution of the United States, the Senate has no power to originate Revenue Bills either to increase or reduce taxes. It may amend any bill sent up by the House, but the power to originate Revenue Bills, as well as the duty, it confided by the Constitution exclusively with the House of Representatives. Under that provision of the Constitution, the Republican Senate was compelled to await the action of the House, and though impatiently witnessing ninety millions and more of taxes annually extracted from the people which were not required by any necessity of the Government, and retired from the currency of the country to idleness in the vaults of the Treasury, the Senate was powerless to effect any remedy until the House acted and passed a Revenue Bill. That duty the Democratic House refused during all the two years of the 49th Congress to perform. The warring factions of that party were divided into a small minority which favored a material reduction of the Internal Revenue taxes, in conjunction with some reduction of Import duties—notably the abolition of the tariff duties on Raw Materials; while the majority faction demanded and required that the Internal Revenue taxes should be retained in all their force and vigor as a means of compelling the adoption of its policy of *Free Trade*, holding the Internal Revenue System, with all its burdens and vexations imposed upon the people as a hostage—for the enforcement of that policy—until the products of other countries are permitted to invade our markets and without the payment of any license—compete here at our own homes with the labor and productions of our own people.*

* The factions, dissensions and disagreements in the leadership of the Democratic party, whatever pitiable, it must be admitted, incapacitates it for usefulness and for relief to the

This internecine war in the Democratic House of Representatives, exhausted the patience of Republican Senators, and on the 17th day of December, 1886, upon almost the very threshold of the second session, and when there remained nearly three months of that session and of the life of the 49th Congress, the Hon. John Sherman of Ohio, with other Republican Senators, invoked the Democratic House to discharge its constitutional duty by taking action upon the subject of Revenue Reduction, and to send to the Senate some measure of relief to an overburdened people. Mr. Sherman showed that the Democratic *Bosses* had promised to arrest the growth of the surplus of Revenue, and to effect a reduction of taxes: that they had promised it in the stump speeches of their orators:—and that by every organ of the party the pledge and promise of early and effective relief had been given to the people. That pledge and that promise the Democratic party had failed, shamefully and disgracefully, to preform: it had not even made a serious effort in the direction of the fulfilment of its pledges. Senator Sherman, replying to Senator Beck, said:

"Why, Mr. President, how idle and foolish it is for the Senator from Kentucky, high in the favor of the Democratic party, to talk to us about a chance to reduce taxation. They have the House of Representatives by a majority of I do not know how many: they have had it for ten years out of twelve. The only reduction of taxes that has been made in that time was made by the Republican party during the two years it had power in both Houses out of the last ten years. Then we did reduce the taxes and did give an enormous relief from needless burdens."

It was then that the tax on Tobacco, and on my motion, was reduced from 16 to 8 cents.

Continuing, Mr. Sherman said:

"Until the Democratic party, having a large majority in the House of Representatives, can send to us a bill, we have no jurisdiction here. *But upon the main question that there is an absolute and imperative duty resting upon Congress to reduce taxation, I have proclaimed here, year in and year out,*

people. But it would be no unsafe venture to predict that, at the forthcoming convention of the party in Virginia, with much pretension, it will solemnly declare in favor of the Blair Bill, and in favor of the repeal of the Internal Revenue Laws—and it may acquiesce in some disposition of the Public Debt—repudiation, if that should seem most likely to win, or for *hiring the State out for her rituals and clothes*, if that shall appear the more hopeful for their retention of the control of place and affairs. Complacently, but with much inward apprehension, they will expect the people to be content and make no objection to pledges so often made and in no measure discharged."

and I do now, that when I have a chance to reduce taxes I will do it. I return the cry to my friend from Kentucky, give us a chance, you have the power; the House of Representatives is the sole organ of the people of the United States by whom taxes can be levied or taxes can be reduced."

The Senate at one time contended that we had the power to reduce taxation, although we had not the power to propose taxes, but the House of Representatives refused to grant us that power. They said the power to reduce implied also the power to increase, and therefore we have no power to introduce any bill whatever either to repeal or to raise taxes. So we waited the action of the House of Representatives for eight long months at the last session, and we waited in vain.

About the same time Mr. Morrill, the Republican Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, in an indictment of the Democratic House, used the following clear and unmistakable language:

"Some part of the surplus must unquestionably be used for the new navy and for seaboard defenses, and after that the fraction of internal revenue duties on tobacco, being one of the only two articles still subject to any war duties, may be wholly surrendered. The consumption of tobacco adds much to the cost of living of workingmen; and to them the repeal of this tax would be a substantial boon, however desirable we may think their total abstention from its use might be. Such a repeal would also relieve the Government from the expensive support of a large corps of revenue officers."

A few days later Mr. Dawes and other Republican Senators followed in the same line, and still the Democratic majority in the lower House were alike, dumb to the warnings of their opponents, and deaf to the appeals of the people,—still they stubbornly refused to move, and on the 8th day of January, 1887, Mr. Hiscock, a Republican leader in the House, introduced a bill (H. R. 10415) the third section of which reads as follows:

"SEC. 3. That on and after the first day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, the taxes herein specified imposed by the Internal Revenue laws now in force be, and the same are hereby repealed, namely: The taxes on manufactured tobacco, snuff, cigars, cheroots and cigarettes, and the special taxes required by law to be paid by dealers in leaf tobacco, dealers in manufactured tobacco, peddlers of tobacco, snuff and cigars, and manufacturers of tobacco and of cigars."

That Bill was referred to the committee on Ways and Means, of the House, the majority of which was composed of the leaders of the Democratic Party of that body, but there it was held by the majority of that committee to die with the Congress. The people of Virginia may well ask why could not some member of the Democratic majority—some member of the Virginia Democratic delegation—have made a motion to discharge the committee from the further consideration of that bill and in that way have proceeded with an honest effort to the passage of a bill, which went fully and completely to the removal of all taxes now imposed *on* tobacco, its merchantable products and its growth.

It must be apparent to the people of Virginia that the Democratic majority of 43 in the House had, at every moment of the 49th Congress, the power to report and pass a bill to reduce taxes, in full time to have given the Senate opportunity for disposing of it, but as will hereafter appear, *the leaders of that party were and are opposed to removal of the tax on tobacco, and the repeal of the obnoxious laws which obstruct the growth of that important agricultural product.*

Where were the pretended friends of the repeal of the Tobacco tax when, on the 5th day of June, 1885, Mr. Hiscock, a Republican leader of the House, moved to discharge the Democratic Committee on Ways and Means from the further consideration of a bill which had for its object the removal of the tobacco tax, and all laws relating to the growth, manufacture and sale of the same? Then the House of Representatives, was composed of 200 Democrats and 119 Republicans and six Independents with a Democratic majority of 75.

The *Record* shows that against this motion of Mr. Hiscock forty-three (43) Republicans and eighty-four (84) Democrats voted. But the well-defined record of the Democratic majority, and of its controlling leaders in the 49th Congress, speaks for itself, and condemns, with its imperishable facts, the faithlessness of that party. Let every man who grows or deals in or uses tobacco, or owns a factory for its manufacture, or who is a wage-worker of the tobacco field or factory, who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow, keep this record of the Democratic leaders and their party “in readiness for Democrats who howl about Internal Revenue,” and for those leaders, speakers and press who would further attempt to play upon their credulity and gain power by promise or pledge to repeal the Internal Revenue taxes, by which the people of

Virginia are so sorely oppressed. That Record is as follows:

The Ways and Means Committee, representing and speaking for the Democratic majority of the House in the 49th Congress, made to the House two well considered reports which are numbered 3209 and 3210—upon a bill and a resolution to reduce and repeal revenue taxes. In these reports that committee announce the tariff policy of the Democratic party to be *against* the repeal of the Internal Revenue laws, averring in Report No. 3209 that:

* * * * *

"Attempts to remove the tobacco and other internal taxes are usually justified by asserting these to be war taxes, and in apparent forgetfulness of the fact that so far as relates to its money obligations the war is not half over, and will not be over until we have paid \$4,000,000,000 yet to be collected in taxes from the people."

* * * * *

"A tax on these—tobacco, snuff, cigarettes &c, is largely a tax on indulgence and excess, and its payment largely voluntary. Taxes not paid on these must be paid on necessities of life, and these are not necessities of life. This tax should not be removed."

* * * * *

And in Report No. 3210, the same committee having under consideration House Resolution No. 164, to repeal all taxes—special and otherwise, on tobacco—say:

"We are quite contented to defer action upon the tobacco tax until the purpose for which it was originally made has been met, or until by the decease of the public debt and the revision of our present unjust and unequal tariff laws, the revenues to meet it can be raised with less hardship. It is a war tax, and the financial war is not yet ended and will not be until the last dollar of our war debt is paid and the last pension is fully in."

* * * * *

"Among the war taxes which are now in force are the tax upon tobacco, both domestic and foreign; upon spirits and beer, both domestic and foreign; and upon imported sugar. All of these combined barely suffice to meet the annual charge for the cost of the war, which is still upon us."

* * * * *

"For these and other reasons we believe that it is expedient to maintain taxes both upon domestic production and foreign import of tobacco."

Mr. Morrison, who before and above all other leaders of the Democratic majority in the House, gave shape and direction to the thought and policy of that party, was the chairman of the committee which made these two reports, and was the author of one and the endorser of the other.

The people should also recall to their recollection that during that same first session of the 49th Congress, Mr. Findley, a Democratic member from Maryland, introduced and had referred to the committee on Ways and Means the following:

"Whereas the tax on tobacco is a heavy burden upon the large and important agricultural interest engaged in its cultivation, and is, besides, a special and unusual exaction, originally laid for the purpose of raising the necessary revenue to carry on the recent war; and

Whereas the system devised for the assessment and collection of this tax operates disadvantageously upon manufacturers with limited capital, and by the requirement of bonds, licenses, and other vexatious regulations, deprives many industrious and deserving persons of a means of livelihood heretofore open to them, and has a strong tendency to concentrate in a few hands the monopoly of manufacturing both cigars and tobacco; now, as a consequence of this system, chiefly carried on in the large cities, from which sales are made by sample and otherwise, to the prejudice and damage to the country trade:

* * * * *

Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all taxes of whatever description upon tobacco, special or otherwise, and upon the manufacture or sale thereof, in any form or under any name, including cigars, cheroots, cigarettes, and snuff, be, and the same are hereby abolished; and all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this resolution are hereby repealed."

Which was referred to this same committee on Ways and Means and which was by Mr. Breckenridge forwarded to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for his opinion, and he, speaking for the Treasury Department and for the Democratic Administration, in his letter of May 12th, 1886, to Mr. Breckenridge, says:

"I am unable to see that anything would be gained, either

by the Government or by the manufacturers, by the passage of the joint resolution that you inclosed."

With this deliberate Democratic record on a subject that goes to the very life of one of Virginia's controlling industries, and effecting so largely the labor of that State—in the face of such a record, which the Democratic members from Virginia and the leaders of its party may hope will never reach the eye of the people, the attempt to *twist* the absurd proceedings on the Henderson performance into any defense of their short-comings and into a misrepresentation of the Republican party of the House, in respect to revenue reduction and the tobacco tax, will, I must believe, bring its deserved rebuke from the hands of an intelligent and wronged people.

Respectfully,

MAHONE.

Petersburg, Va., 30 March, 1887.

APPENDIX.

SPEECH OF THE HON. S. E. PAYNE, OF NEW YORK.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 11028) making appropriation for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, and for other purposes—

Mr. PAYNE said :

Mr. SPEAKER : *But two more days of life remain to the Forty-ninth Congress*, and what a record this branch has made. To the House is conceded the organization of all appropriation and revenue bills, and the Democratic majority of this House is alone responsible for all the delays and failures that have disgraced and brought into disrepute this Congress. This, the most important appropriation bill, carrying more than \$20,000,000, and without which the Government could not run for a single day after the 30th of June next, although reported by the committee on the 3d day of last month, was never before the House for consideration until the 26th of last month.

No attempt was made to call it up until the 22d day of last month, and then the half-hearted attempt of one member of the Committee on Appropriations was antagonized by the Chairman of the Committee. And now, when not half of the bill has been read for amendment, the committee come in begging the House (the second time on this bill) to pass it under the suspension of the rules, with only an hour's debate ; and not only that, the gentleman in charge of the bill agrees to strike out all the changes from the appropriation bill for the current year, changes which have resulted from a whole winter of incubation, and to leave the bill in this respect precisely where the last one was.

Already another appropriation bill (*the deficiency*) has been passed *this very day under a suspension of the rules*, and it is proposed to *dump these two bills, containing more than a hundred and fifty pages of printed matter, upon the Senate, which they cannot reach until to-morrow, and so give "the co-ordinate branch," one whole legislative day for consideration in the committee, debate and amendment in the Senate, conferences, and final passage of these two important measures.* This leaves the Senate but one alternative, to pass these bills without consideration, or an extra session of the Fiftieth Congress. No one will have the hardihood to deny that such conduct is both a disgrace to the House and an insult to the

Senate, as well as to the President, who seems to enjoy so thoroughly the free use of the veto power.

But, Mr. Speaker, I arose not so much to advert to the appropriation bills and the shameless manner in which they have been brought before the House or the utter neglect of the majority to meet the universal demand of the country for a navy, fortification of our defenseless coasts, and the production of ordnance equal to any in the world. I wish to call the attention of the House to another subject wherein the Democratic party has signally disappointed the just expectations and demands of the country.

In the report submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury to Congress for the year 1886, it is stated :

"Shortly after the term of the present Congress expires, and long before the Fiftieth Congress in the natural order of events would assemble, organize, and determine upon new legislation, it is probable that existing tax laws (at a time when in the annual larger commercial need and use of money, in moving the crops, gives their operation the most serious consequence) will be withdrawing from circulation and pouring into the Treasury the proceeds of a surplus taxation beyond all sums of which the present Congress has heretofore considered or prescribed the employment. During the years of the immediate future, under the operation of the existing tax laws, this surplus and taxation would be at least as onerous and excessive as now. A world-wide monetary dislocation the present Congress can assist to cure. A needless depletion of the people's earnings at the rate of \$125,000,000 a year the present Congress can completely cure."

The President in his last annual message informs us "that the revenues of the Government exceed its actual needs," and it was suggested "that legislative action should be taken to relieve the people from the unnecessary burdens of taxation thus made apparent." In view of the pressing importance of the subject the President said, "I deem it my duty to again urge its consideration :" and he proceeds at length to impress upon Congress necessity for the reduction of our revenues. I make these references to illustrate more forcibly the divisions in the Democratic party which I am about to refer to.

We have now reached a period in the life of this Congress when it may safely be assumed that there is to be *no reduction of our revenues and none attempted by this House*. By the Constitution the 3d of March terminates the Forty-ninth Congress.

On the 1st day of March, as we have seen, *it has become a serious question whether, in the two days remaining, we can perfect and pass the appropriation bills.* It is not improbable that the failure of one or more of them may render necessary an extra session of the Fiftieth Congress to provide the needful supplies for the Government; but however that may be, revenue reduction is out of the question.

The Democratic party is here with a majority of 43, and from our first organization to the present time nothing in that direction has been accomplished, and I charge that nothing has been earnestly attempted. All measures of this nature must originate in the House of Representatives, and there has been an absolute refusal to bring before it any measure or any proposition upon which a majority could arrive at an agreement by fair concession and compromise. This is the record of that "great reform party" that carried the country in 1884. Up to the present

time, without principles of government in common upon financial questions, it has divided into factions, at variance and warring with each other, in sympathy only in their greed for the spoils of office. But I did not arise for the purpose simply of noting the shortcomings, divisions, and incompetency of the Democratic majority, but to call the attention of the House and the country to, and to place in our records that most remarkable correspondence between, the representative leaders of the two factions or wings of the Democratic majority here, by which all that I have charged is made apparent.

It has seemed to me, sir, that declarations by gentlemen so distinguished, so representative, upon a question of vital interest to the country, should be preserved as a part of our official records, especially as it will appear to be at least semi-official in its nature, and I invite the attention of the House, first, to the letter of the Speaker, dated from his room, House of Representatives, the 31st day of January last, addressed to Hon. Samuel J. Randall, Hon. George C. Cabell, and others, and their answer to it:

"Speaker's Room, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C., January 31, 1887.

Gentlemen : In accordance with the understanding between us yesterday afternoon, I have to-day consulted with the Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not some measures for the reduction of taxation can be agreed upon which will receive the support of all our political friends in the House, and I am directed to request you to submit at your earliest convenience for our consideration some definite proposition.

There is pending upon the Calendar of the House a bill (No. 9702) introduced during the last session by Mr. Randall, which proposes legislation upon the subjects of the tariff and the internal revenue, and within the last few days we have been furnished with a copy of a bill which appears to be intended as a substitute to the one now pending, which also relates to both the subjects mentioned above. Whether you desire to make one or both of these bills or some other measure the basis of our action we are not advised, and being anxious to make every effort in our power to secure harmony and concert of action upon these important subjects, we respectfully submit the foregoing.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN G. CARLISLE.

Hon. Samuel J. Randall, Hon. George C. Cabell, and others."

MR. RANDALL WILLING.

"House of Representatives United States,
Washington, D. C., February 1, 1887.

Dear Sir : Your communication of January 31, in pursuance of a previous understanding respecting an effort to reach a concurrence on some measure for the reduction of revenue, is now received.

The bill you refer to as a modification of or substitute for House bill 9702 of last session, embracing both tariff and internal revenue tax reduction, is the measure which the friends with whom we are acting submit for consideration. These gentlemen are prepared to consider in a friendly spirit, and with a view of uniting the party on a revenue-reduction measure, any modification of the pro-

posed bill which the friends of other measures may have to present
I inclose copy of bill referred to.

Yours very respectfully,

SAMUEL J. RANDALL,
GEORGE C. CABELL,

For selves and others.

Hon. John G. Carlisle, Speaker House of Representatives,"

The Speaker's letter professes a disposition on his part to unite with his brethren upon some measure for the reduction of taxation and the reply gives the unqualified assurance of Mr. Randall, Mr. Cabell, and the gentlemen with whom they were acting, of a purpose to unite the party—the Democratic party—in a measure for revenue reduction; and, sir, let us bear in mind, all the gentlemen are members of this House; daily, hourly, we note their meeting and their cordial greetings to each other, and upon all bills that will increase the Federal patronage that can be bestowed upon faithful followers in their respective districts standing solidly in their support; *for a public building that will strengthen one of their number with his constituency they will give a united vote.* *

Why, then, was this correspondence initiated, if these gentlemen were honest in their professions, and expected to unite their party upon a policy? Why correspond at all? Why did they not meet and consult with the same freedom as they would if it had been about the creation of a new office for some half-starved Democrat? Well we shall see a little later on; for the correspondence does not stop here.

Next follows a letter from the Speaker to Mr. Randall and Mr. Cabell; I will read it in full.

OPPOSING INCREASED DUTIES.

"Speaker's Room, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C., February 3, 1887.

Gentlemen:—Your favor submitting for our consideration the bill recently prepared as a modification of our substitute for House bill No. 9702, introduced by Mr. Randall at the last session of Congress, was received by me late in the afternoon day before yesterday, and was at once submitted to the gentlemen mentioned in my first communication.

We have considered the measure as carefully as its comprehensive character and the limited time at our disposal would permit, and here-with submit it, together with the modifications and changes which, in our opinion, are necessary in order to do it acceptably, as a compromise measure to those who desire to secure material reduction in tariff taxes.

You will observe that we propose to add several articles to the free-list and to strike out of the bill every provision which increases the

* The Senate passed four bills early in the first session of 49th Congress for buildings in Virginia, which would have carried an expenditure of 355 thousand dollars to that State, and yet while there were passed by the House for other States, 50 bills for buildings, including six for one State, not one of the bills for Virginia passed the house.

Virginia's Democratic influence there would seem to have amounted to little practical account, or may be it was thought better by her Democratic members to refuse the State these appropriations out of fear that it might damage the political fortune of some members of the leadership of their party at home.

rates of duty now imposed by law upon imported goods. These increases are numerous and in some cases very material, as will be seen by the memorandum hereto appended. In our opinion the existing financial condition of the Government and the people does not demand, and would not even excuse, an increase in the rates of taxation, upon any article embraced in our tariff or internal revenue laws, and we cannot, therefore, agree to support any measure which has that effect.

We propose also to strike out of the bill all provisions abolishing the internal revenue tax on manufactured tobacco, snuff, and cigars, weiss beer, fruit brandies, and reducing the tax on distilled spirits from 90 cents per gallon to 60 cents, and the provision abolishing the tax on alcohol for use in the arts and manufactures. In lieu of these repeals and reductions we propose to repeal all statutes and parts of statutes imposing restrictions upon the sale of leaf tobacco by planters and farmers, and to so amend the internal revenue laws as to dispense with the employment of guagers and storekeepers at distilleries which mash five bushels of grain or less per day, and to permit such distilleries, to pay tax only upon their surveyed capacity.

We also propose to so amend the internal revenue laws as to prevent the destruction of stills and other apparatus seized for alleged violation of the internal revenue laws, and so as to prevent the issuing of any warrant for alleged violation of those laws unless the affidavit therefor is first approved by the district attorney and written instructions given by him for the issuance of the warrant.

In lieu of the administrative part of the bill submitted to us, we propose to substitute the bill introduced by Mr. Hewitt, as finally revised and corrected at the Treasury Department and heretofore agreed upon by the Committee on Ways and Means, but not yet reported.

We find upon examination, that the substitute which we recommend relates alone to the administrative features of the law, while that part of the measure submitted by you to us increases the rates of taxation. While we submit the accompanying modifications of the bill referred to us in the sincere hope that it will meet the approval and secure the united support of our political friends, yet in case it should not be agreed to by you and the gentlemen with whom you are acting, we respectfully submit the following alternative propositions:

First. If the reduction of internal revenue tax upon distilled spirits is to be made a condition upon which you and the gentlemen acting with you will consent to the reduction of tariff taxes, then we shall insist that the rate of taxation shall be the same upon all kinds of distilled spirits.

Second. If the repeal of the internal-revenue tax upon manufactured tobacco, snuff, and cigars, in whole or in part, is to be made a condition upon which you and the gentlemen with whom you are acting will be willing to agree to a reduction of tariff taxation, then we shall insist that in the same bill an equal amount of reduction shall be made upon such articles as those with whom we are acting shall indicate.

Third. We are willing to submit the measure which you have referred to us to our political friends for its consideration, all parties to

be bound by such action as it may take upon the subjects to which this bill relates.

Fourth. In case none of the suggestions herein before made are accepted by you and the gentlemen with whom you are acting, we are willing at any time, upon reasonable notice, to support a motion to go into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union for the consideration of House bill No. 9702, introduced by Mr. Randall at the last session of Congress and now on the Calendar.

Very respectfully,

JOHN G. CARLISLE.

Hon. Samuel J. Randall, Hon. George C. Cabell, and others."

This letter is a very important one, for it contains a proposition from the Speaker for the reduction of the surplus, and in writing it he represented the vast majority of his party here. I do not intend to examine or criticise the propositions at this time, but only to make them of record. I also place in the record the letter of Mr. Wise, Mr. Henderson of North Carolina, and Mr. Randall, to the Speaker, and I call your attention to the fact that the correspondence is with the Speaker, officially: also the Speaker's reply, the letter dated February 5, and the reply the 7th. (Possibly the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations was so busy with correspondence of this nature at this date that he had no time to call up this appropriation bill reported the 3d.)

"House of Representatives, Washington, February 5.

Dear Sir: At the instance of many Democratic members of the House, we appeal to you most earnestly to recognize, on Monday next, some Democrat who will move to suspend the rules for the purpose of giving the House an opportunity of considering the question of the total repeal of the internal revenue taxes on tobacco. Many Republican members, we have reason to believe, are anxious to make such a motion. We believe the country is ready for the repeal of these taxes, and that a large majority of the House will so vote when an opportunity occurs. For a Republican to make the motion would give the Republican party all the credit accruing therefrom, and would almost certainly cause the loss to the Democracy of not less than two Southern States at the general election in the year 1888. This is an isolated proposition, and we believe will command more votes than any other measure pending before the House looking towards a reduction in taxation; and favorable action on this proposition will not interfere with other efforts that are being made to reduce the burdens of the people.

Yours respectfully,

GEORGE D. WISE,
JOHN S. HENDERSON,
SAMUEL J. RANDALL.

Hon. John G. Carlisle, Speaker of the House of Representatives."

MR. CARLISLE'S REPLY.

"Speaker's Room, House of Representatives,
Washington, February 7, 1887.

Gentlemen: Your favor of the 5th instant requesting me to recognise some Democrat "who will move to suspend the rules for the purpose of giving the House an opportunity of considering the question of

the total repeal of the internal revenue tax on tobacco," was duly received and has been carefully considered.

A week ago, in compliance with the request made by you and other gentlemen, I consulted fully with the Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means for the purpose of endeavoring to formulate some measure for the reduction of taxation which would meet the approval of our political friends, and enable us to accomplish something practical in that direction during the present session of Congress. The bill which you then submitted for their consideration proposed legislation upon both branches of our revenue laws, and on the 3d instant it was returned to you with such modifications and changes as were necessary in order to make it acceptable to the gentlemen to whom it had been submitted.

In order, however, that our efforts to secure reduction of taxation might not fail on account of our inability to agree upon a measure in advance, we at the same time submitted certain alternative propositions, some one or more of which we hoped might be acceptable to you. Among other things we proposed to submit the entire subject to a caucus of our political friends, with the understanding that all parties would abide by the results of its action; and in case that course was not satisfactory to you, we informed you that we would at any time, upon a reasonable notice, support a motion to go into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering House bill No. 9702, introduced by Mr. Randall at the last session. That bill relates to internal revenue, as well as tariff taxes, and proposes to repeal the entire internal revenue tax on manufactured tobacco, snuff, and cigars. We have received no response to that communication, and I consider that it would not be proper, under the circumstances, for me to agree to a course of action which would present for the consideration of the House a simple proposition for the repeal of the internal revenue tax on tobacco, snuff and cigars, to the exclusion of all other measures for the reduction of taxation.

Sincerely hoping that some plan may yet be devised which will enable the House to consider the whole subject of revenue reduction,

I am, very truly, yours,

J. G. CARLISLE.

Hon. George D. Wise, Hon. John S. Henderson, Hon. Samuel J. Randall."

We have here a proposition on the part of Messrs. Wise, Henderson and Randall to repeal the internal revenue taxes on tobacco, and a refusal on the part of the Speaker to harmonize the party upon that proposition, to even give it consideration.

Without further comment upon these letters, I will proceed to the communication from Mr. Henderson, Mr. Wise, and Mr. Randall, to the Speaker officially, February 8:

"Washington, February 8, 1887.

Dear Sir: We regret exceedingly that you could not see your way clear to give recognition on yesterday to some Democrat to enable him "to move to suspend the rules for the purpose of giving the House an opportunity of considering the question of the total repeal of the internal revenue tax on tobacco." Your refusal to give this recognition, together with your letter of the 7th instant, deserves more than a passing notice. If two-thirds or more of the House are in fav-

or of such repeal, it was a grave responsibility for you to oppose such a large majority of the Representatives of the people. Assuming, however, for the sake of the argument, that the friends of the proposition constitute a less number than two-thirds, their strength is certainly such that they ought to have been permitted to test the sense of the House upon the question, especially since the country is watching with intense interest the action of the House in respect thereto, and the constituents of a large number of the members of the House have been urging them to obtain, if possible, a consideration of this subject.

We do not wish to be misunderstood. We earnestly desire from a party standpoint that recognition should have been given to a Democrat to make the motion, but we would vote cheerfully for the proposition whether made by a Democrat or by a Republican.

You assume in your letter to us that we ignored your communication of the 3d instant, and had deliberately failed to make a response thereto. Our friends did not have an opportunity of considering that communication until Friday evening, the 4th instant. It was of such a character as to require more than a formal reply. We called at your hotel the next day, Saturday, but, though no fault of yours or ours, we did not succeed in obtaining an interview until the day after.

We believed that the friends of the repeal of the tobacco tax were so strong in the House that we would save to the oppressed tax-payers of this country an annual reduction of taxation to the extent of \$28,000,000 if the motion for repeal could be made in the House on Monday of this week, the latest day when such a motion, to be effective under the rules, would be in order during the Forth-ninth Congress. The motion, if made during the last six days of the session, would almost certainly be too late to secure favorable consideration for the question in the Senate.

We did not anticipate refusal of recognition for the purpose intended. We understood you to say to us verbally that if you gave to any one of our friends the desired recognition, fair play all round would require you to give other Democrats an opportunity to make a like motion to pass some distinct proposition having relation to a reduction of the tariff duties. To this we assented. You instanced as one such proposition the putting of salt on the fee-list. We think that a revision of the tariff and of the internal revenue laws can be attained from time to time by reforming the obvious and greater grievances of the two systems, and that we should not refuse to make such reforms because sweeping changes have not been practicable.

The country is expecting to obtain from this Congress relief from the grievous burdens of taxation. If some of us can not get all we want we should take what we can get. Our single proposition for the repeal of tax on tobacco was not intended and cannot fairly be construed as intending to exclude from the consideration of the House "all other measures for the reduction of taxation." We wished to obtain consideration for that proposition, but we were not pressing for the reduction of the internal revenue taxes to the exclusion of other measures for the revision and reduction of the tariff.

A Democratic caucus cannot successfully deal with "the whole subject of revenue reduction" at this late stage of the session. That suggestion comes too late. If the caucus could have controlled the leg-

isolation of the Forty-ninth Congress from the beginning, the country might have been much better off. If the House was considered competent to deal with the silver question, with the pension question, and with the oleomargarine question, free from the dictio[n] of a Democratic caucas, we think it ought to be competent to deal with the question of a reduction of taxation. The caucus ought not now to be invoked to justify a policy of delay and non-action on this subject.

We sincerely hope "some plan may yet be devised which will enable the House to consider the whole subject of revenue reduction" and revision "in a spirit of fairness to all interests," and in accordance with the letter and spirit of the platform of the national Democratic party adopted at the convention held at Chicago in 1884; and we assure you that we are ready to meet any of our Democratic associates who are prepared to treat with us on such basis.

JOHN S. HENDERSON,
GEORGE D. WISE,
SAM. J. RANDALL.

Hon. J. G. Carlisle, Speaker of the House of Representatives."

This letter is somewhat in review of the situation; is disposed to discussion, and is still professedly hopeful in spirit. Under the same date, however, we have a letter more numerously signed by the gentlemen engaged with the Speaker in this dicker of principles, in this unnatural, unconstitutional attempt to legislate (if it was the purpose to agree) in regard to great economic questions freighted with the fortune, the destiny of the country, of vital interest to our people, they having in view only (how contemptible by way of comparison) the maintainance of their party in power for the places it gives them—even if their conference had as exalted a purpose as that and, I freely admit, I doubt it. But let us come to the last letter in this remarkable series:

"Washington, D. C., February 8, 1887.

Sir: The gentlemen present at our recent conference, representing States South, West, and North, were led to hope that the way had finally been opened for an agreement on a measure that could be generally supported by our political friends, and we sincerely regret, in view of the importance of the adoption by this Congress of some measure that would materially reduce the revenues and prevent the further accumulation of a Treasury surplus, the differences so wide as appear in your communication should still exist. It was hoped that a basis of compromise could be reached without requiring of any one a sacrifice of principle or of convictions entertained on the subject of tariff and internal taxes. To do this it is evident that those things respecting which radical difference exist in the minds of men must be excluded from a bill intended as a compromise measure. It was believed there could be found room inside of these limits for an agreement on a list of articles to be remitted to the free-list as well as upon many on which the tariff could be reduced, thereby effecting a material reduction of the revenues without injuring or endangering any important industries or impairing the earings of labor in this country. It is believed yet that such a measure ought to be agreed upon and carried through the House at this session.

As to the items in the proposed bill on which it is claimed that an

increase in the tariff would result, we have to say that the apparent increase arises in most instances from a change from advalorem to specific duties, made in accordance with recommendations from the Treasury Department. The principal object in making duties specific where they are now advalorem is to prevent the deception and dishonesty practised by undervaluation, and while in fixing what is deemed to be fair specific equivalents an apparent increase may arise, it is believed to be apparent only and not real. However, on all these matters, inasmuch as the proposed bill is not intended to be a revision of the tariff, but a bill for the reduction of revenues and the correction of certain inequalities only, we think there will be no difficulty in agreeing either to strike out of the bill such articles or to reduce the proposed rates so as to insure no increase in the actual duties in any case. A careful examination of the list shows, we think, that, except as to a very few articles, you are in error in the statement that the duty is increased.

A CONCESSION THAT CANNOT BE MADE.

Certain of the things which you ask to be placed on the free list, as proposed in the Morrison bill, raise at once those vital questions which have heretofore prevented harmonious action on the tariff question. As many of us believe that such a step, if carried to its logical conclusion, would be destructive of very many of our most important agricultural as well as mechanical industries, and as we are in this matter representing not only our own convictions, but the interests of the people we represent, we could not, of course, make this concession, and we did not expect to be asked to make it.

THE HEWITT BILL.

With respect to the proposition to adopt a modification of the Hewitt bill in place of the administrative sections of the bill proposed by us, it may be stated that the latter contains all of the administrative sections of House bill No. 7652 (with certain verbal modifications) favorably reported by the Ways and Means Committee at the first session of the present Congress, except the section extending the warehousing period, &c., which we did not adopt. Certain of the provisions since recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury have been added also, together with certain additional provisions which we have deemed needful and think ought to be adopted. You say that the substitute which you recommend relates alone to the administrative features of the law, while that part of the measure submitted by us increases the rates of taxation. A careful comparison and an analysis of the two measures does not, we think, sustain this statement. On the contrary, the administrative measures proposed by us make certain distinct reductions of rates which the bill presented by you does not, and in some instances it increases the rates.

MARKED DIFFERENCES IN THE MEASURES.

The most important difference between the administrative features of the two measures is in the section relating to coverings which, although embodied in the bill favorably reported by the Committee on Ways and Means at the last session, is now omitted from the bill. This section provides for the correction of the unfortunate phraseology of section 7 of the tariff act of March 3, 1883. As is well known,

that section was intended to except from duty charges for the packing cases used for the transportation of merchandize, but under the rulings and opinions of the Supreme Court and the Attorney General a large part of the value of the merchandize as purchased by the importer, or shipped by the consignor, is held to be non-dutiable under that section. The correction of this legislative blunder was regarded by the Treasury Department as the most important and essential feature of the bill proposed by Mr. Hewitt.

In striking from the proposed compromise measure the repeal of the tobacco tax, the tax on fruit brandies, alcohol used in the arts, weiss beer, and the alternative proposition to reduce the tax on all distilled spirits from 90 cents to 80 cents per gallon, you eliminate from the bill all propositions to reduce internal revenue taxes except the retail license provision, and this you do not in terms agree to.

In lieu of these provisions in our bill you propose to repeal all statutes imposing restrictions upon the sale of leaf tobacco by farmers and to modify the laws relating to storekeepers and guagers at small distilleries and the destruction of stills, also to modify the administrative features of the law relating to the issue of warrants, &c.

While to all these proposed modifications of the present law we readily assent, we do not see in them alone how the revenue is to be reduced.

A DOUBLE OBJECT AIMED AT.

Our object in the matter of internal taxes, is two-fold; first to reduce the revenues, and second, to relieve the people of vexations and inquisitorial methods of taxation, and to do this without offering temptations to frauds or to the evasions of the law. Furthermore, in proposing the abolition or reduction of internal revenue taxes, we believe we are acting in harmony with the principles and declarations of the Democratic national platform. The internal revenue tax in that platform is declared to be a war tax, and the repeal of crushing war taxes is demanded. It has, moreover, been the policy of our Government after each war to abandon this form of taxation first, as evinced under administrations of Jefferson and Jackson; and a tax that requires an armed force to execute it can never be popular in a free country.

A BROAD CHASM.

Your demand that if the repeal of the tobacco tax or other internal taxes in whole or in part is insisted upon by us, then you and those acting with you will insist that "in the same bill an equal amount of reduction in revenue derived from customs" shall be made, if it presented otherwise debatable ground, for a compromise seems to us to forestall such action by your further demand that the reduction in the tariff shall be made upon such articles only as those with whom you are acting shall indicate. This is equivalent to saying at the outset that those holding different views from your own and the views of those acting with you shall be precluded from having any voice in determining what things duties shall be reduced on. But, in the first place, internal taxes and customs have never stood on equal ground in our system of taxation. Tariff taxes have been always our chief reliance for revenue; internal taxes have been the exceptional taxes.

In the next place, we hold it next to impossible to so adjust tariff rates as to secure a definite reduction of revenues, such as the repea

or reduction of an internal revenue tax will produce. When a direct tax is repealed we know what the loss of the revenue will be; so when dutiable articles are placed on the free-list, but a reduction of the rates of duty may be followed by an increase in revenue and not a decrease.

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN LABOR.

Between the two extremes of free trade on the one hand and a prohibitory tariff or no trade on the other, there are three principles and only three, one or the other of which must govern when duties are intelligently laid. These may be represented by three lines. First, a horizontal line, representing an even rate laid upon all imports for the purpose of revenue only; next an irregular line, representing maximum revenue, and, third, the line representing the difference in the cost of production arising out of the different conditions under which production is carried on in this and other countries.

We are ready to join in reducing the tariff on all articles that are above the line of difference in cost of production and on those things on which the rate of duty is now above the line, thus permitting monopolies to be formed to arbitrarily raise prices to the consumer, without benefiting labor, we think it the imperative duty of Congress to reduce the tariff so as to prevent the possibility of monopoly combinations to put up prices above the competing point.

Labor has no interest above the competing line, or line that marks the difference in cost of production; but up to this point wage-earners are vitally concerned, and we believe that only by maintaining duties up to this line on importations in the production of which there is competition between this and other countries, can labor continue to receive the larger share of what it produces, which our industrial system affords as compared with the industrial system of other countries. The continued importation of any competing product, notwithstanding the tariff, is proof that the duty is not above the line of difference in cost.

Our national party platform, recognizing this controlling principle, declares that "the necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages existing in this country." In the face of this declaration and in the light of political events which have transpired since the last national convention sustaining this principle, we would not feel justified in departing from it in any division of our tariff laws, and we certainly do not think, as a political measure, it can be asked of us. There is, however, ample room for a reduction of tariff and a corresponding reduction of the revenues without contravening this important principle. All that is needed, in our opinion, is a disposition to meet the question fairly and deal with it as a matter of business, and not of politics.

A CONFERENCE PROPOSED.

Respecting your proposition to submit the measure proposed by us to a caucus of our political friends, "all parties to be bound by such action as it may take upon the subjects to which the bill relates," is one, it seems to us, that ought not to be asked. The question is not

a political question; it is not a party question, for Republicans differ on it as do Democrats; the differences between us are not political differences, but differences on important economic and industrial questions, and we submit that it is not usual in either party nor right to attempt to bind men by caucus action on such questions, and thereby not only to take from them their right and duty to act in accordance with their own convictions, but compel them to act contrary to their obligations as faithful representatives of the people who have sent them here.

These, too, are the very matters respecting which we are attempting to effect a compromise. In lieu, therefore, of a caucus we suggest that a committee composed of members representing different phases of the question involved in the two measures under discussion should be appointed to take up these differences in a spirit of fairness, with a view of coming together on a measure all can support without either side being called upon to surrender convictions, or to prove derelict in their duty to their constituents. We urge the suggestion of a conference the more because many of the gentlemen acting with us in the matter of internal taxes do not agree on all matters pertaining to the tariff.

This recognition, together with your letter of the 7th instant, deserves more than a passing notice. If two-thirds or more of the House are in favor of such repeal, it was a grave responsibility for you to oppose such a large majority of the representatives of the people. Assuming, however, for the sake of the argument, that the friends of the proposition constitute a less number than two-thirds, their strength is certainly such that they ought to have been permitted to test the sense of the House upon the question, especially since the country is watching with intense interest the action of the House in respect thereto, and the constituents of a large number of the members of the House have been urging them to obtain, if possible, a consideration of this subject.

Hon. John G. Carlisle, Speaker House of Representatives."

The foregoing letter was signed by S. J. Randall, A. J. Warner, B. Henley, William McAdoo, Jno. J. Henderson, George D. Wise, Edward J. Gay.

I will call attention briefly to the issues between these contending factions. Mr. Randall and his associates favor the abolition of the internal revenue taxes upon domestic tobacco and the reduction of the taxes upon distilled spirits; the Speaker and those for whom he writes, resisting those propositions and favoring the repeal of the provisions, that experience has demonstrated are indispensable to the execution or enforcement of the revenue laws in respect to alcohol and tobacco. I will not dwell upon the minor issue between the two factions, as they only involve a certain license to cheat and defraud the Government, and doubtless our friends upon the other side would be able to reach an understanding upon these points. I understand the correspondence to say as much.

"The broad chasm" claims attention and must have it.

The Speaker, in his letter of February 3, gives, as an alternative proposition, "if the repeal of the internal revenue tax upon manufactured tobacco, snuff, and cigars, in whole or in part, is made a condition upon which you and the gentleman with whom you are acting

will be willing to agree to a reduction of tariff taxation, then we shall insist that in the same bill an equal amount of reduction shall be made in the revenue received from customs, and this reduction shall be made upon such articles as those with whom we (the Speaker) are acting, shall indicate." The Speaker should have furnished a list of those with whom and for whom he was acting. True, we know who they are; but the record would be more complete, the history more interesting, if it contained these names and the Congressional districts represented. The letter of Mr. Randall and his associates, of February 8, confronting the Speaker's proposition, reveals a "broad chasm." I do not wonder at it; and, gentlemen, if you have been sincere, you can not bridge it. One faction of the Democratic party must go down, and I do not doubt which it will be.

Do you say the Speaker was arrogant? I grant it. Contemptuous of your rights, I grant; and that which he proposed is without parallel in American politics or legislation; that he and his friends alone should indicate the articles upon which a reduction of our customs duties should be had, without the advice or influence of their party associates, much less of the very respectable Republican minority here.

Messrs. Randall, Warner, Henley, McAdoo, Henderson, Wise, Gay, and their associates may not look to us, to the Republican side of the House, for help. The Democracy of Pennsylvania, Ohio, California, New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana are now informed by official letter that on this question of protection, between our Democratic administration, this and the next Democratic House, and a coterie of Democratic statesmen here, there yawns a broad, deep, impassable chasm: this coterie holds so many seats here that they are a balance of power between the two great parties. They influenced votes enough in the last national election to control it.

Their constituencies and voters were deceived by their speeches into the belief that the Democratic party was and that Mr. Cleveland's administration would be in favor of the protection of American industries. In fact, the distinguished gentlemen from Pennsylvania [Mr. Randall] boasted during the present Congress that in the last national campaign the dominant wing of his party sent him to New York and other protection States, where they did not dare to go themselves and proclaim their free-trade doctrines. And no one was found in the House to deny that New York was carried in 1884 on these false pretenses.

But, gentlemen, the partnership seems at last dissolved; the foot-hold in the Democratic party that you have so long precariously held by makeshifts you are now forced to surrender, and you must stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once, unless you will meekly consent that the Speaker and the Administration may settle the question of the protection to be continued to American industries with your votes, but without your advice or the exercise of any judgment or discretion on your part. And "what are you going to do about it?" The offices are on the other side of the "chasm." Do you think it very deep and broad after all? Are you quite sure there is a chasm? Next December will you not go into a caucus, foreordained from the beginning to make the present Speaker his own successor? We shall see! Time will tell!

The protectionists, or that there may be no mistake, the tariff Democracy of the States I have named, from this correspondence, have received notice that they must depend upon the Speaker and his (to them) unknown friends for the protection of their industries, or else accept their complete destruction without a murmur or a protest.

The Speaker must have believed his letters to have been in accord with the views of the Administration. Who imagines for a moment that the Speaker would have given them to the public if the policy he indicates is not to be adopted by the President towards the Speaker's correspondents? We all do know that these letters are in line with the President's messages and with Mr. Manning's reports. Who has heard a whisper of dissent from the White House? Mr. Manning, on the 20th of May last, in his letter tendering his resignation to the President, says:

"Our present tariff laws are a needless oppression, instead of an easy burden."

I charge that the Speaker and the Administration are in accord upon this question; and who of those who signed these communications to the Speaker will contradict it? Here and now I give them the opportunity.

They state the question fairly when they characterize it as a "broad chasm," and in too evident alarm protest, "this is equivalent to saying at the outset, that those holding different views from your [Mr. Carlisle's] friends shall be precluded from having any voice in determining what things duties shall be reduced on." Gentlemen, you understood the Speaker—and I believe he intended that you should; the party lash is to be applied. Again I refer you to the President's messages, and the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, as well as to his letter. Is it not obvious to you that the Administration is to support the Speaker and his friends?

I have expressed a doubt if, at the commencement or at any point in the correspondence, the parties expected to agree upon a measure for the reduction of our revenues, and I now charge it to be a fact that they did not, without fear of contradiction by the responsible parties. The Morrison bill was introduced here to reduce customs duties, as he estimated, only \$25,000,000,000, and was so proposed and prepared that, under our rules, we could not under or by it reduce internal revenue taxes. *The Treasury Department recommended a reduction of \$125,000,000; nowhere does the administration favor the reduction of the internal revenue taxes.* Exclusive of the duties on sugar, the removal of which the administration opposes, the reduction of customs taxes \$125,000,000, will place upon the free-list every article for consumption produced in the United States. Neither the administration of the dominant faction dare attempt that.

The Speaker offered to go to the consideration of Mr. Randall's bill, when the whole question of customs and internal revenue reduction would by its terms be before the House, and Mr. Randall did not accede to the proposition. Who believes that there was ever any possibility of his acceding, or that the *Speaker would consent to the reduction or abolition of the revenue from manufactured tobacco?* Was this correspondence anything more than a piece of diplomacy, thinly disguised, not for the purpose of reaching an arrangement, but to enable

these gentlemen to get before their respective constituencies the fact of a failure to agree as the fault of the other wing of the party; or was it, still more contemptible, a struggle for popular favor, involving the absolute surrender of the people's interests?

There has been no day when a bill for the reduction of both customs and internal revenue would not have obtained consideration, but the gentlemen upon the other side have not permitted any such bill to be brought before the House for consideration.

The controlling forces in the Democratic majority here have been willing to go upon record in this correspondence, refusing reduction unless one faction surrendered to the other the right to voice or vote their individual judgement, or the preferences and sentiments of their constituency, and refusing any consideration whatever to the Republican side of the Chamber. The correspondence was conducted upon the understanding that Republicans should be excluded from the consideration of the question. The capital, the labor, the intelligence, the constituencies that have achieved the present prosperity of the country were to go unrepresented. The question was to be settled by a dicker, a trade between party chieftains in a committee-room, away from the light of day. Gentlemen, permit me to thank you that you made this correspondence public. It places the responsibility where it belongs.

While my surprise at the temerity of the proceeding is boundless, my gratification is equally so. *You have refused to permit us even to aid you in the reduction of the revenues, and have confessed to the country that you can not agree how to do it, and therefore can not do it; though incompetent, your obstinacy is potent to prevent action.* At last we have this party of hollow, empty profession before the country in its true character.

The last tariff legislation was accomplished by the Forty-seventh Congress, where the Republican party were in a majority by about a half a dozen votes. It looks now as if there would be no more revenue legislation until the people again restore that great party to power. To the Fifty-first Congress, then, must the people look for the proper adjustment of the revenues to the wants of the Government and for continuing protection to American industry.

M A H O N E ' S
SIX YEARS' SERVICE IN THE
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.
— AND —
THE RECORD
— OF HIS —
DEMOCRATIC PREDECESSORS,

JOHNSON for Thirteen Years and WITHERS for Six,

— INCLUDING —

The Record of TUCKER and CABELL, each for six terms or twelve years in Congress, and that of WISE and BARBOUR, each for three terms or six years, and of all the lesser lights which have shown in the Democratic representation of the State for shorter periods; from which it will appear that

M A H O N E

HAS, IN SIX YEARS, MEASURED BY BILLS INTRODUCED AND PASSED,
ACCOMPLISHED MORE FOR THE STATE
Than all the Democrats from Virginia together in the Senate and House, since the restoration of the State to the Union.

sentiment, inflamed by appeals to the prejudices and passions engendered by the civil war, intervened, and the wearied energies of our over-burdened people were diverted into the unhopeful paths of political resentment, and into a mistaken idea that they best preserved in the Democratic party their respect for the cause which had been honorably concluded at Appomattox.

It is to be lamented that those prejudices and resentments are to-day, unwittingly with many of the people of Virginia, the sole reason why they are members of the Democratic party.

To these prejudices, I must be permitted to say, the best interests of the State have been unhappily subordinated by partisan ambition, the prosperity of the State postponed, and the welfare of the people seriously hindered and impaired.

Appeals to these prejudices have been the unmanly resort of self-seeking partizans, who pretend that to be a Republican is to do wrong and injustice to the Confederate soldier, and none declaim against this wrong more vehemently than he who never suffered a hardship, and who skulked every peril which the civil war imposed.

Col. John S. Mosby, for supporting Grant, who had thrown over him the protection of his influence when President Johnson was threatening to hang "traitors," was pursued with bitter malignity by this class of the unreconstructed; and Col. Wm. Lamb, the hero of Fort Fisher, for refusing to respond to such resentments and prejudices, while keeping the spirit as well as the letter of his parole and oath of allegiance, became the subject of vulgar denunciations at their hands. Even he who stands upon the Confederate muster-roll with the distinguished designation of DESERTER, sneakingly gives as the cause of his dislike of Mahone, that he, in joining the Republican party, had gone back on the Confederate cause.

Space does not permit me to recount the numbers or give the names of men who, with the same gallantry, courage and endurance as any "unreconstructed" Democrat, perilled all for and in behalf of the cause which they make the test of loyalty to Virginia and the Nation, while with sycophantic alacrity they follow the lead of the Union soldier who chooses to be a Democrat, although these Union soldiers fought to put down the cause for which Lee and Jackson fought. If a sentimental Democrat cannot understand how a Confederate can be a Republican, what sort of reasoning brings him to under-

stand how a Union soldier can be a Democrat? If there is treason in the one case, what else is it in the other?

Base appeals to these prejudices have been employed for partisan ends—to set race against race, section against section, neighbor against neighbor in the derogation of the peace, happiness and welfare of society and the progress and power of a common country—while these “unreconstructed” Democrats have been eager to obtain any office, the emoluments of which came from the Treasury of that Government which the “reconstructed” Virginian was supporting in the spirit and truth of his oath of allegiance.

It was but lately that the shibboleth of the Democratic party in Virginia was the white man against the negro, forgetting in their madness and thirst for place and power, that the negro was here to stay, and a full fledged citizen by the constitution and laws they had sworn to uphold; forgetting that he composed an essential factor in the labor producing power of the commonwealth, and as that power is the source of wealth that the greater his contentment and the more his capabilities are improved, the prosperity of the State will be increased and the common burdens of all reduced.

The later policy of the leaders of the Democratic party seeks, by *caressing* the colored voter, and rewarding with small places a few of those they have *enticed* into their ranks, but the fact that in the election last year they carried but one of the twenty-one counties whose population is over three-fourths white, ends the long boasted claim of their party as the white man’s party of Virginia.

It is to recruit their waning forces, their depleted columns, that the managers of the Democratic party here in Virginia would now *cajole* and invoke the political fellowship of the negro, and passing by the hard-working Democrat of the ranks, reward colored men with a few of the small places in the government service, which fall below the measure of their own ambition. But when a colored man like Trotter is appointed by their own President to a high place of trust and emolument, which some leader desired, it is heralded as a departure from wise policy and causes much dissention among the managers. The laboring Democrat of the ranks must give way to the colored man for such places as the leaders do not desire, and the colored brother must accept such recognition as an *earnest* of tender regard for him by the Democratic party.

This is a faithful portraiture of that party which for years

has been denouncing as betrayers of Virginia, men who are their equals in patriotism and their superiors in moral truth—because, while keeping the spirit as well as the language of their oaths, they have, since the war terminated, with all its losses and its ruin fresh upon the people of the State, seen that the political power and physical development of the State were to be better promoted in political association with a party of progress, like the Republican, rather than with one of negation, like the Democratic party.

The people of our State have always been divided between political parties; there have been Republicans and Federalists, Democrats and Whigs, State Rights and 'Consolidation' parties—each of which was cemented by some distinctive principle.

But what Constitutional principle, or economic measure for administrative practice, binds together these "unreconstructed" Democrats, except that cohesion of public office, which holds them together as a party where the "madness of many is the gain of the few."

If I pass from the many inconsistencies of the Democratic party of this State without some review of its administration of State affairs, it is for no lack of sympathy for that serious thought and earnest concern to which it is apparent the body of the people are brought by a condition of State affairs which forbodes larger distress and greater ruin, but because the object of this paper is to treat of Federal matters. Some fitting occasion may come when it cannot be considered out of place for me with no more right or other interest than that of any other citizen, to speak of such matters.

FEDERAL POLITICS.

When six years ago, I was honored with a seat in the Senate of the United States Congress, the party by which I was elected had crystalized around certain domestic questions—as the State debt, free schools and the liberation of the ballot, under the name of the Readjuster party, which had taken no distinctive stand between National parties.

In the Senate there was no party representation of these domestic issues, and I found myself compelled to select between the two parties of which that body was composed. My association in politics had been continuously and consistently with the Democratic party, so long as the great questions on which the country had divided, remained factors in party politics. But when the restoration of the Union came with the

abolition of slavery, the settlement effected by the war, and the amendments to the Constitution, I accepted all these in earnest good faith, and my interest in politics thereafter centered on those questions and subjects, which would revive the drooping prosperity and lagging energies of Virginia, and promote the happiness and welfare of her people.

Beyond the material advancement of the State, party politics had very little attraction for one whose manhood had been spent in the construction and management of a great railroad property, and in contributing to her industrial and commercial progress.

When elected to the Senate, I knew none of that pride and attachment to the Republican party which springs from and grows with long association, but looking to the welfare of Virginia, and contemplating the growth of wealth and the wonderful development of the Northern and Western States, under the policy of the Republican party, I came to the conclusion that the same policy, if extended to Virginia, would produce like results and induce Northern capital and Northern energy to come to the State.

Thus I became a Republican because I believed in the Republican policy of freedom for the human race, the political equality of the citizen, a priceless suffrage, the unhindered exercise of the ballot and an honest return of the popular judgment as expressed at the polls; because I believed in that party's policy of the education for the masses, the improvement of our rivers and harbors, and the protection of American productions and American labor; and that the maintenance of this policy was the hope of the State and of the country; that it would do more to develop the material wealth of Virginia and lift her people out of the "slough of despond" than could be expected from the negative do-nothing-policy of the Democratic party.

For these reasons I did not hesitate to fellowship with the Republican party, and I now beg to invite you to an impartial consideration of my six years

WORK IN THE SENATE.

I desire the people to examine most carefully the record of all I did, and of all I left undone in their affairs, and to point out a vote given by me that was not conducive to Virginia's interest—which was the great constraining principle of my political service—or to discover a remark made by me which

was hostile or indifferent to the interest or honor of the State. And in this connection I also invite a comparison between my Democratic predecessors and myself, as to work accomplished for the State or her people. I desire that comparison to be extended over Mr. Johnston's thirteen years, and Mr. Withers' six years, in the Senate, and to include Mr. Cabell's twelve years, Mr. Tucker's twelve years, Mr. Barbour's six years, and the years of all the lesser lights for shorter periods, which have shown in the Democratic representation of the State. To facilitate that examination I have, in the Appendix to this Address, copied from the *Congressional Record* the history of Bills and Resolutions introduced by Senators and Representatives from Virginia in the different Congresses. To these I invite the closest examination of the people.

After a full examination of the whole record of my Democratic predecessors in the Senate, and of all of the Democratic Representatives in the House combined, I defiantly assert, that I have in six years accomplished more for the State and people of Virginia than all the Democrats together, since the State was restored to the Union;—that, measured by the number and *value* of bills relating to Virginia, introduced and passed, I have accomplished in six years more for the State and her people than all the Democrats from Virginia together in the Senate and the House.

Leaving that assertion to be assailed, and, if possible, disproved from the *Congressional Record*, I shall pass to some explanation of what I have been able to do for the State. It must be understood that I am stating not my personal or individual, but my representative work as a Republican Senator, and that my party, not myself, was the instrument, to a great extent, by which I was able to do more for the State than all her Democratic Representatives together.

It is not for the purpose of self-laudation that I refer to the work accomplished for the State in my term, but to show to the people of Virginia the readiness of the Republican party in Congress to recognize and deal liberally with any claim or interest of the State or her people when presented. I shall leave the Democratic representation from the State to confess delinquency or a lack of influence with their brethren of the Congress, in explanation of the indifference and neglect with which the many public interests of the State and those of her citizens individually, have been treated in the National

Legislature, not only in the time when the State was represented by Democrats in both branches of Congress, but also when the Democratic party for so many years had control of the lower house, and for the period when that party was in the majority in both; or the Democratic representation from Virginia must lay that neglect and indifference to Virginia's interests, singularly humiliating when compared with the measure of consideration given to the interests of other States, to the *unconcern* for Virginia, of their Democratic brethren.

INCREASE OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

There are thirteen public buildings in Virginia, which have been built by the United States. Of these the following were built prior to March 4th, 1861:

Alexandria County	Jail, cost,	\$ 11,619 16
"	Court-house, cost,	18,550 00
"	Old Custom-house, cost, . .	8,246 46
"	New Custom-house, cost, . .	75,717 50
Norfolk	Old Custom-house, cost,	38,002 33
"	New Custom-house, cost,	229,635 25
"	Marine Hospital, cost,	22,210 34
Petersburg	Custom-house and Post-office, cost, .	113,200 00
Richmond	" " "	279,673 25
		—————
		\$796,904 29

In 1880 Danville received \$70,000 on account of the Public Building which Mr. Cabell had secured there, and in 1883 there was appropriated for the same building \$30,000 more, and in 1886 \$10,000—in all \$110,300—for which he is entitled to the credit.

In 1883 Mr. Tucker passed a bill in the House for a Public Building at Lynchburg, to cost \$100,000, which, however, appropriated no money; and while on my motion the appropriations that followed were put upon the Sundry Civil Bill, I shall give Mr. Tucker the credit for the \$100,000 which his bill proposed should be the cost of the building.

Here we have, in the buildings at Danville and at Lynchburg, the sum of \$210,300, all the money obtained for public buildings by the Democratic representation from Virginia, from the time the State was restored to the Union to the end of my term, on the 4th March, 1887—seventeen years.

In my six years, by bills that I introduced, and by amendments I secured to the Sundry Civil Bills, the following appropriations were obtained:

1. For the Public Building at Harrisonburg—the bill for which I introduced—\$25,000 in 1883 and \$25,000 in 1884, and directly, by amendments to the Sundry Civil Bills,—in 1885 \$22,500, and in 1887 \$40,000, .	\$112,500
2. For the Public Building at Abingdon—the bill for which I introduced—\$25,000 in 1883 and \$25,000 in 1884, and directly, by amendments to the Sundry Civil Bill in 1884 \$12,000, and by bill in 1887 \$25,000,	92,000
3. For the Public Building at Lynchburg, by amendment to the Sundry Civil Bill in 1885,	25,000
4. For the Public Building at Richmond—the bill for which I introduced and passed in the Senate, carrying its own appropriation—in 1885 \$100,000, and by amendment which I made to the Sundry Civil Bill in the Senate the same year, \$50,000,	150,000

In all for my six years, \$379,500

It will be observed that neither Senator Johnston, who lived in sight of Abingdon, nor Senator Withers, who lived in the adjoining county, had in their time in the Senate made any motion for a public building at Abingdon, while millions year by year went to other States and communities no more needing nor deserving than the great section of Virginia which was, by that building, to be furnished needful court accommodations. Besides the two buildings secured by me at Abingdon and Harrisonburg, I introduced and passed through the Senate at the last session of the 49th Congress a bill appropriating twenty thousand dollars for the completion of the Monument to Mary Washington at Fredericksburg, and a bill appropriating five hundred thousand dollars for a bridge over the Potomac, connecting the State with the city of Washington, and in the early days of the first session of the late Congress I introduced and passed through the Senate a bill appropriating \$250,000 for a greatly needed court-house and post-office building at Norfolk, a bill appropriating \$15,000 for a post-office at Fortress Monroe, a bill appropriating \$50,000 for the necessary enlargement and improvement of the public building at Petersburg, (and a bill appropriating \$40,000 for enlarging and completing the public building at Harrisonburg,) covering in all \$335,000.

These appropriations of public money, which a Republican Senate gave Virginia, were strangely denied to her by a Democratic House, which could pass for other States fifty (50) bills for public buildings, including five for the State of Texas. It occurs to me that the people of Virginia may well ask themselves the question, what usefulness

to them are Democratic Representatives who have not sufficient energy or influence to pass one of the four bills for public buildings in Virginia which a Republican Senate had unanimously passed early in the first session of the 49th Congress, and sent to them in the lower House, where, by neglect and failure to pass (even to move the consideration of) these bills in the House, there was lost to the State all the benefits that would have accrued from their passage and the expenditure of \$250,000 at Norfolk, \$50,000 at Petersburg, \$15,000 at Old Point, \$20,000 at Fredericksburg, the half million for the bridge across the Potomac, and the \$40,000 at Harrisonburg, which (in respect to Harrisonburg) foreseeing the failure in the House of the bill covering that appropriation, I got on the Sundry Civil Bill at the close of the session, the rules in that case permitting.

In addition to the \$379,500 for Public Buildings actually secured on bills introduced by myself, and heretofore specifically mentioned, I obtained for the State during the 49th Congress, by amendments to the Sundry Civil Bill of the first session, one hundred thousand dollars for a wharf at Old Point, and twenty thousand dollars for a sub-marine electric cable between the Capes at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay; and at the last session, by amendment to the like bill, five thousand dollars for enclosure and keeper's house at the Yorktown Monument; and by amendment to the Naval Bill, five thousand dollars for the improvement of the grounds of the Naval Hospital at Portsmouth—making an aggregate in my term of six years, on the account mentioned, of \$509,500 of money actually obtained, and \$835,000 for which I passed bills in the Senate and which were permitted to die in the House, or \$1,344,500 against \$210,300, the sum total obtained by my Democratic predecessors in the Senate and House—Johnston for thirteen years, Withers for six, Cabell and Tucker for twelve years each, Wise and Barbour for six years each, Daniel and O'Farrell for two years each.

Besides this, it was on my motion that the Tobacco tax in 1883 was reduced from sixteen to eight cents, lifting from that important industry of the State a burden equal to fully two and a half Millions annually. It was on my motion that the duty on Iron Ores was advanced to the existing, though yet insufficient rate of adequate and equitable protection, and that, too, while Mr. Tucker was on the floor of the Senate exercising his influence in favor of *free ores*.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR RIVERS AND HARBORS.

The improvement of the rivers and harbors of the country is essentially a Republican measure, under which Republican Congresses, through the Engineer Department of the U. S. Army, have inaugurated a grand system by which the inferior water-ways of the country are to be made navigable, and become a part of the net-work of transportation which, extending into the interior, shall enable the farmers along the small rivers and creeks to enjoy cheap transportation to market. This is a beneficial and wise policy, which the Democratic party has misrepresented, but of which it has availed itself for the benefit of other States with remarkable unanimity.

Prior to my entrance into the Senate, the appropriation for the improvement of rivers and harbors in Virginia from 1872 to 1882, amounted to \$1,734,330, and the work upon the water-ways was in progress and being pushed with vigor. During my six years in the Senate, the Republican party has added \$739,000 to the appropriations for rivers and harbors in Virginia, exclusive of \$283,500, appropriated under the last bill which President Cleveland *pocketed*.

I do not seek to make the impression that the Senate of which I was a member could have made these appropriations without the concurrence of the House, or that these appropriations were exclusively owing to my instrumentality, but they came through my attention, from and by means of the Republican policy adopted years back and persistently adhered to in spite of Democratic opposition and denunciation. At times an eagerness, bred of earnestness to push these great works to early completion and enjoyment by the people, may have caused an apparent extravagance in appropriations, and did at one time cause a Republican President to veto a river and harbor bill; but that exception is no contradiction of the assertion that the improvement of these inferior water-ways is a Republican measure of progress and advancement, which the repressive and reactionary Democracy has opposed and denounced, then favored and adopted, and was always eager to share in.

My experience in the construction of works of great cost, has convinced me that there is a parsimony in public expenditures which is not economy, and that, as said by Mr. Burke, "expense, and great expense, may be an essential part in true economy." For this reason I regard the failure of the last

River and Harbor Bill, for which failure the Democratic House and that party's President, only are responsible, as entailing upon the country not only delay in the completion of these important works, but extravagance also, by subjecting the work already done upon them to the risk and danger of being destroyed and of having to be done over again, and that "expense, great expense," in completing them speedily would have been wise and true economy.

By that Bill, which President Cleveland pocketed, there would have been expended in the improvement of the rivers and harbors of Virginia, the following sums:

For James River,	\$100,000
" Norfolk Harbor,	25,000
" Approach to Norfolk Harbor,	75,000
" Chincoteague Bay,	20,000
" Appomattox River,	16,000
" Chicahominy River,	2,000
" Mattaponi River,	2,000
" New River,	5,000
" Pamunkey River,	2,000
" Rappahannock River,	7,500
" Staunton River,	5,000
" York River,	12,500
" Dan River,	1,500
" Nansemond River,	5,000
" Nomini Creek,	5,000

	\$283,500

Passing from matters more personal than pleasant to myself, I shall proceed to contrast, briefly, the policy of the two parties in respect to the matter of

TAXATION, TARIFF AND SURPLUS REVENUE.

The most prejudiced Democrat cannot successfully deny that the Republican policy and administration of Federal finance from the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln to that of Mr. Cleveland, has been marked and characterized by a marvelous prosperity, progress and advancement on the part of the country, unparalleled in the history of Governments. Whether this prosperity was a mere coincident or was the result of wise measures, I shall not discuss. The fact exists, and the Republican party claims its benefits as its legitimate work.

The taxes collected by the Republican tariff and internal revenue laws, for the maintenance of the Union, not only successfully accomplished that result, but since the return of

peace have reduced the volume of the public debt one half, diminished the rate of interest from 6 per cent. to 3, and accumulated in the Treasury a very large surplus.

The prevention of the continued accumulation of that surplus, and the disposition to be made of the present amount, are pending questions of paramount consequence to the country. That surplus is the result of taxation; it represents the aggregate amount contributed by the people, over and above expenditures of the Government. It can only be reduced by expenditure, and its increase can be prevented only by reduction of taxes. The annual report of Secretary Manning for 1886, called the attention of Congress to the fact that the present system of taxation was "withdrawing and pouring in" to the Treasury the proceeds of a surplus taxation beyond all sums of which the present (the 49th) Congress has heretofore considered or prescribed the employment. During the years of the immediate future, under the operation of existing law, this surplus and taxation would be at least as onerous and excessive as now. A world-wide monetary dislocation the present Congress should assist to cure. A needless depletion of the people's earnings at the rate of one hundred and twenty-five million dollars a year, the present Congress can completely cure."

And the President in his last annual message, averring "that the revenues of the Government exceed its regular needs," urged upon Congress that "legislative action should be taken to relieve the people from the unnecessary burdens of taxation thus made apparent." The President, the elected chief of the party thus called the attention of his followers to their duty and sounded the alarm, but notwithstanding those authoritative demands for legislation which would reduce taxation, the 49th Congress adjourned without passing a single bill for the relief of the people and the Treasury. The responsibility of this unparalleled neglect of imperative duty rests solely with the Democratic House of Representatives. The Constitution of the United States requires all bills for raising revenue to originate in the House—to be there considered and passed and sent up to the Senate, where they may be amended, but cannot be originated. It is held by both parties, that bills for reducing as well as raising revenue must likewise originate in the House. The Republican Senate was, therefore, powerless to do anything relating to revenue until the house had acted upon and passed a bill. That

the Democratic House would not do. With a Democratic majority in the House of 41, the Republican party of the House was powerless even to assist. The reason of this non-action is even more reprehensible than the failure to act.

The reasons of that non-action will be found in the correspondence between Mr. Speaker Carlisle, and Chairman Randall and other Democrats, already given to the country, and I invite the closest attention of the people of Virginia to those letters, which demonstrate, from Democratic sources of high position, the truth and justice of my designation of that party as one of negation, a do-nothing, repressive, and reactionary party, unfit by internal dissensions for conducting the Government or providing the necessary legislation for a great people.

In two ways the ninety (90) millions and more of the currency of the country, which will have been drawn into the National Treasury, over and above the authorized expenditures of the Government, when the close of the current fiscal year shall come, may be *restored* to *active* duty among the people, viz: either by the costly redemption of bonds not yet due for years, or by liberal appropriations for the national defence and other purposes of the general welfare, which may return to the people the currency coming into the treasury from taxation and restore it to the channels of trade, in time to avoid an unwholesome stringency and remove some of the producing causes of the "hard times."

To arrest such an annual accumulation as comes at the end of the current fiscal year, resulting from the existing rate of an unneeded revenue, there are two theories radically and widely opposed, on which, while neither of the two parties are united and the Democratic party is hopelessly divided, the two parties have made their record and now face the people.

These opposing theories in respect to the surplus, it will be seen, go to the very root of the tariff question. They are founded, respectively, in the interests of free trade and protection, and must be considered with reference to these fundamental theories of economic policy. With the Republican party, it is held that this excess of revenue ought to be arrested by the repeal of all taxes touching the growth, sale, manufacture and commercial products of tobacco and fruit distillation, by a reduction of duties on such articles as we do not or cannot produce here in our own country and the application of the balance to the reduction of illiteracy among the

masses, the education of the children of the nation, and to necessary objects of national defence.

By this theory all the protection to American industries which has produced the wide-spread and all embracing scope of American progress would be retained, and would continue to develop the resources of the country and to protect labor. By this theory, under the practical operation of which the nation has had an unexampled growth in population, power and wealth, that diversity of industrial pursuits which has multiplied the avenues of employment for capital and labor, and reduced the cost of the necessities of life, and given better wages to the wage-worker, elevated his position and opened wide the door to the education, knowledge and advancement of his children; that diversity of industrial pursuits which has brought to the farmer a neighborhood market for his crops, given active value to our raw materials and sent our manufactured goods into the markets of the world, will go on adding to the wealth, independence and happiness of the masses. Such is the broad and durable ground on which the Republican theory of arresting the treasury surplus, the needless accretions, which must follow a continuation of the exacting draft upon the tax-paying resources of the country, is based.

On the other hand, the opposing theory of the Democratic administration and the controlling faction of that party is to continue the taxes imposed by the internal revenue laws, as the means of compelling a reduction of import duties upon all manufactured goods, and a removal of all duties upon raw materials, embracing *wool, lumber, coal, and iron ores.*

The adoption of the Democratic treatment of the question would reverse the wheels of progress and bring about that dislocation of the business interests of the country which would fail to find its parallel, even in the disastrous consequences which are known to have followed every experiment at free trade heretofore imposed upon the Nation by the Democratic party.

It would paralyze the agencies of power and prosperity, which, under the inspiring influences of the Republican policy of protection, have in the last twenty-six years doubled our population, and added two hundred and fifty per cent. to the wealth of the nation, until the daily increase is estimated at two and a half millions, equal to one-third of the daily accumulations of mankind. It would quickly glut our country with the raw materials and the products of the cheap labor

or all the world, and set the balance of trade, as in other free trade periods, against us, and compel the productions of our own industries and our own labor to *square* the balance, and thus, of our own substance, to contribute to the wealth and to the support of the pauper, the serf and poorly paid, poorly clad and poorly fed labor of other countries. It would relegate our agricultural interest, which now finds a ready home market for full ninety (90) per cent. of its surplus, to the precarious demands and uncertain prices of the foreign market, and blight the growth of prosperity, which under the invigorating influences of the Republican policy that industry has had, advancing from a product in 1860 of one and a half to two and a quarter billions of value in 1880. It would paralyze and tend to destroy that vast manufacturing industry which has so largely contributed to the wealth of the Nation, the prosperity of every interest and widened the fields of employment for labor. An industry which in 1880 numbered two hundred and fifty odd thousand establishments, employed two and three-quarter billions of capital, two and three-quarter millions wage-workers with a pay-roll of nine hundred and fifty-eight million dollars, and added to the productive values of the country five and a quarter billions of money, as against one hundred and fifty thousand establishments, employing one billion capital, one and a quarter millions wage-workers with a pay-roll of three hundred and seventy-nine millions, and a product of one and three-quarter billions in the year 1860. This policy of the dominating faction of the Democratic party, I need not tell the thoughtful citizen of Virginia, means to close her mines, shut off the fires of her furnaces, turn to waste her forests and to idleness her water power;—it means to turn back the long deferred hope of her people for the development of these, her great resources, now so fairly opening into blossom, while the Republican theory will continue to help and foster that development to full fruitage.

If the people in the last election for Congress did not sufficiently emphasize their preference for the Republican policy in this respect, the opportunity and the occasion comes, in the election of a legislature this fall when they may re-enforce the judgment then expressed, for in that election they are to choose members of a Legislature whose duty it will be to select for them a Senator of the United States, whom they have the right to know will openly and earnestly, independent of party factions, support the one of the two theories they prefer.

In the divided condition of the Democratic Representation in Congress from the State, Mr. Wise and Mr. Cabell may be in this connection considered as identified nearest to the Republican theory, and Mr. Tucker and Mr. Trigg with the Democratic, while Mr. Croxton, Mr. Barbour and Mr. O'Farrall "could be happy with either, were t'other dear charmer away."

The same division permeates the whole party in the State, and renders impossible the selection of any Democrat whose opinion on these theories can represent a united party. Indeed the Democracy in Virginia does not appear to know its own convictions as to these theories, but the last election to Congress indicated, in a very decided manner, that the people of the State are determined that the Democratic Representation, divided against itself, shall, like the house in the Scriptures, "fall," and no longer impede the progress of the Commonwealth. In view of that purpose the free trader, Mr. Tucker, at the election last fall thought it best for him to "stand from under," and let the crash fall upon his would-be successor. Mr. Cabell was retired because the tobacco growing people of his District having tried him and Democracy for twelve years, thought it best to entrust their interest to a Republican; Mr. Trigg and Mr. Croxton fell exhausted by the wayside, and Republicans were elected in their stead. Mr. Daniel, having given Mr. Barbour the "mittens," in the nomination for the Senate, left a Democratic District to be won by a Labor candidate, who will never support a free trade theory; Mr. Barbour preferring recreation in Europe to a canvass for Congress, turned over the District to Gen. Lee, who was elected. The delegation was then reduced to three Democrats, and even they are divided—Mr. Wise finding Mr. Randall the safest alliance for him, and Mr. O'Ferrall and Gen. Lee standing by Speaker Carlisle. Six protective Republicans, one protective Labor Representative, one protective and two free trade Democrats, presents the complexion of the State's representation in the 50th Congress. As between the two theories, the Virginia representation would probably stand eight for the first and two for the second theory. Assuming this to indicate the sentiment of the State after the adjournment of the first session of the 49th Congress, it is pertinent to inquire whether anything occurred in the second session of that Congress which would cause a change of opinion in the State? On the contrary, the distraction and divisions, the unprecedented delay of business

the spectacle presented in the correspondence between the factions, and the little trick in the small hours of the morning of the 4th of March, to pass a bill to modify the Internal Revenue Laws, all conspire to confirm the people in their conviction of the incapability of a divided party to legislate upon the great interests of the Country.

It would extend this paper beyond all reasonable limits to present all the facts and discuss all the measures which go to make up the record of unfitness of the leadership of the Democratic party for the Government of this country, and therefore I must hastily and more briefly than I would desire, pass to other subjects, not the least among which is the bill popularly known as the

BLAIR EDUCATIONAL BILL,

the object of which is to aid in the education of the poor, and to remove the blighting influence of ignorance from our State, and from all the States. That bill proposed to appropriate \$77,000,000 to aid in support of common schools in the States, Territories and District of Columbia. Of that sum \$7,000,000 was to be distributed in 1886; \$10,000,000 in 1885; \$15,000,000 in 1888; \$13,000,000, in 1889; \$11,000,000 in 1890; \$9,000,000, in 1891; \$7,000,000, 1892; and \$5,000,000 in 1893.

The appropriation thus extended over a period of 7 years would have been a matter of small importance compared with the resources of the Government and the objects to be obtained. The revenue receipts of the Government for this single day, March 17th, is, from Internal Revenue \$335,904; from customs \$693,139—total \$1,029,093; and the average is over \$1,000,000 per day. This bill would therefore have required the revenue of only seven days in 1886, ten days in 1887, fifteen days in 1888, twelve days in 1889, eleven days in 1890, nine days in 1891, seven days in 1892, and five days in 1893—a total of the revenue of only 77 days in seven years. Is that much of a “raids” on the treasury whose overflow will run above *ninety million* by the end of the current fiscal year?

The benefits which would have followed this assistance to the impoverished Southern States can be better imagined than described, but the generosity of the act may be appreciated when we consider the principle upon which the distribution was to have been made. This principle was illiteracy, or the most money where the most was needed. Upon that princi-

ple the South would have received \$53,000,000, and the North \$18,000,000, while upon the principle of population the South would receive \$23,000,000, and the North \$47,000,000. The South would have received \$3.14 per capita, and the North 55 cents per capita.

The Blair Educational Bill, though a Republican, was not a political measure; it was a generous peace-offering to the impoverished South, and aid from the common Treasury of which the North contributed \$54,000,000 and the South \$23,000,000. It was to aid in maintaining the common schools, by which school-houses would have been supplied where they are needed, teachers trained, and the school term largely extended. The Democratic managers can now say to the Republican party, "thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar school; and whereas, before our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used; and contrary to the king, his crown and dignity, thou hast built a paper mill."

This bill to aid you in educating your children was assailed by Democrats as unconstitutional, because, as said by Mr. Seney, a Democrat from Ohio, "the States in creating the general Government, withheld from it all power to legislate respecting educational affairs." A similar argument was made by Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, in opposing the bill to create an Agricultural Department, but Mr. Tucker made a dead Republican responsible for his argument, saying, "but as the late Senator Carpenter once said, either on the floor of the Senate or in private conversation with me, 'if you can find the word Agriculture in the Constitution of the United States, I will give it up.'" And not being able to find "Agriculture" in the Constitution, Mr. Tucker would resist the proclamation of 5,000,000 farmers of the country because he regarded the bill as unconstitutional.

I find no fault with any man's conscientious constitutional convictions, but I do not see the necessity of electing a man to Congress whose constitutional convictions are of that narrow, contracted character, which Chief Justice Marshall thus described: "What do gentlemen mean by strict construction? If they contend only against that enlarged construction which would extend words beyond their natural and obvious import, we might question the application of the term, but should not controvert the principle. If they contend for that

narrow construction which, in support of some theory not to be found in the Constitution, would deny to the Government those powers which the words of the grant, as usually understood, import, and which are consistent with the general views and objects of the instrument; for that narrow construction which would cripple the Government, and render it unequal to the objects for which it is declared to be instituted, and to which the powers given, as fairly understood, render it competent; then we cannot perceive the propriety of this construction, nor adopt it as the rule by which the Constitution is to be expounded."

Mr. Tucker could not find the word "library" in the constitution, but he derived the constitutional power to have a great library, and erect a great library building from "the duty of the Government to furnish all the means by which we can secure intelligent legislation; all that has ever been written, the accretion of ages, and which will give information to you and me, as to the mode in which we should conduct our business here, is proper to be piled up in a Congressional library for the benefit of the Representatives of the people." May I not extend the reason further back, and beginning with people, argue that they should be prepared, by early education, to take in and digest all that has been written, "the accretion of ages," in order to fit them to select and elect their representatives who are to enjoy the blessings of that great library. Mr. Tucker would educate the Representatives, I would instruct the people. He would polish off the colums that ornament the structure of our liberties; I would strengthen its foundations.

Other arguments were used by Democrats to assail the educational bill; the appropriations for seven years were said to be unconstitutional. There is no requirement of annual appropriations in the Constitution, and the only limit to be found in the instrument is that of two years appropriations for the support of the army. But the "spirit" of the Constitution is evoked as hostile to other than annual appropriations. I deem the best way to reach the spirit of the instrument, to be a plain common sense interpretation of its letter; and when I find one kind of appropriation limited to two years, because the precedent in English legislation as to the army was so limited, I do not consider that I do violence to the spirit the instrument when I would extend the appropriations necessary to secure the plant for the building of a

Navy, or the construction of great ordinance, or the education of the people, over a series of years necessary for the accomplishment of these great objects.

This bill, after all the promises and pledges of the Democratic press, leaders and candidates, which you may not have forgotton, was again lost in the Democratic House of Representatives, by an arrangement of its managers—as is well understood—who, while they could not agree upon a measure to reduce taxes, could combine together to defeat a measure so important to Virginia and the whole South, as the Blair Bill.

The bill to return to the States and to the people the

DIRECT TAXES.

paid under the act of August 5th, 1861, was passed by the Republican Senate. It was a measure having for its object the return of money paid by the people; it was an effort to diminish the surplus, not by expenditure, but by returning to the people money no longer needed by the general Government; and there would have been paid to the citizens of Virginia over a *half million dollars by this bill.*

As the Democratic House would not reduce taxes, the Senate expected that the House would refund taxes no longer needed; but the Judiciary Committee of the House, of which Mr. Tucker was chairman, sat upon the bill until it crushed all the life out of it.

In the matter of defeating the payment of the claims known as

FRENCH SPOLIATIONS,

this Judiciary Committee was as successful as it was in defeating the bill returning to the States and the people the direct taxes paid under act of August 6th, 1861.

It is estimated that there are twenty thousand people of Virginia who are more or less interested in the French Spoliation claims.

After eighty years of cruel delay, from which can be taken no account of the hardships and losses that the timely adjudication and payment of these claims would have avoided, the Congress of the United States finally empowered the Court of Claims to determine the liability of the Government and ascertain the facts in the case.

That high court, after a searching investigation, and hearing and re-hearing of certain set cases, made up its judgment,

and as the law required reported the facts and the awards it had made to the Congress.

It was thought, and no one to that time supposed, there would be interposed any further motions or resorts at delay in the payment of these long deferred, just and honorable obligations of the Government to its own people, and that there would be no hesitancy on the part of the Congress in making the necessary appropriations to cover their payment.

The claimants had already been subjected to heavy costs, and many of the claims, relatively as important to the claimant, were below the amount which would entitle him to an appearance at the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, to which it was the effort of Mr. Tucker's committee to require these claims to be referred. The delay of that committee in acting upon the subject had the effect to postpone, if it does not defeat, the payment of these claims.

The report and award of the Court of Claims were referred to Mr. Tucker's committee on the second day of the last session of the Congress, and the report of that committee made by himself, accompanying the bill it proposed, is dated the 17th day of February, a full review of which will be found in the minority report of Judge Ranney.*

*49TH CONGRESS,
2nd Session.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

{ REP. 4099,
Part 2.

FRENCH SPOILATION CLAIMS.

FEBRUARY 28TH, 1887.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

Mr. RANNEY, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following as the

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY:

[To accompany bill H. R. 11201.]

In the report of the committee no reasons are assigned for the passage of the bill except that the matters of fact and of law involved are so important that the question of the liability of the United States should be referred to the Supreme Court. In appeals from the Court of Claims the Supreme Court does not examine the facts, but taking the findings of the court below very much as a special verdict, inquires as to the supposed error of law in the judgment rendered upon the facts then found. In the cases reported to Congress by the Court of Claims, all the facts as to each found to have been established by evidence are specifically stated and fully set out, and with these facts judicially found, just as they would be if an appeal were to be taken to the Supreme Court, the question of the liability of the United States on these facts is the only one which remains to be determined, and is one with which Congress is perfectly competent to deal.

In section 6 of the act of January 20, 1886, the Court of Claims was required annually to "report to Congress, for final action, the facts found by it, and its conclusions in all cases which it has disposed of," and this requirement is in exact accord with the very terms of the jurisdiction vested in the court, in the third section, to-wit: "Shall report all such conclusions of fact and law as in their judgment may affect the liability of the United States therefor." These requirements have been fully complied with. The elaborate opinions of the court show that the legal propositions have been carefully and ably considered.

Under these circumstances, and to meet Mr. Tucker's effort to delay, if not defeat, the payment of these claims, I determined to take action in the Senate, and offered an amendment to the Deficiency Bill to pay the awards. That amendment was inserted by the Senate Committee on Appropriations in that bill, and the matter^{*} came before the Senate for action. The Senate reached the amendment on the morning of the 4th of March, and promptly, as its consideration began, Mr. Tucker appeared on the floor of the Senate, and as far as his efforts could go, endeavored to effect its defeat. Later, when the bill with the amendment was reported from the Senate as in Committee of the Whole to the Senate, Mr. Tucker renewed his efforts, but (fortunately) even with

The findings of fact in each case show that the evidence has been critically and carefully examined. No error is suggested in either the conclusion of law or in the findings of fact by the report of the committee; but after the action which has been taken for the advisement of Congress there appears no reason why it should not take "final action" in the cases thus reported. The proposed bill does not allow an appeal to the Supreme Court in all cases, nor in those involving \$3,000 or more, as in the general jurisdiction of the court, but only in a selected portion of the cases; so that really the question of the liability of the United States for these claims will still come back to be ultimately decided by Congress, except in a few cases appealed. The original act clearly contemplated and it would seem proper that Congress should now meet its own responsibility and should not devolve upon the claimant the expense of going to the Supreme Court, and the consequent delay after two years have been spent on the other plan, unless some change in the status has presented an important reason for this course, and none such has been suggested.

The objection may be urged to the proposed bill with much force, that it provided for the consideration of the liability of the United States only upon "principles of justice and international law," whereas the original act intended to be amended by this bill provided that the validity should be decided "according to the rules of law, municipal and international, and the treaties of the United States applicable to the same." It could not be intended that in the cases selected the appeal should be considered on a narrower basis than the original hearing was, for under such circumstances the appellate court would be without jurisdiction. The scope of the bill seems to be that the cases not appealed shall be heard by the Court of Claims as provided by the original act, while those selected for appeal shall be heard upon "principles of justice and international law." Some confusion may grow out of these apparently conflicting clauses, for, though strict observance of treaty obligation is a fundamental principle of international law, the omission from the bill of the words "the treaties of the United States applicable to the same," when they are included in the original act, might tend to show a purpose to omit them from the consideration of the court.

These claims were deemed so just by our Government that they were the subject of two embassies to France, and in the instructions the mode and basis of settlement were presented and their payment by France made an ultimatum of any treaty. They were admitted by France with the liability to pay them, but France made claims against the United States, and in the treaty, as finally ratified by the two countries, these claims of American citizens were released to France in consideration of a release by France of claims, not against them, but against the United States. The Government, therefore, has received a good consideration for these claims, but the claimants have never been paid. These facts present questions wherewith Congress is perfectly competent to deal, and all that is needed is that the facts as to each separate claim may be found by the Court of Claims, as contemplated by the act of January 20, 1885. If when these reports are made Congress intends to pay the claims, sound policy dictates that it should be done at once, so that no large amount would have to be included in any one appropriation bill. If Congress does not intend to pay them, the act of January 20, 1885, should be repealed.

A. A. RANNEY.

less favorable results; the amendment was retained by 36 votes against 12. The Deficiency Bill failed by reason of the clerks not being able to copy it in time for executive approval, before the hour of adjournment should come.

The claimants under the French Spoliation (whose claims I did all that could be done in the Senate to have paid) †having waited eighty odd years, and stood the ordeal of the court appointed by Congress to decide upon the facts of their cases, may not take the same pleasure in litigation that Mr. Tucker does.

"TURN THE RASCALS OUT,"

was the shibboleth of the Democratic party in the last campaign, and it had hardly died away when the new administration of the Democratic Executive was called upon to carry out the proclamation that the Republican office-holders were "rascals," and that an examination of the books would develop unheard of dishonesty, malfeasance, peculation and fraud. The Democratic Administration has been in office for two years; eighty thousand changes are said to have been made, but whether or not the number is an exaggeration, the fact is, that not one dismissal has been made on any charge of dishonesty or fraud.

On the other hand, more men with indictments for criminal offences hanging over them have been appointed to office under Mr. Cleveland's administration than under that of any other President.

†WASHINGTON, D. C., March 5th, 1887.

HON. WILLIAM MAHONE, U. S. Senate.

MY DEAR SIR—I wish to express to you my gratitude for your active efforts to secure the rights of a large number of my clients from all over the country in the French spoliations, but especially on behalf of a large number who are citizens of the State of Virginia. I know full well that all you did was done as a matter of public duty and because there are some \$800,000 of these claims held by citizens of your own State; but I desire none the less for myself, and as the attorney of a large number of these, to express my acknowledgment and thanks.

The four cases reported by the Court of Claims to Congress were on the second day of the term referred by the Speaker to the Judiciary Committee, whereof Mr. J. Ran. Tucker was chairman. As chairman he took charge of them as a sub-committee of one, and thus held them under his personal control until January 20th, when he added two members to the sub-committee, and it was not until the 17th of February, within twelve working days of the adjournment, and when Congress was crowded with appropriation bills, that any report was made to the House. That report of four lines states "that the matters of fact and law are so important" that it is believed they should be submitted to the Supreme Court. That court does not inquire into the facts as found by the Court of Claims.

Your amendment to the Deficiency Appropriation Bill, for the payment of the cases reported by the Court of Claims to Congress, which by your zealous efforts was passed by a vote of 36 to 12 in the Senate, will be of inestimable advantage to the claimants, notwithstanding for want of time to engross it the bill failed to become a law.

I am with great respect,

Yours, very truly,

WM. E. EARLE.

The Republican party challenges comparison of its office-holders with those of the Democratic party, character against character, and will stand the test of honesty and capacity, however severely the comparison may be drawn.

In view of the important questions to which I have adverted, and the attitude of the two parties, and the bearing of their opposing policies upon the fortunes of Virginia and the prosperity of her people, pardon any seeming indelicacy, and forbear, if you please, any suspicion of personal interests, if I say that the citizen to be chosen to the United States Senate by the Legislature which you are in November to elect, should be of fixed and well known convictions in respect to all these far-reaching and important questions. He should stand openly and squarely for the Democratic policy of over-taxing our domestic products and hoarding the money of the people in the vaults of the National Treasury; or he should stand *openly* and squarely for the Republican policy of returning to circulation the one hundred millions which will have been retired to idleness by the end of the current fiscal year, and of arresting further accumulations, by the removal of certain of the Internal Revenue taxes, so long endured; he should be known to be honestly and earnestly in favor of the Blair Educational measure—for education against ignorance—or, after Democratic fashion, to merely acquiesce in their support; he should be known to stand for the Republican policy of Protection, or for the Democratic policy of Free Trade; for providing for the National defences, or leaving the country at the mercy of any third-rate naval power; for fostering American industries and protecting American labor, or exposing them to the damaging consequences of unchecked competition with the cheap productions and pauper labor of foreign countries; he should be known to stand for a fair, non-partizan election law and honest count, or for the Anderson-McCormick iniquity.

I have misunderstood the true interest of our State, if I am mistaken in believing that her people desire to have manufactures introduced and her mines developed, and that the markets which these enterprises bring to the doors of the farmers are not desirable. I do not believe that the Free Trade policy of Mr. Carlisle and his followers will encourage capital to seek the fields of Virginia for investment, and I cannot discover that the half-hearted protection of Mr. Randall has a ghost of a chance with the great body of the Democratic party against it.

Mr. Randall's protection contingent might be of available use in a firm alliance with the Republicans, but not having the convictions of their principles as firmly fixed as is their desire to share in the spoils of office, they remain in the camp of Democracy, ready to betray, yet afraid to desert. A Democrat from such a party in the Senate might be an enemy of the Republicans, but could hardly be more than a doubtful ally of the Democracy.

Is such a Senator desirable for Virginia?

Look therefore, fellow-citizens at the condition of your State—the debt question is the foot-ball of the Democratic factions—for the Republican party is not playing in that game; the resources of your State are not less a plaything between the tariff factions—the just claims of many thousands of your fellow-citizens, known as French Spoliation claims, ascertained by the judgment of the court appointed by Congress, are to be relegated to another long delay and unnecessary suit at law. The direct taxes paid by some of your fellow-citizens under the law of 1861, which would have been returned to them if the Democratic Judiciary Committee of the House had acted upon the Senate's bill, are now retained in the Treasury, where they are not needed, and withheld from the people who are greatly in want of them. The Blair Educational Bill was smothered in the House by the Democratic majority of the Committee on Rules.

Ninety millions and more of the needed money of the country goes to incumber the vaults of the Treasury, while the oppressive taxes and laws of the Internal Revenue System are to continue to burden private enterprise, by the refusal of a Democratic House to discharge the manifest duty of the hour, and to respond to the earnest appeals of the people.

When you have duly and carefully considered these failures of duty and these shortcomings of your expectations, discover, if you can, one single law enacted by the Democrats that meets the hopes of the country, or offers relief to its burdened industries.

I know that I am not the person to do impartial justice to the Democratic party. I have had too little of it at its hands; but the people of the State are more interested than myself in the character of the next General Assembly, which I sincerely hope will be very different in every respect from that of the last two General Assemblies we have had.

I have at greater length than I desired, and yet more brief-

ly than perhaps was proper, endeavored to set before you the reasons which influenced my political course during my six years in the Senate, and this review of parties, men and measures, ought, in my opinion, to determine the people of Virginia to continue the work begun last fall, of retiring Democrats from public life and electing men more in harmony with the times, more disposed to bring Virginia into concert with the great movement of progress and advancement, and who, while treasuring every honorable memory of the past, will look to the future and to its responsibilities for the best means of developing the resources of the State.

What do the people of Virginia find in the measures of the Republican party hostile to their interest, inimical to their welfare, or injurious to their prosperity?

What can they discover in the divisions and distractions of the Democratic party, and in its policies, promotive of the improvement of their condition, conducive to the development of the Commonwealth, or promising the least change in the dreary outlook which has so long overshadowed the State?

The business interests of the people, the power of the State and the prosperity of the community, all point to the Republican party, to its measures and its policy, as the surest and safest political association for the people of Virginia.

The election which will take place this fall for members of the General Assembly will be the most important that has been held in this State since the war. The Extra Session of the Legislature has accomplished nothing; it was called in the spirit of an excuse—to tide the party over the coming election—and not with any serious expectation of accomplishing results. However, the Republican party must prepare to go before the people in the fall and demonstrate the incapacity of the Democratic leaders to deal with the financial questions involved in the State's affairs. And as to Federal politics, the next Legislature must elect a United States Senator, and the people, with that prospect before them, will choose members of the General Assembly—who will support the man whom they know to represent their views and interests upon the important Federal questions to which I have adverted.

Returning you my grateful acknowledgements for the honor of a seat in the United States Senate, and regretting my inability to do more than I have accomplished for our State, I am,

Your fellow-citizen,

WILLIAM MAHONE.

OFFICIAL RECORD.

PREFACE.

IT WILL BE SEEN—

That the Hon. John W. Johnston, during his service of 13 years in the Senate, introduced 79 Bills, of which only 13 passed that body, and of the 13 only 6 related to Virginia or her citizens.

That the Hon. Robert E. Withers, during his 6 years service in the Senate, introduced 60 bills, of which 17 passed that body, and of the 17 it does not appear that more than 3 related to citizens of the State.

That the Hon. John R. Tucker, during his 12 years in the House, introduced 146 Bills, only 17 of which appear to have passed that body, and of these but 8 appear to relate to the State or her citizens.

That the Hon. Geo. C. Cabell, during his 12 years in the House, introduced 111 Bills, only 2 of which *passed*, and these related to the State.

That the Hon. Geo. D. Wise, during his 6 years in the House, introduced 77 Bills, only 7 of which appear to have passed that body.

That the Hon. John S. Barbour, during his 6 years in the House, introduced 150 Bills, and only 4 of all appear to have passed that body, and not one of these related to Virginia or her citizens.

That the Hon. Chas. T. O'Ferrall, during his four years in Congress, introduced 27 Bills, not one of which appears to have *passed*.

That the Hon. John W. Daniel, during his 2 years in the House, introduced 8 Bills, only 1 of which appears to have passed the body of which he was a member.

That the Hon. Wm. Mahone, during his six years in the Senate, introduced 86 Bills, of which 21 passed that body, and when considered with respect to their value, will be found to aggregate more of consequence to the State than all the bills passed by his predecessors in the Senate and the Democratic members of the House whose records are here given.

RECORD OF JOHN W. JOHNSTON.

Record of Bills introduced by him, and what became of them.

FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

S. Bill No. 697, to incorporate Spear's Air Motor National Company, referred, reported and *indefinitely* postponed.

S. Bill 696, to divide Virginia into two judicial districts; referred, reported and passed.

FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

S. Bill No. 252, to readjust the claims of Virginia for advances to the United States in the war of 1812; referred.

S. Bill 282, to exempt the circulation of the Real Estate Bank, of Virginia, from taxation; referred.

FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

S. Bill 575, to authorize the purchase of secured obligations of the Real Estate Bank, of Virginia.

S. Bill 590, to charter the Puget Sound and Norfolk Oceanic Continental Air-line Railroad and Telegraph Co., and grant right of way.

S. Bill 795, to provide for an adequate supply of circulating medium to the States needing it.

S. Bill 796, to provide for the payment of claims for rent arising in States declared in insurrection.

S. 797, granting a pension to Mrs. Malinda Brooks.

S. B. 1137, to remove the disabilities of Daniel Trigg and others.

S. Bill 1190, to relieve J. L. Curry from the political disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution.

FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS—THIRD SESSION.

S. Bill 1481, concerning and authorizing the Washington, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroad Company to extend and construct their railroad into the District of Columbia, and through the States of West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, to the City of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri.

S. Bill 1521, to relieve Daniel Trigg, of Washington county, Virginia, of his political disabilities.

FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

S. Bill 129, chartering the Washington, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroad Company.

S. Bill 130, to remove the political disabilities of T. S. Bocock and others. Passed.

210, for relief of W. B. Isaacs & Co.

418, for the relief of the heirs of Joseph Wheaton.

475, amending charter of Columbia Institution.

253, removing the disabilities of J. M. Jones.

255, concerning letters patent for Wm. Beal Hale.

603, concerning an act of the District Legislature relating to church parishes.

629, for relief of Osceola C. Green. Passed.

634, chartering the Washington & St. Louis Railroad Company.
 643, incorporating the Washington Canal and Water Power Co.
 661, giving the Court of Claims jurisdiction over the Arlington claim.
 723, amending the District of Columbia public school act.
 783, for relief of Mrs. S. Barclay.
 891, for relief of Mrs. Rebecca T. Bailey.
 892, for relief of the heirs of James Monroe.

FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

1035, to aid Washington, Cincinnati and St. Louis Railroad Co.
 1063, to amend and re-enact section 44 of an act to reduce internal taxes, &c., approved June 6th, 1872.
 1092, for the relief of Maria V. Brown.
 1163, for the relief of Mrs. Annie P. Darick.
 1171, authorizing the construction of a bridge across the Mississippi at Memphis.
 1235, removing the disabilities of R. H. Logan.
 1329, making West Point, Va., a port of entry.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

19, relief of Peters & Reed, naval contractors, of Norfolk, Va.; referred to committee on naval affairs, reported back and *indefinitely postponed*.
 20, relief of H. H. Cook; referred to committee on claims, reported back *adversely*, and *indefinitely postponed*.
 21, relief of D. T. Woods, of Virginia: referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.
 22, relief of S. H. Burgess, of Virginia, referred to committee on claims, reported back *adversely*, and *indefinitely postponed*.
 56, relief of loyal citizens of Loudoun county; referred to committee on claims, reported back *adversely*, and *indefinitely postponed*.
 113, relief of James Barnett; referred to committee on claims, reported back *adversely*, and *indefinitely postponed*.
 114, relief of A. Lawson and T. O. Brewis; referred to committee on claims and *died there*.
 359, to incorporate the Washington City Inebriate Asylum; passed.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

72, relief of heirs of W. A. Graham; referred to committee on patents; became a law.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

473, to extend time of payment of final fee on patents, &c.; referred to committee on patents, and *died there*.
 780, relief of Jeffersonville & Louisville Ferry Co.; referred to committee on claims, reported *adversely*, and *indefinitely postponed*.
 1045, relating to Alaska; referred to judiciary committee, reported back and passed, and signed by President.
 1081, relief of D. G. Potts; referred to committee on P. O. and P. R., reported back, and passed by the Senate.
 1126, relief of Moses Myers, &c.; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.
 1237, to declare the legal effects of permits, &c.; referred to judiciary, and *died there*.

1238, to levy a tax on spirituous and malt liquors, &c., in the District of Columbia; referred to committee on District of Columbia, reported back *adversely*, and postponed *indefinitely*.

1296, to authorize the West Point Commercial Company, to do business in foreign countries; referred to committee on commerce, and *died there*.

1297, protection of dairymen, &c., in District of Columbia; referred to committee on District of Columbia, reported back, and passed by the Senate.

1323, to incorporate A. M. Co., of District of Columbia; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—THIRD SESSION.

1418, relief of H. R. Rathbone; referred to committee on military affairs, and *died there*.

1420, relief of Mrs. P. L. Ward; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1435, authorizing the appointment of Dr. Junius L. Powell an assistant surgeon in the army; referred to committee on military affairs, reported back and passed the Senate.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

88, relief of A. Ordway, referred to committee on pub. buildings and grounds, revived by 994 in next Congress, and passed by the Senate.

146, for Washington, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroad Co. to construct a narrow guage railroad; referred to committee on transportation routes to Seaboard, and *died there*. Revived in next Congress, 1127, and died in committee on railroads.

267, infectious and contagious diseases; referred to committee on agriculture, and *died there*.

367, pension to J. L. Evans; referred to committee on pensions, reported back, and passed both Houses.

485, Arlington Estate and G. W. Custis Lee; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

544, for railway from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean; referred to committee on railroads and *died there*. Revived in next Congress by 1166, and *died on the table*.

640, to authorize cancellation of bonds of manufactured tobacco, &c.; referred to committee on finance, reported back, passed both Houses, and approved by the President.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

738, providing for judicial ascertainment of claims against the U. S. Referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*. Same fate for 1917.

790, relief of T. D. Castleman; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1274, to amend Revised Statutes: referred to committee on commerce, and *died there*.

1473, Infectious and contagious diseases; referred to committee on agriculture, and *died there*.

1474, relating to pleuro-pneumonia: referred to committee on agriculture, and *died there*.

1522, relief of W. P. Burwell; referred to committee on claims, reported back *adversely*, and *indefinitely* postponed.

1607, relief of S. W. Fountain; referred to committee on military affairs, reported back *adversely*, and *indefinitely postponed*.

1667, infectious and contagious diseases of cattle; referred to committee on agriculture, reported back, and *died on the calendar*.

1843, hotel at Fortress Monroe; referred to committee on military affairs, reported back with an amendment and passed in the Senate, but was lost in the House.

2097, bureau of animal industry; considered *amended* and *lost*.

1972, manuscript on logic, by James Madison; referred to committee on library, and *died there*.

2140, to purchase a bronze statue of Washington; referred to committee on library, and *died there*.

2180, for Robert F. Williams & Co.; referred to committee on finance, and *died there*.

2213, to repeal export tax on tobacco; referred to committee on finance, and *died there*.

 Mr. Johnston, during his one year and two terms or *thirteen* years in the Senate, introduced **79 Bills** of which only **13** appear to have passed that body; and of the **79 Bills** introduced, it does not appear that more than **25** of the number related to Virginia, and of the **13** Bills passed, only **6** appear to have related to the State or her people.

RECORD OF ROBERT E. WITHERS.

Record of Bills introduced by him, and what became of them.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

117, to aid the Washington, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroad Company to construct a narrow gauge railway; referred to committee on commerce, and *died there*.

220, appropriating \$300,000 for continuing the improvement of James River at and below Richmond; referred to committee on commerce.

308, relief of B. D. Morton; referred to committee on P. O. & P. R., reported back *adversely*, and postponed *indefinitely*.

351, relief of I. Davenport and others; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

431, pension to E. B. Thomas, widow of Gen. Lorenzo Thomas; became a law.

616, relief of Thomas Oxley; referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

1060, relief of owners of property sold for taxes in insurrectionary States; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

1102, pension to M. Griffith; referred to committee on pensions, reported *adversely*, and *indefinitely postponed*.

1118, granting pension to Nancy King; became a law.
 1127, relief of J. B. McCullough and others; became a law.
 1178, pension to T. A. Liebschutz, &c.; referred to committee on military affairs, reported back *adversely*, and postponed *indefinitely*.
 1260, pension to E. H. Cobb; became a law.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

17, pensions to soldiers and sailors in the war of 1812; referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

18, relief of Albemarle & Chesapeake Canal Co.; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

60, for relief of owners and purchasers of lands for direct taxes in insurrectionary States; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

61, for relief of Richmond Female Institute, of Richmond, Va.; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

209 relief of the Trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

223, pension to Mrs. J. S. West, referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

303, relief of B. H. Jenkins; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

487, relief of Mrs. M. B. Wolfe, referred to committee on claims, reported back *adversely*, and *indefinitely* postponed.

531, relative to district courts; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

647, pension to W. B. Whiting; referred to committee on pensions, reported, considered and *died*.

862, pension to George Foster; referred to committee on pensions, reported back *adversely*, and postponed *indefinitely*.

1013, pension to Mrs. T. Nussear; referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—THIRD SESSION.

1496, relief of certain citizens of Lynchburg, &c., referred to committee on finance, and *died there*.

1549, pension to J. C. Daggell: passed the Senate.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

S. Bill 65, for relief of the trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Seminary; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

S. Bill 23, for relief of Thomas Strider; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

S. Bill 64, interest on war of 1812; referred to committee on military affairs, and *died there*.

S. Bill 66, relief of H. H. Cook; referred to committee on claims, reported back without amendment, considered and *died*.

67, for relief of Albert V. Conway, referred to committee on finance, and *died there*.

235, pension to Egbert Olcott; referred to committee on pensions, reported back and *passed* Senate.

289, pension to E. Heinzel; referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

290, wall tents to Va. Military Institute; referred to committee on military affairs, reported back *adversely*, and postponed *indefinitely*.

291, relief of certain citizens of Lynchburg; referred to committee on finance, and *died there*.

334, for bridge at Georgetown, D. C.; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

411, relief of C. W. Rogers; referred to committee on P. O. and P. R.; reported back *adversely*, and *indefinitely* postponed.

465, pension to George Smith; referred to committee on pensions, reported back and passed Senate.

475, pension to H. I. Churchman; referred to committee on pensions, reported back and passed Senate.

496, to adjudicate claims for pensions; referred to committee on pensions, reported back with amendments, and *died on the table*.

463, pension to M. B. Kirby; referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

426, relief of Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Co.; referred to committee on naval affairs, reported back with admendments, and *died on the table*.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

Bill 871, pension to Mary W. Jones; referred to committee on pensions, reported back S. 1501 as substitute, which restored pensions in certain cases, and passed Senate.

926, bridge at Georgetown, D. C.; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

991, pension to D. H. Myers; referred to committee on pensions, reported back *adversely*, and *indefinitely* postponed.

992, pension to widow of Ex-President Tyler; referred to committee on pensions, reported back and passed Senate.

1044, pension to James King; referred to committee on pensions, reference changed to invalid pensions, reported back and placed on the private calendar, where it *died*.

1045, pension to Susan Teffords; took same course as 1044, and had the same fate.

1113, pension to Peter K. Morgan; referred to committee on pensions, reported back and passed.

1114, pension to Luman Case, referred to committee on pensions, reported back and passed the Senate.

1159, relief of J. M. Wood, of Lynchburg, Va.; referred to finance committee, and *died there*.

1233, pension to F. Weller; referred to committee on pensions, reported back and passed Senate.

1386, to incorporate Potomac U. R. R. Co., of Washington; referred to committee on District of Columbia, reported back *adversely*, and *indefinitely* postponed.

1476, relief of heirs of Wm. Selden, &c.; referred to committee on claims, reported back with amendment, and *died*.

1521, pension to D. W. Combs; referred to committee on pensions, reported back and passed by Senate.

1620, pension to Sallie A. Palmer; referred to committee on pensions, reported *adversely* and *indefinitely* postponed.

1656, to incorporate Washington and Georgetown Junction Steam

R. R. Co., &c.; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

1662, pension to Lew Anderson; referred to committee on pensions, reported back and passed the Senate.

1728, pension to Mrs. L. E. McCauley; referred to committee on pensions, reported back, and passed the Senate.

1802, pension to A. M. Paulding: referred to committee on pensions, reported back, and passed the Senate.

 Mr. Withers, during his one term, or six years in the Senate, introduced 60 Bills, of which only 17 appear to have passed that body, and 16 of this number were for pensions; and of the 60 bills introduced, it does not appear that more than 24 of the number related to the State, and of the 17 passed, it is not certain that more than 3 related to the citizens of Virginia.

RECORD OF JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER.

Record of Bills introduced by him, and what became of them.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

431, for relief of the heirs of William A. Graham; passed by the House.

432, for relief of Moses Lacy; referred to committee on war claims and *died there*.

433, for relief of Charles W. Button; referred to committee on claims, reported back, and *died* on calendar.

1122, to compensate Washington and Lee University for damage by U. S. army; referred to committee on education and labor, and *died there*.

1406, for the establishment of an exchequer; referred to committee on banking and currency, and *died there*.

1585, authorizing the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to designate the points at which collectors and supervisors of the revenue shall hold their offices; passed the House.

1807, for relief of Anthony Lawson; passed the House.

1815, for relief of certain persons in Lynchburg; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1816, to repeal section 1218 of Revenue Statutes; passed.

2135, relating to execution of custom house bonds; *became law*.

2732, to regulate the currency; referred to committee on banking and currency, and *died there*.

3271, for relief of Mary B. Kirby; referred to committee on revolutionary pensions, and *died there*.

3485, for relief of Henry Thorman; referred to ways and means committee, and *died there*.

3486, for relief of S. F. Buckner; passed by the House.

3921, for relief of E. K. Snead; referred to Committee on Ways and Means, and *died there*.

4056, for relief of John Kelley; referred to Committee on War Claims, and *died there*.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

4681, for removal of political disabilities of R. H. Chitton, of Georgia; passed by the House and died in the Senate.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

947, for relief of W. A. Graham's heirs; referred to Committee on Patents, and *died there*.

1203, for relief of John Kelley; referred to Committee on War Claims, and *died there*.

1204, for public building at Lynchburg, Va.; referred to Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and *died there*.

1248, for relief of E. D. Bruner; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

1628, for relief of Moses Lacy; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

1629, for relief of certain citizens of Lynchburg, Va., refunding to them taxes improperly collected from them on manufactured tobacco; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1654, for relief of Folkes & Winston; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

1817, for relief of C. W. Button; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1887, to extend provisions of Section 3297 of Revised Statutes to other institutions of learning; became a law.

1909, for relief of T. P. Mitchell; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

2138, for relief of M. Fearon and J. Crossin; became a law.

2244, for relief of Ford, Moorman & Co.; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

2245, for relief of N. B. King and M. B. Kirby; referred to committee on invalid pensions, changed to committee on Revolutionary pensions, and *died there*.

2687, referring claim of C. B. Tampeke to court of claims; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2868, referring claim of E. B. and C. R. Meredith to court of claims; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3892, to change time of holding district court in Virginia; became a law.

4427, relating to taxes upon tobacco, incomes and other internal taxation; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

4602, to amend and re-enact Section 716 of Revised Statutes; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

4758, for relief of J. P. Wright; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

4888, for relief of M. B. Kirby; referred to committee on Revolutionary pensions, and *died there*.

4998 and 5338, to authorize W. Point Com. Co. to do business in foreign countries; referred to committee on commerce and *died there*.

4999, for relief of Wm. Miller; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

5079, to declare true intent and meaning of Sec. 709, Rev. Stat.; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

5134, to refund taxes illegally assessed against J. H. Ayres; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—THIRD SESSION.

5970, regulating the compensation for the transportation of mails on railroad routes; referred to committee on P. O. and P. R., and *died there*.

6137, relief of Albert V. Conway; passed the House and died in the Senate.

6519, relief of W. A. Courtenay; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

6520, relief of M. Tompkins and others; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

6521, relief of J. Henry Rives, &c.; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

6522, to refund to Calvin Bronson, of Ohio, tax on tobacco; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

323, for public building at Lynchburg, Va.; referred to committee on public buildings and grounds, and *died there*.

324, to declare the legal effect of permits granted by President of the U. S., to purchase products in insurrectionary States; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

1365, giving the consent of congress to the jurisdiction of the Federal courts in actions of ejectments in which the U. S. is interested; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

1637, relief of R. M. Miller; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1638, relief of Edwin DeLeon; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRES—SECOND SESSION.

2409, same as 6520 of previous congress; referred to ways and means committee, and *died there*.

2501, same as 6107 of previous congress; referred to ways and means committee, and *died there*.

2567, same as 3921 of 44th congress; became a law.

3036, same as 6519 of 45th congress; referred to ways and means committee, substitute reported and *died on the table*.

3584, for monument at Winchester, Va., to Gen. Daniel Morgan; referred to committee on revolutionary pensions, and *died there*.

4424, to admit, free of duty, Bibles, &c., in Chinese language; referred to ways and means committee, reported back and *died on the table*.

5025, repeal section 641, Rev. Stat.; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

5026, repeal 4th section of act approved March 1, 1875; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

5199, relief of grand-daughter and daughters of Z. Taylor, late

President of the U. S.; referred to committee on appropriations, and *died there*.

5200, to regulate the lien of judgments in the U. S. courts, &c.; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

5387, refund taxes to W. S. Kimball & Co.; referred to ways and means committee, reported back and *died on the table*.

5595, relief of J. M. Wood; referred to ways and means committee, substitute reported and *died on the table*.

6186, regulate duties on hoop, band and scroll iron, &c.; referred to ways and means committee, reported back and *died on the table*.

6187, to regulate the custom duties on sugar; referred to ways and means committee, reported back and *died on the table*.

6188, to regulate the custom duties on certain articles named therein; referred to ways and means committee, reported back and *died on the table*.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS--THIRD SESSION.

6034, relief of G. W. Hendulete, &c.; became a law.

7072, to declare the true intent and meaning of act approved June 16, 1880; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

7073, to authorize U. S. Commissioners to take acknowledgements of the transfer of U. S. bonds; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS--FIRST SESSION.

5345, to incorporate Atlantic & Miss. River Canal Co.; referred to committee on railroads and canals, and *died there*.

1787, same as 7073 of 46th congress; referred to ways and means committee, reported with amendment and *died on the table*.

1793, same as 4424 of 46th congress; referred to ways and means committee, and *died there*.

1794, to extend the jurisdiction of the U. S. courts; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

2721, relief of Edwin DeLeon; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

4619, to extend the jurisdiction of justices of the peace in D. C.; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

4790, relief of Lewis Johnson & Co.; referred to ways and means committee, reported substitute and *died on the table*.

1792, to regulate lien of judgments; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

1795, to refund taxes to W. S. Kimball & Co.; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1789, relief of Moses Lacy; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

1785, to erect public building at Lynchburg, Va.; referred to committee on public buildings and grounds, substitute reported which *died on the calendar*.

1786, relief of J. D. Morrison; referred to committee on ways and means, substitute reported and *died on the table*.

1791, relief of J. H. Rives; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

6884, to amend law to encourage ship building; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

1788, to repeal export tax on tobacco; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1784, to settle accounts of certain States for expenditures during the war of 1812; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

1790, 4139, for relief of J. M. Hood; referred to committee on claims and *died there*.

2772, for relief of J. P. Wright; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION

7037, to amend laws relating to the Columbia Institution for deaf and dumb; referred to committee on revision of laws, and *died there*.

7488, to adjudicate claim of heirs of John Henry; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

7674, relief of Mt. Olivet Methodist Church; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

7330, to remove political disabilities of F. H. Smith; became a law.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

2847, relief of H. C. Boyd; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

5849, to limit time for prosecution and payment of claims against the U. S.; referred to judiciary, reported back and *died on the calendar*.

1739, relief of P. Cook; referred to com. on D. C., reported back and *died on the calendar*.

2848, to amend laws relative to bonds of executors in D. C.; referred to committee on D. C., reported back adversely and *died on the table*.

6987, to repeal tax on fruit brandy; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

6400, relief of L. Gaddis; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

6401, relief of M. G. Emery; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

7300, relief of Moses Lacy; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

1741, to provide for final settlement with Mexican Pottawatomi Indians; referred to committee on Indian affairs, reported back and *died on the calendar*.

1742, to provide for final settlement with Pottawatomi Indians; referred to committee on Indian affairs, and *died there*.

1589, relief of J. D. Morrison; referred to committee on ways and means, reported back and *died on the calendar*.

5850, granting copyrights to newspapers; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

6631, relief of H. H. Sibley; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

5653, relief of M. Smith; referred to committee on private land claims, and *died there*.

6986, to repeal tax on tobacco; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1740 and 5431, same as 1784 in 47th congress; referred to judiciary committee, reported back and *died on the calendar*.

2846, relief of heirs of Martin Webb; referred to committee on war claims, reported back adversely and *died on the table*.

FORTY EIGHTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

8247, to define jurisdiction of courts of the U. S.; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

7843, to increase number of judges in U. S. courts; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

7788, to equalize the pay of House-folders; referred.

7950, to increase judicial force of the United States; referred.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION

2486, relief of A. and Ches. Canal Co.; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

2496, to limit time for presentation of claims against U. S.; became a law.

2487 and 2488, to appoint additional circuit judges; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

2489, to establish court of appeals; referred to judiciary committee and *died there*.

2495, to define jurisdiction of courts of the United States; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

2490, to amend act for removal of causes to courts of the United States; passed the House and referred to Senate committee on judiciary.

2497, to regulate effect of judgments of courts of United States; passed the House and referred to Senate committee on judiciary.

3728, to regulate prosecutions in courts of the U. S.; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

2492, to regulate criminal proceedings; referred to judiciary committee, reported back and *died on the calendar*.

3727, appropriating money for department of justice; referred to committee on appropriations.

2500, to repeal tax on fruit Brandy; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

6928, relief of H. T. Hartman; referred to committee on patents, and *died there*.

2493, to establish International Copyright; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

3175, to regulate Interstate Commerce; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

2499, to pay advances made to U. S. by Va. and Md.; referred to committee on claims, reported back and *died on the calendar*.

2484, relief of J. P. Morrison; referred to ways and means committee, and *died there*.

2502, to settle with Pottawatomi Indians; referred to committee on Indian affairs, and *died there*.

2485, relief of H. H. Sibley; referred to committee on claims, reported back and *died on the calendar*.

2498, to settle State war claims of 1812; referred to committee on claims, reported back with a amendment, considered, and passed over by the House.

6318, to erect public building at Staunton, Va.; referred to com-

mittee on public buildings and grounds, reported back and *died on the calendar*.

3849, to provide for bringing suits against the U. S.; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

2491, to extend appellate powers of Supreme Court of U. S.; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

2494, to facilitate business of the Supreme Court of U. S.; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

6929, to repeal tenure of office laws; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

2501, to repeal tax on tobacco; referred to ways and means committee, and *died there*.

8971, to pension N. H. Van Zandt; referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

10418, to amend law relative to punishment for embezzlement.

10417, to amend law relative to purchase of government supplies.

10416, to prescribe mode of administration of oaths.

10791, to adjudicate claim of Benjamin Wilkes.

10984, to authorize appeals from courts of United States.

11019, to construct a road to National Cemetery from Staunton, Va.

 Mr. Tucker, during his six terms or twelve years in Congress, introduced 146 Bills, only 17 of which passed the House, and of the 146 bills introduced, it appears that only 36 related to Virginia, and of the 17 bills passed by the House, only 8 appear to have related to the State or its citizens.

HON. GEO. C. CABELL.

Record of Bills introduced by him, and what became of them.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

1130, to amend an act granting pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the war of 1812. Referred to committee on revolutionary pensions, and *died there*.

1131, restoring to the pension rolls the name of Edward Booker. Referred to committee on revolutionary pensions, and *died there*.

1132, to pay owners of cotton and tobacco used by the Government since 1865. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1133, to erect public building at Danville, Va. Referred to public B. and G. committee, reported back and *died on calendar*.

1134, to authorize manufacturers of tobacco to transfer to their factories ingredients used in the manufacture of tobacco, &c., free of duty. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1414, for pension to Phillip Howerton. Referred to revolutionary pension committee, and *died there*.

1415, to repeal revenue tax on spirits distilled from apples, peaches and other fruit. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1416, for survey of Dan river. Referred to committee on commerce.

1649, for pension to J. Gutherie. Referred to revolutionary pension committee, and *died there*.

1650, for pension to W. Blaneett. Referred to revolutionary pension committee, and *died there*.

2182, for survey of New River. Referred to committee on commerce.

2183, for relief of Wm. Hodges. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2341, for pension to W. M. Yates. Referred to committee on invalid Pensions, and *died there*.

2342, for relief of A. Bostick. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2605, for relief of T. B. Doe. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2738, to reduce taxes on manufactured tobacco and to regulate the taxes upon dealers in and producers of leaf tobacco, referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

2834 and 3372, for relief of S. B. Corbett. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3073, for survey of Staunton river. Referred to committee on Commerce.

3492, for relief of G. W. Spates. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3493, for relief of G. Calvert. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3804, for relief of Protestant Orphan Asylum at Natchez, Tenn. Referred to committee on war claims, substitute reported, and *died on calendar*.

3827, for relief of Pickerell & Brooks. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3840, for relief of A. G. Walten. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

4081, for relief of J. T. Armstrong. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

4082, for relief of Dr. A. G. Tebault.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

4406, for relief of J. H. Pollard and wife. Referred to judiciary committee and *died there*.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION,

132, same as 1134 previous congress. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

183, same as 1130 of previous congress. Referred to revolutionary pension committee, and *died there*.

865, same as 1133 of previous congress. Referred to committee on public B. and G., and *died there*.

866, same as 1415 of previous congress. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

867, same as 1132 of previous congress. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

868, same as 3073 of previous congress. Referred to committee on commerce.

869, same as 2182 of previous congress. Referred to committee on commerce.

944, same as 1416 of previous congress. Referred to committee on commerce.

945, relief of J. R. Pace & Co. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

946, same as 2738 of previous congress. Referred to committee on ways and means, and died there.

1319, relief of A. H. Herr. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

1616, same as 1650 of previous congress. Referred to committee on rev. pensions, and *died there*.

1617, same as 1414 of previous congress. Referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

1618, same as 1131 of previous congress. Referred to committee on rev. pensions, and *died there*.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

2234, same as 1649 of previous congress. Referred to committee on rev. pensions, reported adversely, and *died* on the table.

2235, relief of H. A. Butler. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2236, relief of Otho Henson. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2237, relief of S. M. Golden. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2238, relief of S. C. Brooke. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2239, relief of R. C. Perkins. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2930, relief of claimants gone into bankruptcy against U. S. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—THIRD SESSION.

4797, to aid Dismal Swamp Canal Co. Referred to committee on railways and canals, and *died there*.

6166, relief of Folkes & Winston and others. Referred to committee on war claims, substitute reported, and *died* on the calendar.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

325, to erect public building at Danville, Va. Referred to committee on public B. and G., and *died there*.

326, to amend Sec. 3251 of Rev. Statutes. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

327, to amend and re-enact Sec. 3357 of Rev. Statutes. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

328, to increase pension to J. L. Evans, &c. Referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

1900, to give consent of U. S. to the prosecution of the suit of G. W. Custis Lee, for recovery of Arlington on certain conditions. Referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

1901, relief of M. B. Kirby. Referred to committee on revolutionary pensions, and *died there*.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

325, for public building at Danville, Va. Passed both Houses and approved by the President.

2483, same as 1416 in 44th congress. Referred to committee on commerce, and *died there*.

4658, Relief of Alex. White. Referred to committee on military affairs, and *died there*.

5537, relief of J. Weaver. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

5538, relief of Mary Weaver. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

5594, relief of C. F. Wright. Referred to committee on public lands, and *died there*.

5699, relief of M. B. Kirby. Referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

6001, for survey of ship canal across Charleston Neck. Referred to committee on railway and canal, reported back and *died* on calendar.

6184, to admit licorice, &c., free of duty. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

6487, relief of R. Huff. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

6488, repeal of part of Section 3385, of Rev. Statutes, &c. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—THIRD SESSION.

6599, to change time of holding circuit and district courts of the U. S. for western district of Virginia, held at Danville, Va, became a law.

7241, for relief of Green Penn. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

3804, relief of W. H. S. Banks. Referred to committee on military affairs, and *died there*.

5990, to improve road to National Cemetery at Danville, Va. Referred to committee on military affairs, and *died there*.

1759, to repeal tax on fruit brandy. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1758, relief of Rob. Huff. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1761, to permit free importation of licorice. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1753, to pay advances made by Virginia and Maryland. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

3139, to refund to Jno. R. Pace & Co. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1762, for relief of Green Penn. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1754, granting Mexican war pensions. Referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

1757, to provide for re-computation of State claims in war of 1812. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1755, relief of J. Weaver. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

1760, relief of Mary Weaver. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

1756, to duplicate land warrant to Caroline F. Wright. Referred to committee on public lands, and *died there*.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

6939, to repeal taxes on tobacco and spirits. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

6741, relief of J. Bishop. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1597, same as 5990 in 47th congress. Referred to committee on military affairs, and *died there*.

4312, to regulate the production of distilleries. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1604, to repeal the tax on fruit brandy. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1605, relief of R. Huff. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1596 and 5852, to abolish internal revenue taxes. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1606, to permit importation of licorice free of duty. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1599, to pay advances to the United States by Maryland and Virginia. Referred to committee on claims, reported adversely, and *died on the table*.

1598, relief of J. R. Pace & Co. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

4935, relief of E. J. Pature. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1607, relief of G. Perro. Referred to committee on ways and means and *died there*.

6359, to adjudicate claim of Piedmont Railroad Co. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

6511, for relief of A. Staples. Referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

6918, to repeal tax on tobacco and fruit brandy. Referred to committee on ways and means and *died there*.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

8171, relief of T. J. Cocke. Referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

8170, to extend signal service benefits to farmers. Referred to committee on appropriations, and *died there*.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

2504, to pay advances to U. S. by Maryland and Virginia. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

2507, to refund tax to J. C. Pace & Co. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

2503, relief of T. J. Patrick. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

2512, relief of Green Perne. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

3735, granting pensions for Mexican Loan Co. Referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

7569, to adjudicate claim of Piedmont Railroad Co. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

2506, to extend signal service. Referred to committee on Agriculture, and *died there*.

3736, to repeal tax on tobacco. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

2505, to repeal tax on fruit brandy. Referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

9846, relief of C. Trimble. Referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

9928, to pension Moses Williams. Referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS--SECOND SESSION.

10,628, relief of H. H. Farmer.

11,212, relief of D. Thomas.

 Mr. Cabell, during his six terms or *twelve* years in Congress, introduced **111** Bills only **2** of which appear to have become laws—one for the Public Building at Danville and the other for changing time of holding Federal Courts at Danville; and of the **111** Bills introduced, **102** appear to relate to the State or her Citizens—but in the main, are the same bills in each Congress.

RECORD OF GEORGE D. WISE.

Record of Bills introduced by him, and what became of them.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS--FIRST SESSION.

Bill 1772, to apply proceeds of the sale of public lands to education; referred to committee on education and labor, and *died there*.

2724, to amend law relative to marking tobacco packages; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1773, to repeal law imposing tax on tobacco; referred to committee on ways and means, reported a substitute.

3864, to amend laws relating to internal revenue; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

5524, relief of Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal Co.; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

4133, to sell certain property at Bermuda Hundreds; passed both Houses and approved by the President.

4623, to incorporate Columbia Manufacturing Co.; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

5037, to punish contempt in certain cases; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

2726, relief of Sally Hardmond; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

6496, to increase pension to Matilda C. Layne; referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

1771, relief of legal representatives of C. S. Mills; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

3802, relief of legal representatives of James Monroe; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3138, to construct road to National Cemetery at Richmond; referred to committee on military affairs, reported back substitute, which *died on calendar of House*.

1770, to amend boundary of Richmond customs district; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

5991, relief of W. H. Ruth, W. H. Stratton and A. H. Bent; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

2725, to incorporate U. S. Fidelity and Guarantee Co.; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

1123, to erect public buildings at Richmond, Va.; referred to committee on public buildings and grounds, and *died there*.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

4933, Alabama Claims; referred to committee on judiciary, reported back, laid on the table, and *died there*.

2849, Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

5851, to establish export tobacco manufactories; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1610, road to National Cemetery at Richmond; referred to committee on military affairs, reported back with amendment, laid on the table, and *died there*.

1605, to abolish the Internal Revenue Bureau; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

3831, to make Newport News a port of entry: referred to committee on ways and means, reported back, laid on the table, and *died there*.

1609, for improvement of public buildings at Richmond; referred to committee on public buildings and grounds, reported back with amendment, laid on the table, and *died there*.

3832, to change boundaries of Fourth Collection District in Virginia; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

5410, monument to Mary Washington; referred to library committee, reported back with amendment, laid on the table, and *died there*.

2849, relief of Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

182, to appoint Joshua Bishop commander in the navy; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

5611, to amend law relative to fees of collectors; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

6039, to prohibit playing games by minors in the District of Columbia; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

1612, relief of Sally Hardmond; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

1608, to abolish internal revenue taxes; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

60, for relief of Wm. B. Isaacs & Co.; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

4934, relief of Geo. Jamison; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

6038, to prohibit license tax on non-residents of District of Columbia; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

1611, relief of C. S. Mills; referred to committee on claims, reported back adversely, laid on the table and *died there*.

2851, relief of estate of E. T. Pilkinton; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

4310, relief of heirs of J. W. Sears; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

7277, to amend laws relative to tobacco inspectors; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

6633, to incorporate Trust and Indemnity Co. in D. C.; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

4311, to incorporate U. S. Fidelity and Guarantee Co.; referred to judiciary committee, and *died there*.

3832, to change boundaries of 4th collection district of Virginia; referred to committee on ways and means, reported back and *died on calendar of House*.

2850, relief of Mrs. P. L. Ward; referred to committee on war claims, reported back and *died on calendar of House*.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

7789, to pension G. H. Burrows; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

8021, to extend patent of W. Leigh Burton; referred to committee on patents, reported back, consideration by House and objected to.

7759, to remove political disabilities of W. H. Ward; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

2521, to regulate the method of purchasing tobacco for the use of the army; referred to committee on ways and means, reported back, and passed the House; referred in Senate to committee on finance, and *died there*.

2516, relief of the sufferers by the wreck of U. S. S. Ashuelot; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

2524, for extension of letters patent to Dr. W. Leigh Burton; referred to committee on patents and reported back.

2514, to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools; referred to committee on education, and *died there*.

2515, relief of officers and crew of U. S. Sloop of War Cumberland; referred to committee on naval affairs, changed to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2525, relief of the heirs of Mark Davis; referred to committee on war claims, reported back with amendment and *died on calendar of House*.

4308, to regulate steam engineering in District of Columbia; referred to committee on District of Columbia, reported back with amendment, and *died on calendar of House*.

5794, relief of R. D. Evans and R. M. Green, referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

2520, to purchase land opposite Gosport Navy Yard; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

2519, to regulate contracts and purchases by U. S.; referred to committee on labor, substitute reported back, and *died on calendar of House*.

67, relief of Wm. B. Isaacs & Co.; referred to committee on war claims, passed the House, and passed over in the Senate.

4311, relief of G. W. Jamison; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

5793, pension to Capt. W. Miller: referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

5476, relief of Jane Milligan; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

3150, relief of representative of James Monroe; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

5475, to provide for selection of naval cadets, &c.; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

6321, relief of certain retired officers of the navy; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

2517, relief of estate of E. T. Pilkinton; referred to committee on claims, passed the House, referred to committee on finance in the Senate, and *died there*.

2526, to extend provision as to prize money; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

2523, to appoint J. M. Quockenbush in the navy; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

2578, for road to National Cemetery at Richmond; referred to committee on military affairs, substitute reported, and passed.

149, to settle claims of R. & D. Railroad Co.; referred to committee on railroads and canals, and *died there*.

4309, relief of heirs of J. W. Sears; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

4310, relief of heirs of Rebecca Leans; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

8585, for inspection of Tobacco, &c.; passed the House, passed the Senate, and approved by the President.

2522, to provide for export tobacco manufactories, and drawback, &c.; passed the House and *died* in Senate committee on finance.

8272, to incorporate U. S. Fidelity and Guarantee Co.; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

6321, pension to E. Wilkinson; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

10052, to change boundaries of 4th Collection District in Virginia.

10762, relief of Samuel Wool.

10992, relief of Peter Tresmon.

 Mr. Wise, during his three terms or six years in Congress, introduced 77 Bills, only 7 of which appear to have passed the House; and of the 77 bills introduced, 65 appear to relate to the State or its citizens.

RECORD OF HON. JOHN S. BARBOUR.

Record of Bills introduced by him, and what became of them.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

4971, to increase salary of collector at Alexandria, Va.; reported from committee on ways and means, and *died on the table*.

6592, for relief of Mr. M. V. Brown; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

5870, for relief of Thomas Weeks; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

4972, for relief of A. M. Chichester and W. B. Chichester; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

5791, to adjudicate claim of Columbia Turnpike Co.; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

6725, for relief of A. M. Copan; referred to committee on pensions, and *died there*.

4769, for relief of J. V. Davis; referred to committee on military affairs, reference changed to committee on claims, reported back, and *died on the table*.

6619, to amend act relative to claims against District of Columbia; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

6084, for relief of E. E. Downham and Henry Strauss; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

4408, for relief of William Falls; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3136, relief of H. T. Fant; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

5997, for relief of Thomas Fisher; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2723, for relief of Mrs. A. Fant; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

5873, for relief of E. C. Fitzhugh; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3478, for relief of A. G. Hatfield; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3477, for relief of A. Jackson; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

4973, for relief of E. C. Kettle and others; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3476, for relief of J. Q. Larman and others; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3798, to pension Delia McCoy: referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

5871, for relief of Wilson Miller; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

5790, to adjudicate claim of L. T. Moore and Ann R. Burwell; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

5872, for relief of John L. Moore; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3135, for relief of Mount Vernon Manufacturing Co.; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

4138, for relief of Providence Hospital; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

6704, to confirm real estate titles under adverse possessions; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

1782, for settlement of Revolutionary claims; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

4137, for relief of A. DeK. Shattuck; referred to committee on invalid pensions, reported back *adversely*, laid on the table, and *died there*.

3137, for relief of George Storrs; referred to committee on Indian affairs, reported favorably, but *died on the table*.

3799, for relief of Litithia Strothers; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

1783, to incorporate Street Railway in Washington, D. C.; referred to committee on District of Columbia, reported *adversely*, laid on the table, and *died there*.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

6936, for relief of the heirs of Ann M. Fitzhugh; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

7039, to lease ground for hotel at Fortress Monroe, Va.; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

7574, to appoint as Assistant Surgeon Sidney A. Tebbs; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

4314, to pension John Armel; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

3815, to promote efficiency in the army; referred to committee on military affairs, and *died there*.

145, for relief of M. B. Ball; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

3451, for relief of A. Burgess and others; referred to committee on claims, reported back, laid on the table, and *died there*.

4646, for relief of Wm. Bushby; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2853, for relief of J. N. Carpenter; referred to committee on naval affairs, reported back *adversely*, laid on the table, and *died there*.

1594, for relief of heirs of Daniel Carroll; referred to committee on D. C., reported back, laid on the table, and *died there*.

3811, for relief of Stephen Casey; referred to committee on D. C., reference changed to committee on claims, and *died there*.

6989, to amend law relative to tax on commercial agents in District of Columbia; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

2858, for relief of J. Connally; referred to committee on D. C., reported back, passed House, referred to Senate committee on D. C., reported back, passed Senate, examined and signed, approved by the President. Not a Virginia claimant, however.

1593, for relief of J. V. Davis; referred to committee on claims, reported back *adversely*, laid on the table, and *died there*.

4316, for relief of John F. Denson; referred to committee on claims, reported back, laid on the table, and *died there*.

5613, 5612, 3448, 6919, 2861, 2857, 3813, 3812, 6040, 2860, 3853, 3447 and 5629, relative to District of Columbia, *died* in the committee, ex-

cept 3448, which *died* in Senate committee; but this Bill, 3448, did not relate to Virginia.

2852, for relief of E. Downham and Henry Strauss; referred to committee on ways and means, and *died there*.

1591, for relief of heirs of Wm. Falls; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3450, for relief of Wm. A. Fant; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3449, for relief of A. M. Fitzhugh; referred to committee on war claims; referred to court of claims.

95, for relief of E. B. Hay; referred to committee on claims, reported back with amendment, and *died on the table*.

6630, to investigate fine imposed on Steamer Glenely; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

4647, for relief of Sarah E. Holroy; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

3452, for relief of Benwood Hunter; referred to committee on military affairs, and *died there*.

1595, for relief of Mary Ann King; referred to committee on military affairs, changed to committee on payment, bounty and back pay, and *died there*.

2834, for relief of the heirs of Richard B. Mason; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

4315, for relief of W. B. Moses; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

5411, for relief of the heirs of M. D. Newman; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

4645, for relief of Margaret Poland; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3810, to allow bridge across the Potomac river; referred to committee on District of Columbia, reported back, recommitted, and *died there*.

6381, to amend act to allow bridge over the Potomac; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

3814, for relief of Sarah E. Rose; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

249, relative to distribution of surplus revenue; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

1590, to appoint A. Sidney Tebbs an Assistant Surgeon in the navy; referred to committee on commerce, and *died there*.

2856, for relief of certain citizens of Virginia; referred to committee on war claims; referred to Court of Claims.

2855, for relief of the Trustees of the Virginia Protestant Episcopal Seminary; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

3514, for relief of Washington & Ohio Railroad; referred to committee on war claims, reported back *adversely*, laid on the table, and *died there*.

5412, to pension John White; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

5413, to pension Daniel Williams; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

7558, 8159, 7556 and 7557, related to affairs in the District of Colum-

bia, and all died in committee of which he was chairman, except 7556, to regulate the manufacture and sale of spiritous and malt liquors in the District of Columbia, which passed the House, but died in the committee of the Senate; and 7557, to provide for the sale of certain real property in the District of Columbia, which passed the House, but died in the committee of the Senate.

7866, for relief of J. E. Holmes, referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

7555, for relief of Thos. McCardell: referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

7559, to correct errors in codification of Revised Statutes; referred to committee on revision of the laws, and *died there*.

8267, to pay proceeds of sale of public lands under act of Sept. 4, 1841, to the State of Virginia: referred to committee on appropriations, and *died there*.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

2587 and 6925, for relief of Chas. W. Adams; referred to committee on claims, and war claims, and *died in both committees*.

9319, to prevent sale of adulterated food in District of Columbia and territories; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

8528, for relief of Alexandria county; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

9321, to amend act granting right of way to Anacostia & Potomac Railroad Co.; referred to committee on District of Columbia and *died there*.

4314, for relief of R. L. Brockett; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

2986, for relief of Septemas Brown; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

6326, for relief of Stephen Carey; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

7839, for relief of Joseph Conard; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

4312, for relief of Sewell B. Corbett; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2592, for relief of Wm. H. Deery; referred to committee on invalid pensions, reference changed to committee on pensions, reported back *adversely*, laid on the table, and *died there*.

9614, for prevention of contagious diseases in District of Columbia; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

9320 and 9456, to adjust claims for damages to real estate in District of Columbia; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

2590, to settle claims against the D. C.; referred to committee on D. C., and *died there*.

Bills for the relief of S. F. Donaldson, 8953; for relief of J. W. Fairfax, 6924; for that of Wm. Falls, 6325; for heirs of Wm. Falls, 4315; for Freeman Richardson & Co, 8077; for J. H. Hanover, 4316; Res. 132, for E. B. Hay; for L. Kearney, 9322; for E. C. Kittle and others, 2582; for T. N. Mallory, 2593; for R. B. Mason, 2581; for Mary E. Neale, 6609; for Horatio Nelson, 2586; for George A. Nowland, 9323; for John O'Brien, 9615; for M. Poland, 4313; for Protes-

tant Episcopal Seminary, 2580; for Geo. E. Rider, 4828; for M. Rose, 2585; for R. L. Rochford, 2553; for S. Mathews, 3734; for M. Trunnell, 9613 and 9455—all died in committees.

Bills 4318, for Metro. R. R. Co.; 2591, for North Wash. Cable R. R. Co.; 2579, for bridge across Potomac; 2580, for Protestant Episcopal Seminary; 2587 and 9073, for Washington Nat. Safe Deposit Co., and Bill 2588 for pension to R. Riggles, and 8675 for pension to Emma Read—all died in committees.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

10053, to amend charter of Capital, North O. and South Washington Railway Co.; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

10349, in reference to causes in District of Columbia Court; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

10348, for relief of Sisters of Holy Cross; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

10211, for relief of Upper Potomac Steamboat Co.; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

10627, to amend act relative to Anacostia & Potomac River Railroad; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

10897, to regulate sub-divisions of land in District of Columbia; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

10,898, to define routes of Steam Railroads in District of Columbia; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

10899, to regulate construction of Street Railways in District of Columbia; referred to committee on District of Columbia, and *died there*.

10763, for relief of Thompson Gilbert and others; *died in committee*.

11086, for relief of Edwin M. Lawton; *died in committee*.

10991, for relief of James S. Magee; *died in committee*.

11084, to allow iron bridge across Potomac River; *died in committee*.

11085, for relief of G. B. Wibert; *died in committee*.

11179, for relief of St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum; *died in committee*.

 Mr. Barbour, during his three terms or *six years*, in Congress, for two of which or *four years* he was chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia—one of the most important committees of the House—Mr. Barbour introduced 150 Bills, of which 92 appear to have related to the State or her citizens, and of all the 150 Bills introduced, but 4 appear to have passed the House of which he was a member, and of these 4 Bills neither related to the State or to any Citizen thereof.

RECORD OF CHAS. T. O'FERRALL.

Record of Bills introduced by him and what became of them.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

7208, relief of Emma L. Moore; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

7477, to unite and consolidate Virginia Judicial Districts; referred to committee on judiciary, and *died there*.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

Resolutions of inquiry relative to public buildings at Abingdon and Harrisonburg.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

6608, relief of Martin Belaw; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

7571, pension to J. W. Blair; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

2535, pension to J. W. Bryarly, alias John or John B. Williams; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

4307, relief of Pay Inspector J. W. Carpenter; referred to committee on naval officers, and *died there*.

2527, to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools; referred to committee on education, and *died there*.

2536, increased pension to C. H. Day; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

6607, relief of Noah Foltz; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

7572, Pension to Mary M. Hoxey; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

2533, relief of St. Clair D. Kirtley and F. W. Kirtley; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

5831, relief of L. B. LeGrand; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2537, relief of W. E. Logan; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

2528, to preserve the grave of Gen. Daniel Morgan; referred to committee on Library, reported back with amendment, and *died on House calendar*.

4306, to appoint Naval Pay Director on retired list; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

3726, for Light-house on Page's Rock, Va.; referred to committee on commerce, and *died there*.

5832, relief of S. H. Sonner: referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2531, relief of J. Southerick; referred to committee on military affairs, reported back *adversely*, laid on the table, and *died there*.

5130, relief of G. W. Taylor; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

2529, to appoint A. S. Tabbs on Marine Hospital service; referred to committee on naval affairs, and *died there*.

2534, to pension J. A. VanNort; referred to committee on pensions, reported back *adversely*, laid on the table, and *died there*.

3724, relief of Centenary Church, Winchester, Va.; referred to committee on claims, and *died there*.

3725, for Light Ship in Winter Quarters Shoal, Va.; referred to committee on commerce, changed to committee on appropriations, and *died there*.

2532, relief of W. H. Woodward; referred to committee on war claims, and *died there*.

2530, relief of C. A. Worthington; referred to committee on military affairs, reported back *adversely*, laid on the table, and *died there*.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

10210, relief of the heirs of T. H. Crow.

 Mr. O'Ferrall, during his two terms or four years in Congress, introduced **27 Bills**, all of which appear to relate to the State or some citizen thereof, but it does not appear that ANY ONE of the **27** ever passed the body of which Mr. O'Ferrall was a member.

RECORD OF JOHN W. DANIEL.

Record of Bills introduced by him, and what became of them.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

2950, relief of J. A. Bonsack; referred to committee on patents, reported back, and consideration objected to in the House.

2951, relief of J. H. Rives; referred to committee on claims, reported back, and *died on House calendar*.

8277, for public building at Salem, Roanoke Co., Va.: referred to committee on public buildings and grounds, and *died there*.

8950, to remove disabilities of F. Sorrell, of Va.; passed the House and *died in Senate Committee on Judiciary*.

7430, pension to Mary C. Steptoe; referred to committee on invalid pensions, and *died there*.

9324, protection of sub-marine cables; referred to committee on foreign affairs, reported back, and *died on House calendar*.

5133, relief of Nicholas White; referred to committee on war claims, reported back with amendment, and *died on House calendar*.

10351, to regulate court fees in New Mexico and Arizona.

 Mr. Daniel, during his only term of two years in Congress, introduced **8 Bills**, only **1** of which appears to have passed the body of which he was a member.

RECORD OF WILLIAM MAHONE.

Record of Bills introduced by him, and what became of them.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

- 2079, for relief of Alexandria Co., Va.; referred.
- 1447, to pension D. W. Combs; referred.
- 2180, to pension George Foster; *passed*.
- 1874, for relief of Elizabeth Gaskins; referred.
- 1875, to erect public buildings at Harrisonburg and Abingdon; introduced by Mr. Mahone, and referred to committee on public buildings and grounds, reported back with amendments, and *passed*; *passed* House, and approved by the President.
- 1907, for relief of John Jett; referred.
- 2000, for relief of Charles S. Mills; referred.
- 2094, for relief of J. Henry Rives; referred.
- 1481, for relief of Wm. Tabb; referred.
- 1133, to settle certain claims of Virginia and other States, growing out of the war of 1812; referred.
- 1482, for relief of J. M. Wood; referred.
- 1999, for relief of trustees of Shiloh Baptist Church at Fredericksburg, Va.; referred.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

- 2442, to remove political disabilities of J. R. Waddy; referred.
- 2080, pension to George Foster; *passed*.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

- 2346, to regulate appointment of assistant naval contractors; referred.
- 1795, to establish export tobacco manufactories; referred.
- 1494, for relief of Frederick Foote; referred.
- 71, for relief of Wm. B. Isaacs & Co.; referred.
- 735, for relief of Charles S. Mills; referred.
- 1282, to erect public building at Portsmouth, Va.; referred.
- 1473, to enlarge custom house at Richmond; *passed*.
- 1902, to erect public building at Staunton, Va.; referred.
- 1077, to amend law relative to steamboat inspectors; referred.
- 1962, to allow drawbacks on imported material used in the manufacture of tobacco; referred.
- 1076, granting specific compensation to judge of Eastern District of Virginia; referred.
- 2306, to amend laws relative to courts of Western District of Virginia; referred.
- 737, to remove political disabilities of J. R. Waddy; *passed*.
- 879, for relief of P. L. Ward; *passed*.
- 734, for relief of Wm. Ward; referred.
- 736, for relief of W. Wright and S. Bosyr; referred.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

- 2601, to remove political disabilities of George T. Sinclair, of Virginia; referred.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

1149, giving one year's pay to discharged army officers; reported back *adversely*, and *indefinitely* postponed.

1631, to pension J. B. Bean; referred.

2064, for relief of R. N. Blake; referred.

1001, for relief of Arthur Connell; referred.

2200, for relief of Henry Corbin; referred.

1540, for relief of Isaac Davenport and others; referred.

1716, for relief of F. Foote; referred.

1148, to construct iron pier at Fortress Monroe; *passed*.

479, to erect post-office building at Fortress Monroe; *passed*.

1596, to confirm land title to Emile Galvin and C. P. Major; referred, and the same bill from House taken up, substituted and *passed*.

910 and 2058, for completion of public building at Harrisonburg, Va.; *passed*.

25, for relief of Wm. B. Isaacs & Co.; referred, and same bill from House, *passed*.

603, for relief of J. R. Jones; referred.

481, to authorize partition of land in Louisville, Ky.; *passed*.

2848, for relief of B. P. Loyall; *passed*.

2639, to pension Mary Morrisette; referred.

1409, for relief of R. P. W. Morriss; referred.

482, to erect public building at Norfolk, Va.; *passed*.

480, to enlarge public building at Petersburg, Va.; *passed*.

2059, for relief of Mallery Rose; referred.

1159, for relief of Wm. Rutherford; referred.

909, for relief of H. H. Sibley; referred.

1410, for relief of Wm. Tabb; referred.

1551, for relief of A. Thompson; referred.

477, to allow drawbacks on imported materials used in the manufacture of tobacco; referred.

476, to repeal laws relative to tobacco inspectors; referred, and same bill from House taken up, substituted and *passed*.

478, to amend law relative to courts for Western District of Virginia; referred.

1147, to retire wagon-masters; referred.

1150, for relief of P. L. Ward; *passed*.

2201, to extend streets and avenues in Washington, D. C.; referred and *passed*.

1632, to pension L. B. Williams; referred.

1764, for relief of Wash. Wright and Senior Bagee; referred.

1366, building at Montpelier, Vt.; *passed*.

1540, relief of I. Davenport and other citizens of Virginia; referred.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

3038, for light-house at Newport News, Va.; referred.

3125, to establish life saving station at Lynn Haven Inlet, Va.; referred and *passed*.

3111, for relief of legal representatives of H. H. Sibley; *passed*.

3057, to settle war claims of 1812; referred.

3150, granting right of way to Hampton and Old Point railroad; referred.

3182, for completion of monument to Mary, the mother of Washington; *passed*.

4214, to pay advances made the U. S. by Virginia and Maryland; referred, reported *favorable*, but not acted upon for want of time.

3149, to construct road to National Cemetery at Petersburg, Va.; referred.

3170, to allow exchange of guns with R. E. Lee Volunteer Battery; *passed*.

3246, for improvement of naval hospital park, at Portsmouth, Va.; *passed*.

3347, for relief of city council at Alexandria, Va.; referred.

3319, granting right of way to Hampton and Old Point Railroad Co.; referred.

3340, to increase pension to Mary M. Hoxey; referred.

3330, to erect across the Potomac River a National memorial bridge; *passed*.

603, relief of J. R. Jones, P. M. at Boynton, Va.; *passed*.

909, relief of heirs of H. H. Sibley; *passed*.

910, enlargement, &c., of public building at Harrisonburg, Va.; *passed*.

2064, relief of R. N. Blake; referred.

2848, relief of Benj. P. Loyall, of Va.; *passed*.

 Mr. Mahone, in his *six year's* service in the Senate, introduced **86 Bills**—of which **76** related to Virginia, and of these **76**, *twenty-one* *passed*.

VIRGINIA.

CAMPAIGN OF 1887.

ADDRESS

— OF THE —

Republican State Committee.



A D D R E S S.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The managers of the Democratic party held a convention at Roanoke on the 4th of August, 1887, and promulgated a Platform—in reality a series of apologies for their broken pledges.

It has not been the custom of the Republican party to assemble in State Convention at other times than when necessary to nominate a State Ticket, or send delegates to a National Convention.

The State Committee, representing the Republican party, have seen no occasion for departure from this rule. This party has no account of any stewardship to render, since for four years it has had no control over the administration of State affairs. Meanwhile Republican principles have not changed since they were formally announced by State Convention in 1885.

The principles of Virginia Republicans are the same as those of the National Republican party. We could not desire to deceive and mislead the voters of this State into the support of our party's candidates for the Legislature to be elected in November next, by any announcement of our own individual advocacy of principles, which we know to be in antagonism to the belief and principles of the Republican party of the Nation.

Having neither done, nor omitted, anything in the discharge of any duty or trust imposed upon our party,

which needs explanation, or for which we would desire to apologize, the reasons necessitating the Roanoke Convention do not exist as to the Republican party of this State.

Nevertheless, we have resolved to present to you this Address, setting forth certain leading facts of political history, contradicting the statements of the Roanoke platform, and to ask you to ponder them well before you again exercise the right of suffrage.

We shall first deal with the statements of that platform in the order in which they are made.

First. As to the endorsement of President Cleveland, and the declaration, which it makes, that his administration will receive the cordial support of the Democratic party of Virginia.

If this statement is sincere, then the succeeding statements demanding the immediate repeal of the Internal Revenue System, and the passage of the Blair Bill, must be insincere; for the opposition of President Cleveland to the one, and the lack of his endorsement of the other, of these measures, is known of all men.

His formal, and express, approval of Secretary Manning's views and recommendations upon the subject of taxation and revenue, is conclusive upon this question.

Secretary Manning not only deprecates the fact that there is no longer any duty or tax imposed upon tea and coffee, but, while urging a reduction of duties upon such articles of import as are produced in our own country, squarely opposes any reduction of the taxes imposed upon tobacco, fruit distillations and whiskey.

President Cleveland approves these views and recommendations of Secretary Manning. The Democratic managers of the Roanoke Convention endorse his administration, and yet declare for a repeal of the Internal Revenue System.

That President Cleveland's administration is a great and bitter disappointment to many of the managers of the Democratic party of Virginia, is attested by loud and deep complaints. This pretended support of him is not only inconsistent with the advocacy of the repeal of the Internal Revenue System, and the passage of the Blair Educational Bill, but is time-serving and delusive.

It remains to be seen whether the people of this State can be duped into his support, and that of candidates for the Legislature of the party endorsing his administration, by the inconsistent utterances of the Democratic managers of Virginia.

Second. As to the Internal Revenue System. The Roanoke platform seeks to create the impression among the people that the Democratic party favors the immediate repeal of that system. It may be that the Democratic managers, who promulgated that platform, sincerely wish the repeal of the Internal Revenue System, from motives of self-preservation; but, when they formally declare for the repeal of the system as part of the Democratic faith, it is apparent that they are guilty of an effort to deceive the voters of this Commonwealth. That system is held by the Democratic party as a hostage, to compel the overthrow of the Republican policy of protection to American Labor and Industries.

The authors of the Roanoke platform know full well that the National Democracy opposes that repeal, and that the few Democrats in accord with this declaration of the Roanoke platform are in a hopeless minority of the Democratic party. The National Democratic platform, upon which President Cleveland was elected in 1884, promised no repeal of the Internal Revenue System, but pledged the party to a continuance of the Internal Revenue taxes and their application to the payment of pensions.

The National Democratic plan of reducing tariff duties

embraces a continuance of these taxes. Every message of President Cleveland has ignored any suggestion of a repeal of the Internal Revenue System, and to the repeated efforts of the small minority of Democrats who seek its repeal, the Democratic majority of the Forty-ninth Congress, speaking through its Committee on Ways and Means—speaking for an overwhelming majority of the Democratic party—speaking in accord with the views of President Cleveland, has given the following unmistakable responses on behalf of the Democratic party.

On the 10th July, 1886, in the House of Representatives of the United States, Mr. Morrison, a leading Democrat and chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, on behalf of the Democratic majority of the House, submitted from his Committee an adverse report upon a bill "to reduce the Internal Revenue Taxes," &c. That report is House Document, 1st Session of the 49th Congress, No. 3209, and contains the following language:

"Attempts to remove the tobacco and other internal taxes are usually justified by asserting these to be war taxes, and in apparent forgetfulness of the fact that so far as relates to its money obligations the war is not half over, and will not be over until we have paid \$4,000,000,000 yet to be collected in taxes from the people."

* * * * *

"A tax on these—tobacco, snuff, cigarettes &c., is largely a tax on indulgence and excess, and its payment largely voluntary. Taxes not paid on these must be paid on necessities of life, and these are not necessities of life. This tax should not be removed."

* * * * *

Upon the same day Mr. W. C. P. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, another Democratic leader and Representative

of the Democratic majority, submitted to the House of Representatives from the Committee on Ways and Means, another adverse report upon a resolution "repealing the taxes upon tobacco." That report is House Document, No. 3210, and contains the following language:

"We are quite contented to defer action upon the tobacco tax until the purpose for which it was originally made has been met, or until by the decrease of the public debt and the revision of our present unjust and unequal tariff laws, the revenues to meet it can be raised with less hardship. It is a war tax, and the financial war is not yet ended and will not be until the last dollar of our war debt is paid, and the last pension is fully in."

* * * * *

"Among the war taxes which are now in force are the tax upon tobacco, both domestic and foreign; upon spirits and beer, both domestic and foreign; and upon imported sugar. All of these combined barely suffice to meet the annual charge for the cost of the war, which is still upon us."

* * * * *

"For these and other reasons we believe that it is expedient to maintain taxes both upon the domestic production and foreign import of tobacco."

This is the later record of the National Democracy, now in power, upon the question of a repeal of the Internal Revenue System. But it must not be forgotten, that the Democratic party, which, for ten years, save for the term of the 47th Congress, controlled the House of Representatives, where alone any measure for the repeal or reduction of these taxes could be initiated, failed to act on the subject, and that it was by the 47th Congress, Republican, that taxes were reduced full fifty millions and the tax on tobacco was reduced from 16 to 8 cents.

Yet, the leaders and managers of the Democratic party in Virginia would delude the people into the belief that

repeal of that system may now be accomplished by the Democratic party. In 1884 such pretence was successfully used by several Democratic candidates for Congress. The plea was that they needed the Presidency to secure the repeal of the system, and the people were thus deluded into their support. In 1886 the promise of this repeal was as vehemently made as in 1884, by several Democratic candidates for Congress; but the people could no longer be deceived. The record of the Democratic administration, and of the National Democracy, against a repeal of the Internal Revenue system, was stronger than any asseveration of the principles of its minority, and the result was the defeat of such candidates.

It remains now to be tested whether the same hollow pretences can be used in 1887, by the Democratic leaders, with any more success than attended them in 1886.

We declare to you that, at the moment the Republican party lost the control of the Government, it was prepared to act upon this subject; that President Arthur had urged the repeal of the Tobacco Tax, and a Democratic House, with the Republican Senate ready and anxious to reduce taxes, declined to proceed; that the Republican party is now practically united in favor of the repeal of the tax on tobacco and fruit distillations; and that if restored to power it will remove the burden which these domestic products have so long endured.

We assert to you, that the Democratic party, by an overwhelming majority in Congress, is opposed to the repeal of the Internal Revenue System, as is shown by its record, and the declaration of its leading and controlling men, from President Cleveland down. We appeal to you, if you favor the repeal of that System, to support Republican candidates for the Legislature, and not to waste your votes on Democratic candidates, whose fac-

tion, favoring repeal of these taxes, is in a hopeless minority of its own National party.

Third. As to the Tariff. The platform of the Roanoke Convention, in this respect, is at variance with the record of the National Democratic party. It traverses the National platform of the party, the recommendations of its President, and the propositions of its controlling faction in Congress. The Roanoke platform declares in favor of a Revenue derived from a tariff on imports and in favor of a repeal of the Internal Revenue System; while the record of the Democratic party of this country consistently and unwaveringly shows that the reverse is the Democratic doctrine. The Democratic view is a reduction of import duties to virtual free trade, and the maintenance of the Internal Revenue System as a means of compelling the adoption of that un-American policy; and we arraign the Roanoke platform as misleading, and seeking to deceive the people of Virginia upon a question vital to their every interest, and to the progress and power of the State.

It remains to be seen, fellow-citizens, whether you will become the dupes of pretences which have made the authors of this platform the laughing-stock of the leading journals of their own party. The *Washington Post* and the *New York World*—two of the most influential Democratic journals of America—have declared boldly and openly that the planks of the Roanoke platform upon the Internal Revenue and Tariff are diametrically opposed to Democratic principles; and all over the West, North and East, from St. Louis and Louisville to Boston and Bangor, the orthodox organs of the Democracy have united in deriding and denouncing this platform and its framers.

Fourth. As to the Public Debt. For eight years, from 1871 to 1879, the leaders of the Virginia Democracy were in undisputed control of the administration of

the State Government. During that period they gave the people no intelligible statement of the debt, but on the contrary produced divers irreconcilable and conflicting statements, only tending to make confusion worse confounded. They formulated no plan for adjusting the equities between the several classes of the creditors of the State, and finally lost power by the passage of a stupid and odious measure known as the McCulloch bill, which satisfied neither debtor nor creditor.

In 1881 our party was called to full power by the people, and within sixty days after the meeting of the Legislature prepared, presented and passed a measure which set forth the amount of our public debt, and a plan of readjusting it equitably as between the several classes of our bondholders, in such form that no one has yet been found to question successfully the amount of the debt, or the equity of the adjustment between the creditors as therein stated.

When this measure was passed, the Bourbon leaders denounced it as dishonest, and predicted its utter failure. Nevertheless, it went into effect, and was progressing most encouragingly. The only test case under the debt legislation of 1882 which went to the Supreme Court of the United States was decided in favor of the constitutionality of the law involved, a law vital to the enforcement of the whole scheme, and the people were cheered by the hope that a final settlement was indeed near at hand.

Seeing this condition of affairs, the Bourbon Convention of 1883 abandoned all pretence of opposition upon principle to the debt settlement; it pocketed its oft avowed enmity to the legislation supporting it; declared that the debt question was settled forever; and it regained power under a solemn pledge not to disturb it, but to carry out the settlement according to its true intent and

tenor. How the Democrats have redeemed that pledge, let the record and present condition of the debt question speak.

From the moment the Democratic managers were restored to the control of State affairs, the settlement has languished. They have baffled its execution by their incompetence and unfaithfulness.

Without understanding the principles on which the supplementary laws to the debt settlement were framed, they at once proceeded to amend them, although pledged to let them alone. The cases which arose and were carried to the Federal Courts, after these amendments had rendered the original enactments unconstitutional, were all decided adversely to the State. Funding under these laws has virtually ceased; and under the judicial decisions which have been thus invited, the coupons are more powerful than ever. The debt question which was declared settled in 1883, is now, in 1887, unsettled, and if possible in worse shape than ever, although the affairs of the State meanwhile have been exclusively under Democratic control.

In the interval, having amended the laws on which the debt settlement was dependent for success, contrary to their plighted faith, the Democrats have seriously proposed, through their leader in the Senate, to repeal all the legislation supplemental to that bill, thus confirming the destruction of the measure by their own intermeddling.

They have invited the British bondholders here for conference and adjustment, and appointed a committee to deal with them, carefully excluding from that committee any representative of the Republican party. This itself was an outrage upon the Republicans of Virginia, who are in a majority of 20,000, according to the returns of the last general election in this State,

and who are tax-payers, as much interested in this question as the Democratic minority—having a stake in the Commonwealth and her concerns that would have suggested at least some representation for them to any but Bourbon partizans. Being non-political, the question should have been treated outside of party lines.

But the Bourbon leaders, thus assuming the entire responsibility for the negotiations with the British bond-holders, proceeded to receive from them, and make to them, offers which were not on the basis of the settlement to which they were pledged. Five times in the Bourbon Legislature, then in session, resolutions directing the Virginia Committee to tender to the British Commissioners our debt settlement of 1882 were voted down, and we charge that that settlement never was tendered to the British Commissioners. On the contrary, the Virginia Committee tendered a settlement to the British Commissioners which, both as to amount and as to the feature of tax-receivable coupons, was in violation of their pledge to maintain the debt settlement as that of their own party, and was an abandonment of that settlement.

Now that the Democrats have assembled at Roanoke and again pledged themselves to stand by our settlement (a settlement which they have virtually destroyed), they seem to think that public confidence has put no limit to its credulity, and that this simple declaration is all-sufficient to restore to them the wavering popular support.

They apparently forget that this declaration is not such as it would have been before they tampered with that settlement. They seem to forget that such declaration is now in defiance of creditor and court, who have taken position on this settlement by their invitation. They apparently fail to realize that standing by this settlement, which they themselves have unsettled, neither settles the questions they have re-opened, pays the debt, nor hin-

ders the absorption of revenue by the coupons, which are again active and self-asserting. The most that they propose is to stand still by the shattered fragments of that settlement, and allow their Funding Bill and Brokers' Bill mortgages upon our revenues to bury the taxable energies of our people beneath coupons, accumulating at the rate of \$1,250,000 annually. It is an evasion of the pressing, living question which is uppermost in the mind of every citizen of Virginia, and more important than all others to the progress and prosperity of the State.

It is for you to decide, fellow-citizens, whether you will again accept their apologies, and leave the debt settlement in their hands to go from bad to worse, or, ere it is too late, recommit the matter to those whose work the Democratic party endorsed and have adopted—a work which would doubtless have gone to full success but for their ignorant tampering with its vital parts—a work which they can never complete, because they lack the capacity to comprehend and the disposition to meet the exigencies of the question.

We believe, fellow-citizens, that you heartily desire a prompt and final settlement of this question. Your every interest demands this. Your State is suffering untold injury every hour it is delayed. We believe that if power is delegated to the Republican party, it will not stand still, but will proceed promptly to such measures as will effect a final disposition of this long agitated and much complicated problem, upon terms, we say, while in no wise dishonorable to you or the State, must be acceptable to the creditors, and without increasing your taxable burdens.

Fifth. As to Federal aid in the debt settlement. This idea, feebly presented by its proponents without any confidence on their part, has no merit of originality, and

is not offered to you with the courage of their convictions that it is practicable. It was first advanced by the late Henry A. Wise in a speech at West Point, Va., December, 1874. No man in Virginia was further away from these Bourbon leaders in his feelings than was Gov. Wise. He had denounced their incompetency on the debt question, their dishonesty and hypocrisy in elections, and had stamped them with the undying description that they had "outscalawagged the scalawaggers and out-carpetbagged the carpetbaggers." This Federal aid was next advocated by the Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, the Republican candidate for President of the United States against Mr. Cleveland. If it is ever given effect, it will be in opposition to the narrow views of Federal power entertained by the Democracy, and through the liberal construction contended for by the Republican party. It remains to be seen whether the people, knowing that the principle of such aid is contrary to Democratic doctrine, and that the idea originated outside the Democratic party, will be deluded by the hope that it can be successfully carried out by the Democracy of Virginia.

As to the promised aid for our disabled soldiers and their widows. The Republican party will cheerfully unite in every such effort in the future as it has in the past; but we warn the people of Virginia that if the party now in power is allowed to remain in control, its incompetency and mismanagement will leave no revenues to be appropriated for the relief of soldiers and their widows.

Sixth. As to the Public Schools. The statement that the Democratic party founded the school system of Virginia is untrue by the record. The school system was incorporated into the Virginia Constitution by a Republican Convention, and adopted by all the people. Its

adoption was made a condition precedent to the restoration of the State to her Federal relations. The statement that the Democratic party has adopted every measure to secure its efficiency is a bold asseveration in view of its long battle for the coupons against the schools, and its pledge of free books for free schools in 1885—a pledge which it has made no pretence whatever of redeeming; and the declaration of its efficient management of the free school system finds a painful denial in the dishonored warrants issued to our school teachers, which are hawked about unpaid under its administration, a condition of things at which the Republican party may well be indignant, when it is borne in mind that this abuse was entirely corrected when it was in power.

The declaration in favor of the Blair bill is apace with the other pretences of the paper which we are criticising. The Blair bill was twice passed by a Republican Senate and twice defeated by a Democratic House. The effort made to place the responsibility for these defeats upon the Hon. John G. Carlisle is an unmanly and dishonest subterfuge. The Virginia Democratic Representatives knew the opposition of Mr. Carlisle to the bill when they went into the Democratic caucus. They knew that a majority of that caucus agreed with the views of Mr. Carlisle and would elect him Speaker, placing it in his power to appoint committees and recognize members in such a way as to defeat the measure. With this knowledge they agreed to be bound by the action of that caucus, and voted for Mr. Carlisle. The defeat of the Blair bill was the action of the Democratic party, and for that action the Democratic Representatives from Virginia were as much responsible as John G. Carlisle, because they agreed to be bound by the action of a caucus which made him Speaker, with full knowledge of his views, and voted for him in obedience to that pledge, thereby surrendering

every principle they professed upon the revenue, the tariff and the Blair bill to the dictation of the Democratic caucus, well apprised of what they were doing; and we confidently predict the re-election of Mr. Carlisle as Democratic Speaker by the next Congress, notwithstanding his opposition to that measure and all similar propositions.

Seventh. As to Agriculture. There is not and never can be any conflict between the political parties of this State upon the *profession* of friendship for our agricultural interests. Upon their thrift is built all prosperity. To their protection the Republican party has ever been devoted. But when the Democratic party declares its concern for the Agricultural interests of the State, it is well to remind the people that Secretary Manning recommended to the 49th Congress a repeal of tariff duties on wheat, oats, corn, hay and other farm products, and that they be placed on the free list, and that tea and coffee should be taxed as luxuries. As Mr. Cleveland endorsed this, and as the Democratic party of Virginia has endorsed Mr. Cleveland, it may be well enough for the farmers to consider what this declaration of friendship by the Roanoke platform is worth. A friendship which would bring the agricultural products of the world in competition with our own, in the home market, may prove costly to the farmer.

Eighth. As to the question of friendship to the Laboring Men. We feel that our party, whose proudest motto is the "Dignity of American Labor and the Protection of American Industries," needs no vapid asseveration of friendship for the laboring man. Such sweet assurances are, however, timely from a party whose administration has indicted and prosecuted co-operative labor, while it has brought convict labor into active competition with honest industry in town and country, and

whose membership is co-ordinate in many localities of this State with "Law and Order Leagues," instituted in opposition to labor organization.

Touching the resolution endorsing the administration of Fitzhugh Lee, Governor of Virginia, as "wise and judicious," we confess ourselves at a loss to know what thought or action of Governor Lee, has deserved such commendation. Since his inauguration, he has shown himself lacking in the ability or inclination to suggest anything for the relief of this people in their distress. He has invited public meetings of the citizens in various cities and counties to protest against the payment of taxes in coupons. In turn, invited to lend the weight and sanction of his presence as Governor at the meeting held in Richmond pursuant to his call, he pleaded pressing official duties as an excuse for absence. The morning journals of the following day disclosed the fact that he was enjoying the play at the Richmond Theatre with boon companions, at the moment his excuses were being read to the people, who had convened upon his call to discuss their poverty. He invited the representatives of the British bondholders to the Capital of Virginia, and while they were in Richmond awaiting the results of their efforts at a settlement with the State, involving millions, the public press announced Governor Lee absent from his Commonwealth, officiating as judge of a horse-race at Washington, D. C. He has used the State Boards, which he appoints, to reward broken down military friends and incapable aristocrats, and, in several notable instances, to accomplish his own political and private ends. The sole monument of his administration, so far, is an elevator in the Capitol, constructed for his convenience. His chief employment in office has been self-display and junketing with associates unqualified to advise or instruct him in the serious duties of his high office.

From the date of his inauguration, he has "fiddled while Rome is burning," and frivolous levity is the chief characteristic of his term. Such trifling with grave and sad public interests may be glossed over by Democratic managers with an endorsement as "wise and judicious." It remains to be seen whether it fills the measure of what the people expected from the nephew of Robert E. Lee. For ourselves, we regret that Democratic endorsement of him has necessitated this restrained censure of his administration.

Touching the denunciation of the surplus in the Treasury, the people of Virginia will recall the fact that the accumulation of this surplus was a leading count in the Democratic indictment of Republicans in the campaign of 1884, and some further apologies and explanations will doubtless be called for from the Democratic leaders as to why this surplus is so much larger now under Democratic administration than it was three years ago.

Touching the pledge of the Roanoke platform to protect and foster oysters, we confess that it is wise, if not important, in the present crisis of our State affairs.

So much then for the platform of apologies and explanations, upon which the Democratic party goes before the people in the present campaign. We respectfully suggest, however, that it should have extended those apologies and explanations to a number of other things in which the people of Virginia are interested.

It was reasonable to expect that a party which has been in Legislative control for four years past would render some account of its stewardship.

This people have the right to know what has become of the \$1,543,712.21 which was in the Treasury in 1883, when Democrats re-entered the capitol, and what has been done with the taxes since collected, amounting to over \$10,000,000; and why there is now so little money in the

Treasury, with yet an accumulation of overdue and unpaid interest in the same period, increasing the State Debt four and a half millions!

They have a right to information as to why the annual costs of administering the Government have increased from \$802,000 (to which sum the Republican party had reduced them) to over \$1,250,000.

They are entitled to some explanation and apology as to why the jails are again filled with lunatics, and why these unfortunates are unprovided with accommodation in the asylums.

They had a right to expect some explanation wherefore two Legislatures sat so often and so long,—some apology for the failure to enact any measure touching the interests of the people—and some account of the public money thus wasted

They demand explanation and apology for the continuance of the infamous Anderson-McCulloch bill, which makes fair elections impossible. A measure like this, passed in a moment of high political excitement and passion, is inexcusable, even if it had been repealed when passion subsided and reason returned; but when it is deliberately perpetuated, it displays the malicious purpose of hearts devoid of social duty and fatally bent upon mischief.

It was their right to know why warrants issued for the pay of the teachers in public schools are no longer cashed promptly by the collecting officers of the revenue, but are left to the mercies of the shaver,—and this, too, under an assessed taxation of \$225,000 a year greater than formerly, in contempt of the Democratic pledge *not to increase taxes*.

It was their right to have some explanation of the disposition of the money which has been paid from the Treasury of the State to employ lawyers to defend her

interests in litigation, because of the ignorance, infidelity and utter incompetency of the person holding the office of Attorney General.

They had a right to expect some explanation of the facts and circumstances, under which, as is publicly charged by a Democratic legislator, that Attorney General and the Speaker of the Democratic House of Delegates secured the passage of a railroad bill, in which one or both of them were personally interested, during the last hours of the session of the Legislature, when only fifteen members were present, after having announced that no other general legislation would be considered, and when they had thereby succeeded in securing the absence of its known opponents.

It would have been well if this Convention of the Democratic managers had explained to the people how it was, that, when a Democratic Senator was indicted for felonious embezzlement in Richmond, his Democratic associates repealed the law imposing penalty for such crime, and enabled him to plead the repeal in bar of his prosecution and conviction.

Explanations and apologies as to the stuffed ballot-boxes and fraudulent counts in the counties of Charlotte, Halifax, Southampton, Isle of Wight, and elsewhere would have been grateful to the ears of many of the anxious citizens of this Commonwealth, who, regardless of party, are beginning to feel that with high handed outrages of this sort, daily practiced and unrebuted, popular liberty is in danger, no matter in whose behalf these crimes are perpetrated.

It would have been well for the Democratic managers at Roanoke to have explained to the people the circumstances under which a Bill was passed by the Democratic Legislature appropriating over \$30,000 to the payment of an unjust claim of the Kendall Bank Note

Company, and as to the parties who received portion^{trust} that money.

It would have been well to have told the people how many copies of the proceedings with the English debt commissioners were printed, and the cost thereof, and how many were necessary for public purposes and how many were used for partizan or private ends.

Fellow-citizens, such are some of the reasons wherefore we invite and exhort you to an earnest effort to expel from the control of your affairs the managers of the Democratic party. To such of their principles as they have professed long enough to lay just claim to, we are opposed. As to thier pledges, our experience in the past convinces us that they are given with every mental reservation.

But for a kingdom any oath may be broken. "I'd break a thousand oaths to reign one year." As to the practices of this Democracy, we submit that its record of crimes and outrages on suffrage in the procurement of power, and of incompetency and bad administration in the exercise of that power when obtained, is a stronger argument than words.

In many respects, we regard the recent Federal successes of the Democratic party as fortunate for the Southern people. It has enabled them to see how wild and delusive was the hope, so long held up before their eyes, that a Democratic administration at Washington could bring them blessings or benefits comparable to those enjoyed under a Republican administration. The course of the Democratic Federal Administration in appointing colored men to office, has taken away the pretext of our adversaries by which they inflamed your race prejudices until you voted the Democratic ticket, on the score that it was "the white man's party." In the full possession of the Government—State and Federal—the

Democratic party, which had promised you untold happiness and prosperity when this should come to pass, beholds you surrounded by hard times, such as you have seldom witnessed, and offers you no explanations nor apologies for its broken promises. The farmer's products are sold at lower prices than for many years. The workingman finds work more difficult to procure and wages lower than he has ever known them. Trade languishes. Manufactures are at their lowest ebb. Finances are panicky, and the future is filled with darkness and uncertainty. Amidst all this, Democracy rules supreme, and the Roanoke Convention congratulates you on "the enjoyment of the blessings" of Democratic government—State and Federal.

There is a suggestive vagueness in the specifications as to what constitutes your enjoyment and what are the particular blessings to which they refer. There was an apparent lack of appreciation of those blessings by the people in the results of our Congressional elections last year. It is possible, however, that they were so apathetic then that it was no expression of their real feelings, and that we may gather the real enthusiasm of the people for Democracy from the recent results in Kentucky!

Undismayed by these evidences of the popularity of Democratic rule, and trusting that we may be forgiven if we disturb the unalloyed happiness of the only class of people known to us who are in the enjoyment of these blessings, to-wit, the Democratic office-holders,—we respectfully submit this address to the people of Virginia, in the hope and belief that before they resolve to vote again with the Democratic managers of this State they will ponder their statements, and recurring to the past, contrast our present condition with the prosperity and content which pervaded our land under the administration of the Republican party.

It surely is a cheaply won and an easily retained trust which reposes in fancied security upon a cabal of shifty trimmers, who, denouncing Republicanism and professing Democracy, acquiesced in the State Republican platform in 1883 and have adopted the National Republican platform in 1887!

By the State Committee.

WILLIAM MAHONE,

ASA ROGERS,

Chairman.

Secretary.

Petersburg, Va., August 18th, 1887.

THE BARBOUR DYNASTY

CONTRASTED WITH THE

“MAHONE DYNASTY.”

A REPLY

— TO —

HON. JOHN S. BARBOUR'S

Pungoteague Letter.

A REPLY TO HON. JOHN S. BARBOUR'S PUNGOTEAGUE LETTER.

NORFOLK, VA., AUGUST 22nd, 1887.

My Dear General:

On my return home, after an absence of nearly a month, I find in the files of my Virginia papers a most extraordinary letter from Mr. John S. Barbour, Chairman of the Democratic party. It is addressed to some one in Pungoteague. Its reference to the State Debt is characterized by the usual Bourbon impotence in dealing with public affairs, and its mendacious reflections upon those who differ with Mr. Barbour politically, are insulting to the intelligence of the people of this Commonwealth. Please let me know what you think of this production.

Your friend,

WILLIAM LAMB.

To GEN. WILLIAM MAHONE,
Petersburg, Va.

PETERSBURG, AUGUST 30th, 1887.

Dear Colonel Lamb:

I am obliged for yours of the 22nd instant, and here is my reply to that letter of the Hon. John S. Barbour's, which I shall give to the public.

You will observe that Mr. Barbour's letter deals chiefly with the State Debt, but suggests that this "question, important as it is, ought not to be everything in Virginia;" and goes on to ask his Pungoteague correspondent,—"Is your section of the State

willing to see the Mahone dynasty restored to power, with all the evils in its train which past experience has exhibited? Do the Democrats of Accomac wish to see the Congressional districts re-apportioned in the interest of the Republican party, the judicial circuits re-arranged, a new lot of circuit and county judges appointed, the school-boards vacated and filled with party hacks, and the whole machinery of our elections, State and Federal, controlled by such agencies in the hands of our political adversaries?"

If in saying that the debt question ought not to be everything in Virginia, Mr. Barbour had told us that he wanted to succeed Mr. Riddleberger in the Senate of the United States, he would have revealed what in his mind is the paramount stake in the fall election; and he would perhaps have disclosed the full measure of his own concern not only in this important election, but all the concern he has in the fortunes and welfare of the people of this Commonwealth.

In warning and attempting to frighten the people with the dire evils that might result from the restoration of the "Mahone dynasty," Mr. Barbour justifies and provokes a plainly spoken review of the record of himself, and his own dynasty.

If Mr. Barbour will point out any service which he has ever rendered this State, in or outside of her borders,—if he will tell us where he was during all the trials, hardships, and sacrifices of the Virginia people in the war between the Sections,—if he will tell us what share or part he bore in that conflict which furnished the crucial test of loyalty and devotion to Virginia, and her people,—he will fill a page of history that has so far been a blank.

If he will tell us what part he bore in the earnest efforts of our people for the restoration of the State to the Union, he will be obliged to say that, he did nothing unless, as was stated in that day, he favored Wells for Governor. If he will tell what service he ever rendered in the development of the material resources of Virginia and in the advancement of her cities, he will be obliged to own that, as the mere figure-head of the Virginia Midland Railroad, he subordinated every agency and power of that corporation, and every interest dependent upon it, to the dictation of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad and to the interests of Baltimore, and that the deserted wharves and dilapidated condition of

Alexandria stand a lamentable monument to his appreciation of Virginia and his fidelity to the welfare of her people.

If asked to point out what measure emanating from his mind or genius tending to the benefit of Virginia, is to be found in the journals of the State Legislature or of the House of Representatives at Washington, he will be obliged to say, "I can point to none other than the Anderson-McCormick election-law."

Six years in Congress, and not one single measure of which he is the author, for the benefit of the State, can he name. If he would tell us when he actually, and as to every true purpose of citizenship, abandoned Virginia, and what now constitutes his only claim to be a citizen of the State, he would be obliged to say, that he removed to the District of Columbia immediately after the conclusion of the war, and that although registered in Alexandria, he is said never to have paid the capitation tax due there from each citizen until by accident he was nominated for Congress; and that he had all the while resided (as he does now) in the city of Washington, possessing only that claim to citizenship in Virginia which the laws of Congress give to every resident of the District who may reserve a right to vote in the State, which he declares to be constructively his home. Can such citizenship as this, in any honest and constitutional sense, confer a right to represent any part of the people of the State in Congress; and was there ever an instance before this case of Mr. Barbour, in which a Representative has ever sat in Congress who did not really have his home in the borders of any State.?

I submit that there is no act or service in all Mr. Barbour's relations with Virginia, which warrants his attempt to impeach the loyalty of the humblest of our real citizens to the Commonwealth.

What warrant has Mr. Barbour for suggesting, that the Republican party of Virginia, if obtaining control of the Legislature, would re-apportion the districts for Congress, re-arrange the judicial circuits, vacate school-boards, and tamper with the machinery of elections, except in the shameless precedents established by his own party? What has he to say in defense of the partisan re-apportionment of 1883 by his Democratic Legislature, where the aim was so to gerrymander the State as to allow a majority of her population but two members of Congress out of ten?

Can he name a single judge in all the State whom the Repub-

licans while in power in the capitol removed or entertained a motion to remove from office? On the other hand let him call to mind the honorable men and honest, capable judges who were persecuted and arbitrarily removed by the Legislature of 1883.

Will he name the school-boards that were vacated by the Republican party, and then give to the people an honest statement of the Democratic party's arbitrary subordination of these boards, school superintendents, and teachers, and the whole school system, to partisan domination? Will he tell the people of the course of his own party's Legislature towards all the State institutions of learning and charity in the matter of changing boards and making them party machines? Will he tell the people of all or any of its summary removals of the boards and officers of these institutions and of the amounts of the public moneys wasted in partisan investigations of their management? Will he tell how completely the Legislature of his party stripped the Executive of the State of the ~~time~~-respected prerogatives of his office, in order to open the way to *place* for hungry party hacks?

Will he dare to compare the character and official conduct of the persons so displaced with those by whom they were supplanted, man with man? Will he dare to compare the administration of justice by the courts of Republican judges, with such as we have had from those of his own party? Let him compare the conduct and the work of the most important court, the Supreme Court of Appeals, with that of its predecessor. Let him compare the condition and management of the Public Schools, and the institutions of learning and charity, while under Republican administration, with their condition and management now, and since they have been under the control of Democratic managers.

Let him point out, if he can, at what single voting precinct in the State the Democratic party was not accorded an intelligent and competent representative of its own selection upon the board of election judges, during the whole period of Republican control. Let him name the time and place, if in truth he can, where, during the supremacy of the Republican party at the capitol, there was perpetrated any election fraud whatever; where and when in that time, any ballot-box was found to have been polluted by tissue ballots or otherwise. Let him name the

place, if he can, where, in the time of Republican control, there was any unlawfulness at the polls, any intimidation or violence or murder. Let him show if he can, that the elections in that period were anywhere not fairly conducted, and the returns were not honestly made, free from trick or device, in conformity with the ballots as they were cast.

Then let Mr. Barbour tell the law-loving people of Virginia, of the lawless methods and frauds which have conspicuously tainted every election since he became the chairman of his party, save and except only the last Congressional election, when he was not here, and when the honest Republican majority of twenty thousand, having been cast by the people, was allowed, in his absence, to be counted for them. Says the *New York Star*, Mr. Cleveland's organ in New York City,—“A prominent Virginia Democrat accounts for the defeat of the Democratic party in the Congressional election of 1886, in Virginia, by saying that ‘Had Mr. Barbour been at home, the *count* would have been different.’” Such is Mr. Barbour's reputation in his own party!

Mr. Barbour's apprehension of the overthrow of his party's machinery of elections is well founded. It is in the false and fraudulent counting of the votes of the people, for which that machinery was invented and to which it has been habitually applied, that lies the only hope of Mr. Barbour's party for control in Virginia. Its design was, and its use has been, to stifle and pervert to partisan purposes the honest will of the people, as expressed at the polls; and we have now, in Mr. Barbour's letter, the first public endorsement which any man has given this machinery since it was put upon the people by the Democratic members of the Legislature which established it.

Is one of the evils which might “follow in the train of the *Ma-hone* dynasty,” a revival of the legislation which liberated the ballot-box and restored a priceless suffrage to the people, a large portion of whom, both white and colored, had been practically disfranchised by the election law requiring the pre-payment of the poll-tax as a qualification for voting?

Is another of these evils to be found in the fact, that after ten years of Mr. Barbour's party's absolute control of all departments of the State Government, and its repeated and ever-blundering efforts at a settlement of the State Debt, the Republican Legislature of 1881-2, in a single session, for the first time reported an intelligent statement of what the debt really was, and

upon it formulated a plan of settlement with auxiliary laws adequate and essential to its consummation;—a settlement which Mr. Barbour and his party, after the most bitter and denunciatory opposition, formally ratified and adopted, with a solemn promise to the people that, if placed in power, they would faithfully respect it and carry it into execution?—the same scheme of settlement which that party by unconstitutional amendments have since poisoned, vitiated and destroyed.

Is another of the evils of the Mahone dynasty to be found in the fact that during the four years of its majority in the Legislature, the Republican party gave new life, hope and vigor to our institutions of learning, which had been languishing under Democratic rule, and restored our charitable institutions to such efficiency as to empty the jails of the large number of insane persons who had accumulated in them during Democratic ascendancy, and who have been refilling the jails since the advent of Mr. Barbour's party again to power in the State?

Is still another evil of the Mahone dynasty to be found in the fact that during the four years of Republican majority in the Legislature that party took up the decaying free-school system of the State from the low and moribund condition to which it had been brought by Mr. Barbour's party, and restored it to vigor and usefulness;—adding more than 50 per cent to the number of schools, full 58 per cent to the number of pupils, 69 per cent to the number of teachers, 59 per cent to the money for their maintenance; extending the school-term, and paying the teachers in cash who had been paid by Mr. Barbour's party in warrants unmarketable at a higher rate than fifty cents in the dollar?

Is another of these dreaded evils to be found in the fact that in the four years of Republican legislation, the Republican party relieved the State from the degrading bankruptcy to which she had been reduced by the maladministration of Mr. Barbour's party's managers, who, although they had found \$1,816,000 of cash in the State treasury, with no other liability than the unsettled funded debt, went out of power in 1879 leaving but \$22,494 in the treasury, and against it a floating debt consisting of \$163,894 in outstanding warrants; \$200,000 due the asylums; \$40,520 due the Literary Fund; \$60,482 due the colleges; and \$1,504,245 due the Free Schools—in all the sum of \$1,969,141? Besides this, there had accumulated under his party's administration \$5,767,391 of interest on the public debt.

Can it be that Mr. Barbour would wish the people to regard as an evil such an administration of public affairs as secured the liquidation of all these burdensome legacies of his party, save about one half of the last item, and had accumulated in the treasury \$1,543,712 at the time his party was restored to control?

Is it among the evils of Republican control of the State Legislature that it brought down the necessary current expenses of the State government from a preceding Democratic annual average of \$1,084,664, to the amount of \$802,234; from which result of Republican honesty and economy, Mr. Barbour's party has advanced the annual expenses to more than \$1,250,000?

Is it one of the evils complained of that two Republican Legislatures sat but 234 days, while the two Legislatures of Mr. Barbour's party, in a like period, were in session 369 days, or more than a whole calendar year?

Is it one of these evils that the Republicans, in less than half of its first session, ascertained the true condition of the State Debt, and devised a plan of settlement acceptable to, and accepted by, the whole people of Virginia; whereas Mr. Barbour's party had for ten years of absolute power, failed to make any intelligent presentation, or any two agreeing statements of the State's indebtedness; and during that period had attempted to fasten upon the State the iniquitous brokers' job of Hugh McCulloch?

Is one of the conspicuous "evils" created by the Mahone dynasty to be witnessed in the Insane Asylum for colored people which it established in Petersburg, and which is regarded as one of the best devised, most capacious, and most efficient asylums in the United States?

Is it one of the evils of the Mahone dynasty that half a million of dollars was secured, by the personal demand of Mr. Mahone himself, from the purchasers of the Norfolk and Western Railroad; and that one-fifth of this sum was devoted by the Republican Legislature of that period to the establishment of the Normal School for colored people in Petersburg, now dispensing intelligence throughout the State?

Is it one of the same evils that \$400,000 of this sum was devoted by the Republicans to paying off the deficiencies in the school fund which had been left as a legacy to them by the Democratic Legislatures that had reduced the school system of the State to utter bankruptcy?

Mr. Barbour tells us that he has "given the subject of the State Debt a good deal of thought," and yet he has not an idea of his own to present; not a single antidote to prescribe for the fatal poison administered by his party to the settlement which the Republicans had formulated and put in the way of successful consummation. He accepts the work of the Republican party, and yet would warn the people against that work, as an evil which would result from their return to power. He has not the candor to give credit to the party whose policy in respect to debt, schools, internal revenue, suffrage and the treatment of the colored man, his party has been compelled to adopt, at second hand, and for the nonfulfilment of whose promises to carry out that policy, he has recently assembled its leaders to make formal apology to an angry public opinion. He comes again to ask renewal of the trust which has been so often and scandalously abused; to ask renewal of a note repeatedly protested without tendering any additional security for its payment.

He has no other remedy for the destructive work of the coupon, which the course of his party has revived, than the feeble invention of the Boycott which he would apply to the tax-payer who dares to exercise the inherent right of paying his dues to the State in the manner allowed by the law of the land; arrogating the right of prescribing a gauge for the consciences of his fellow-men.

He complains, even, of Democratic tax-payers of the State, that they have allowed "their cupidity to be excited," and have made payment in coupons from the example of Republicans, when he should have known that the public records utterly refute the statement. He should have known that the example of paying taxes in coupons has been set in every instance by Democrats; and that every case which has been carried to the courts has been taken there by a member of his own party. He should have known the fact which the records show, that it has been from members of his own party seeking to compel the receipt of coupons for taxes, that has come all the litigation on the subject in either State or Federal courts, and all the decisions that have embarrassed our revenues. He displays a lamentable imbecility of mind on the subject, when, in one breath, he charges Republican tax-payers with having set the example of paying taxes in coupons, and in the next, undertakes to belittle their interests in, and contributions to the State, by declaring that the

Republicans, except in a few instances, "represent very little property." He thus provokes the retort that few tax-payers in the State of either political party pay a smaller tax to Virginia than Mr. Barbour does himself. For whatever may be the tax which Mr. Barbour may pay to the District of Columbia and State of Maryland, that which the assessments show that he pays to Virginia does not give him much title to lecture our Virginia people upon the patriotism and honesty of paying their taxes in any manner they may choose.

Here is Mr. Barbour's tax bill for Alexandria:

		School Tax.	Tax other than School.	Total Tax.
CAPITATION TAX,		1 00	. . . . .	1 00
PERSONAL PROPERTY.				
1 Watch value,	50 00	05	15	20
Household and Kitchen Furniture . . . value,	200 00	20	60	80
REAL ESTATE—None.				
INCOME.				
Aggregate Amount exceeding \$600—amount, Taxed at 1 per cent.	4000 00	. . .	40 00	40 00
Grand Total,	4250 00	1 25	40 75	42 00
And in Culpeper he pays on property for the support of the State Government,				\$24 86
And for support of schools,				8 29
Total,				\$33 15

Living as Mr. Barbour does in the city of Washington, he hardly pays taxes anywhere else in Virginia than in Culpeper, his former residence, and in Alexandria, his constructive home. In both of these localities the taxes which he pays aggregate the diminutive sum of only \$75 annually—\$10.84 for support of schools and \$64.16 for support of government. If he pays more, let him tell the public what amount it is, when he proposes to Boycott every tax-payer who chooses to exercise the right to pay in coupons which is given him by the laws of the country.

And it may, after all, be pertinent to ask, who but a Bourbon Democrat, like Mr. Barbour, can appreciate the patriotism of paying taxes in money in order that when it gets into the State

Treasury, it may then be expended in maintaining a Legislature that holds sessions more than a fourth of every year, and in supporting an administration of the State government that costs a half million more annually than was paid under the administration of a Republican Legislature?

Mr. Barbour's letter, and the platform of his party concocted at Roanoke, alike demonstrate the incapacity of the Democratic managers of Virginia to deal efficiently either with the debt question or any other measure of State or Federal policy. If they have opinions on any question they are half-way opinions, advocated in a half-hearted manner, under constant apprehension lest the people sicken of them as thoroughly as they have sickened of all Democratic methods for gaining and retaining power.

My judgment is, that the people of the State, especially those classes who are tired of the hard times and low prices of labor and products, who find it more and more difficult to make buckle and tongue meet after each year's labor is over,—and more especially those who manage the business interests of the State,—are all weary and heartily sick of the shiftless, senseless dicker-
ing with the debt question which the Democratic managers have been carrying on for a long series of years, with no other result than failure, shame and dishonor. I believe that the great body of our people, all but those who make trade of this disturbing question, and who would keep it forever open as a political issue for the sole purpose of retaining power and place for themselves, are deeply anxious that the question shall be settled finally and conclusively. I will not believe that the people of Virginia would accept any other settlement than one which squarely assumes the payment of what is equitably due from the old State on the old debt, and such rate of interest as the resources of the State will afford, without trenching upon the means necessary to the support of her schools, her literary and charitable institutions, and an efficient administration of her government.

I know as well as I can know any yet unconcluded question, that settlement may be effected on this basis; for the road is open, and neither creditor nor debtor can object to such a settlement;—provided it be entered upon in good faith, and with an honest purpose of arriving at an honorable conclusion. My hope is that the people may not despair, and, by appeals to pas-

sion and prejudice, be hurried thoughtlessly into the measureless ruin of repudiation.

There is nothing in Mr. Barbour's letter, or in the Roanoke platform—which is but an amplification of that letter—that is responsive to the demands of the times, the wants of the State, or the longings of the people. Something effective needs to be done, and it is plain to me, that the people have made up their minds to look elsewhere for the measures demanded by the times, other than to the Democratic managers of Virginia. In despair and disgust they have turned away from all expectation of anything good from the long-tried hacks of the Democratic party, and the doom of the Democratic managers is already traced upon the wall—"you have been weighed in the balance, and are found wanting."

Yours truly,

WILLIAM MAHONE.

THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF

— AND —

THE FARMER.

— * —

A REVIEW

— OF —

“THE ANNUAL ADDRESS

— OF —

COL. ROBERT BEVERLY,

OF VIRGINIA,

PRESIDENT OF THE FARMERS' NATIONAL CON-
GRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

*At its Sixth Annual Meeting at St. Paul, Minnesota, on
the 26th August, 1886,”*

— BY —

S. BASSETT FRENCH,

A LIFE MEMBER OF THE

STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY OF VIRGINIA.

MEMORANDUM.

The following paper was intended to appear in the Southern Planter and Farmer, which had published the address of Col. Beverly as it purported to have been delivered at St. Paul. The Editor, for reasons to which I could not demur, declined to give it place, having published what he styled "a defence" by Col. Beverly of the St. Paul address—which, in point of fact, however, was not a *defence of it*, but of an address delivered by him in Washington in the January following. This defence is, in substance, an explanation by him of his personal views, in which he claims to be a Democrat, in favor of a tariff for revenue only; denounces the existing protective tariff as "a known and confessed tissue of fraud, with great ingenuity devised and intended to operate as an *inmeasurable, incalculable*, indirect tax upon agricultural interests; that the people demand a prompt reduction of taxation *within the limits of a revenue* sufficient for a liberal support of the government and *they will have nothing else*; that the agricultural interests demand the prompt repeal of the entire internal revenue laws, and thinks "the Congress just adjourned proved recreant and false to the *anti-election* pledges made to the people when seeking their votes. *Our party and all its candidates stood pledged* to the people to reduce taxation if power was intrusted to them. I can't see that they have done it. Justice delayed is justice denied; promises unfulfilled are promises broken, and the matter cannot be extenuated or remedied by new promises or pledges. If the Democratic party will not, then a farmers' or industrial party must and will, reduce these taxes, which the people cannot and will not longer bear, in pursuance of the schemes of theorists, with the effect of providing a prodigious surplus treasury fund for the use and benefit of corruptionists and monopolists, who are found to be of one mind when it comes to a division of spoils."

The Colonel bears pretty hard on "our party," but with his personal views—his individual hybrid political status, the following paper has nothing to do; it deals solely with his *official* utterances, as delivered at St. Paul, and is written in the interest of *Protection as opposed to Free-Trade.*

MANCHESTER, VA., July, 1887.

The Protective Tariff and the Farmer.

"A SYSTEM IS BEST TESTED BY ITS FRUITS."—Sir James Carrick.

James Parton, a free-trade leader before the civil war, formulated the free-trade doctrine of the anti-bellum days, summarized from "The South Carolina Exposition"—thus:

"First—Every duty imposed for protection is a violation of the Constitution, which empowers Congress to impose taxes for revenue only.

"Second—The *whole* burden of the protective system is borne by agriculture and commerce.

"Third—the *whole* of the advantages of protection accrue to the manufacturing States.

"Fourth—In other words, the South, the Southwest and two or three commercial cities support the government, and pour a stream of treasure into the coffers of manufacturers.

"Fifth—The result must soon be that the people of South Carolina will have either to abandon the culture of rice and cotton, and to remove to some other country, or to become a manufacturing community, which would only be ruin in other form."

The language of the free-trade *Congressman* now is:—"The Constitution under which I have been brought up, and which I have sworn to obey, declares that taxation is for Revenue, and for Revenue only."—[Hewitt.] The language of the free-trade writers and stumpers is:—"To lay a tax on competing foreign products for the protection of HOME industries is "ROBBERY UNDER FORM OF LAW," OPPRESSIVE to the people at large, and RUINOUS to the AGRICULTURAL interests."—[Hurd, Beverly, et id omne genus.]

Such was not the doctrine of "The Fathers" of the country—the framers of the Constitution. Washington thought that both "the safety and interests of the people require that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essentials, PARTICULARLY for military supplies."

Mr. Jefferson, in his message to Congress, in 1802, said:—"To cultivate peace, maintain commerce and navigation, to foster fisheries and PROTECT manufactures adapted to our circumstances * are the LAND-MARKS by which to guide ourselves." In 1816,—twenty-nine years after the Constitution of the United States was adopted, and after a long service in the Cabinet and as President of the country, he wrote these emphatic words:—"We must now place the manufacturer BY THE SIDE of the agriculturist." What do you think of that, Col. Beverly? Not "before" nor "behind," but "BY THE SIDE" of the agriculturist,—and why? Mr. Jefferson proceeds:—"The former question is suppressed, or rather assumes a NEW form. Shall we make our own comforts, or go without them at the will of a foreign nation? He, therefore, who is now against domestic manufactures, must be for reducing us either to dependence on that foreign nation, or to be clothed in skins and to live like wild beasts in dens and caverns. I am not one of these. EXPERIENCE has taught me, that MANUFACTURES are now as NECESSARY to our INDEPENDENCE as to our COMFORT, and if those, who quote me as of a different opinion, will keep pace with me in purchasing nothing foreign, where an equivalent of domestic fabric can be obtained, WITHOUT REGARD TO DIFFERENCE IN PRICE, it will not be our fault if we do not soon have a supply at home equal to our demand, and wrest that weapon of distress from the hand that wielded it. If it shall be proposed to go beyond our own supply, the question of '85 will then recur, will our surplus labor be then most beneficially employed in the culture of the earth, or in the fabrication of art? * * * * * "Inattention to this is what has called for explanation, which REFLECTION would have rendered unnecessary with the candid, while nothing will do it with those who use the former opinion only as a stalking horse, to cover their disloyal propensities to keep us in eternal vassalage to a foreign and unfriendly people."—Jeff. Works, 6th Vol.

James Madison introduced the first Tariff Bill, which became a law July 1, 1789, "for the support of the government. * * * and the ENCOURAGEMENT and PROTECTION of manufactures. † Of the enactors of this tariff eighteen were members of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, which empowers Congress "to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imports and Excises to pay the debts, and provide for the COMMON DEFENCE and GENERAL WELFARE of the United States." This provision has never been changed in any respect. President Mon-

† By this Act raw cotton was protected by a duty of 3 cents a pound, which was continued certainly down to 1842, if not to a later period.

roe, in his first inaugural, said: "Our manufactures will require the systematic fostering care of the Government."

All these were *farmers*—bread and meat producers—as well as statesmen, and neither one of them agree with the modern free trade member of Congress, nor his allies, the free trade orators and writers of to-day; and it is no reflection on him, to add that, either Washington, Jefferson, Madison or Monroe, in statesmanship and unselfish patriotism, is the PEER of the President of the Farmers' National Congress of the United States.

Mr. Calhoun, in 1816, amplified the teachings of "The Fathers," when from his seat in the House of Representatives, he said: "When our manufactures are grown to a certain perfection, as they soon will be under the fostering care of the Government, we shall no longer experience these evils (resulting from a drain of specie under a free-trade system). The Farmer will find a ready market for his surplus PRODUCE, and, what is almost of equal consequence, a certain and cheap supply of all his wants. His prosperity will diffuse itself to every class in the community."—*Calhoun's Works, 2 Vol., p. 163, and onward.*

Alexander Hamilton regarded "the home market for the surplus products of the soil as of the FIRST importance to the farmers;" and why?—"for those engaged in other industrial pursuits were the principal consumers of the surplus of his labor."

DeWitt Clinton uttered words of wisdom when he said in a speech to the people of Schenectady, July 22, 1823, and their truth has been wonderfully vindicated:—

"To encourage the fabrics of art, is to encourage fabrics of nature; to protect manufactures, is to advance the growth of the raw materials of which they are made; to countenance commerce, is to countenance cheapness of transportation and goodness of market; and to promote the wealth of any member or section of the Union, is to enhance its ability to use the fabrics and to consume the productions of the others."

Every citation has been from the opinions of farmers, save of one, [Mr. Hamilton]; all Southern men but two, [Hamilton and Clinton]; all Virginians but three, and yet in this our day, strange as it may seem, are to be found among *farmers*—[not planters, but grain and meat producers, like the four Presidents, whose opinions have been quoted], the warmest advocates of free trade, the most violent opponents of the protective policy, especially of the existing protective tariff, denouncing it as [part of the "policy of the government"] 'shaped by the monied classes and politicians,' to the utter NEGLECT and RUIN of the interests of the soil;" and this too, in face of the fact that, under

the very same policy so reprobated, which has now prevailed for a quarter of a century, the country has advanced in all the elements of growth and prosperity *more* than it did *in all the previous years of its existence*, and to a degree unparalleled in the history of any other nation in the world.

So impressed was the great German Chancellor, Bismarck, with the prosperity and greatness of our Republic, that he, in a speech before the Reichstadt of the German Empire, May 14th, 1882, said :

"The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern times; the American Nation not only having successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but having immediately afterwards disbanded its army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, given labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. The United States found every year a great and growing surplus in its treasury, which it could expend upon national defences or national improvements."

"While the American Republic was enjoying this peculiar prosperity, the countries of Europe, which America most relieved by absorbing their unemployed population, were apparently continually getting worse off. Why was it?"

"He next stated that it was his deliberate judgment, that the prosperity of America was mainly due to its system of protective laws, and Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States." •

The address of President Beverley, as delivered in the city of St. Paul, in August, 1886, before the "Farmers' Congress," finds importance, not only in the fact of the high *official* relations he bears to the agricultural interest in the United States, being, at one and the same time, President of "the Farmers' Assembly of Virginia," of the "State Agricultural Society of Virginia," and of "the Farmers' Congress of the United States," but in his great prominence before the country for other, and yet more distinguished, *political*, honors, enforced by public sentiment, embracing a seat in the Cabinet, and the more honorable office of Governor of Virginia.

From one occupying such honorable, if not exalted, eminence, not only would "words of wisdom" be expected, but "words of soberness and truth" would be required. Every word, which falls from the lips of one of such elevated rank, is presumed to have been *maturely* considered and *deliberately* uttered; every statement of a fact to have been thoroughly examined and its

verity critically tested; hence, and of necessity, utterances from such a personage carry along with them a power and influence which could, and would, not be expected of, nor accorded to, the words of another, moving in an humbler sphere. Of course not; indeed, it would be regarded as "extra hazardous," as the "insurance policies" have it, in any one, of high or low degree, to question either *statement of fact*, or *expression of sentiment* flowing from so distinguished a source. Yet the "hazard" must be "risked" in the declaration, maturely considered and deliberately uttered, that of all the productions, which have emanated from the brain of a free trade enthusiast, perhaps "the address of Col. Robert Beverly of Virginia, President of the Farmers' Congress of the United States," *as delivered*, "in its Sixth Annual Meeting, at St. Paul, Minn., on the 25th day of August, 1886," is the wildest, most sweeping, extravagant and reckless, as will hereinafter abundantly appear.

It may not be out of place just here to say that this address of Col. Beverly, as *delivered* by him, before the Congress of Farmers, was read [from a pamphlet copy printed before its delivery, by Mr. Beverly given to a personal friend, by whom it was shown to me,] with a sense of mortification, that the author, who, in the far-away city of St. Paul, in the state of Minnesota, had indulged in statements, so pregnant with error, and in language so abhorrent in sentiment, as to invoke the rebuke of leading journals in Minnesota as *socialistic*, was a Virginian, the thrice-elected President of the State Agricultural Society of Virginia, and deemed worthy, by some, of the chief magistracy of his native State.

It was not, therefore, a matter of astonishment that the address, as *delivered*, before the Farmers' National Congress, at St. Paul, and printed in pamphlet form before its delivery, to be ready for distribution upon delivery, was not re-published in the Southern Planter, the agricultural journal of Virginia, nor indeed in the published proceedings of the National Farmers' Congress, [copies of which are now before me], until, and after, its most objectionable utterances had been eliminated, retaining enough, however, to *catch the ears*, if not to *win the hearts* of the "sons of toil," whose votes are as effective in making governors, as the votes of the farmers are, as claimed by President Beverly, potent in electing Presidents and every other public servant in the nation, "who holds his place and gets his pay."

It was quite natural that the President of three Agricultural Societies, two State and one National, should "laud and magnify" the particular interest he there specially represented, in the

presence of those in that Farmers' Congress, then and there assembled; and it was refreshing to the reader of the pamphlet copy of the address, to follow the President as he intensified the numerical strength and the *political* power of the agriculturists of the United States, of whom he was *magna*, if not *maxima, pars.* He says:

“We,” [the farmers], “are a majority of all the voters, by virtue of whose suffrage the President holds his great office; by virtue of whose suffrage every public servant in the nation holds his place and gets his pay.”

The National Farmers' Congress, doubtless, did expect to hear from their President, words of compliment and praise, but they must have accepted this astounding utterance with uproarious applause—with three times three, and a tiger; and the large heart of that great representative body of the farmers of the United States must have thrilled with inexpressible joy,—been lost in wonder,—as their distinguished President further gave them to be informed, that “*Senators and Representatives must now be made to understand*” that they must legislate for the farmers' interest, as the Farmers' Congress should indicate, or, ‘*Thirty*,’ yes, ‘*thirty millions of farmers will know the reason why.*’” With bated breath this announcement must have been received—the old gazing upon the young—youth upon the aged—and then with rapturous yells, locked in mutual embrace, repeated to each other: “*We, the farmers*”—“*a majority of all the voters*”—“*by virtue of whose suffrage*” President Cleveland “*holds his great place*”—“*and*” every other public servant in the nation “*gets his pay*”—J-e-r-u-s-a-l-e-m!!! “*Thirty millions of us—do think!* Hip! Hip!! Hurrah!!! U-g-h!!!!”

How crestfallen—how sadly disappointed these farmers from the East and West, from the North and the South, will be to learn that, unfortunately for the rounded period of their President, it was only the baseless “*fabric of his vision.*”

It is impossible to conjecture President Beverly's authority for such *wild* utterances; yet they were deliberately announced with all the gravity befitting the occasion, from a printed address, carefully prepared, as was due both to himself and the Assembly, over which he presided; delivered with all the confidence of “one having authority,” sustained, to the very letter, by “*proofs strong as Holy Writ.*”

Upon reflection, dear Colonel, do you not think that you “banked” rather high upon the credulity of your audience, exacted rather more than a *poet's* license, when you announced from *your* “*great place*,” that “*THIRTY MILLIONS of farmers*” [fully,

if not then more than one-half of the population of the United States, including men, women, children, "and Indians not taxed," I stood ready "to demand of Senators, &c., &c.?"

Possibly, Col. Beverly hoped to frighten the Senators and Representatives, when he announced to them, with all the vim and earnestness of conviction of its entire and absolute verity, that "We," [the aforesaid 'thirty millions' of farmers] "have borne and forborne until forbearance has long since ceased to be a virtue" * * * and let us [the thirty million] cause them" [the Senators, &c.] "to know that there are American Farmers, whose allegiance cannot be purchased by a package of *rotten* seed or a flimsy public document," whereby it is to be understood that Mr. Cleveland's Commissioner of Agriculture supplies Senators, &c., "with packages of *rotten* seed" to bribe the American farmers; or, possibly, it may have been supposed that a gentleman, who could not find it in his conscience to authorize the supply of *sound* seed to his suffering countrymen, would promptly remove an officer of his, who aided Senators, &c., to sap the integrity of the farmer—through "packages of *rotten* seed." Who knows? Mr. Colman, however, still "holds the fort," and Mr. Cleveland does not seem to have been scared a bit by the fulminations of President Beverly, probably, because the President knew a little better than did Col. Beverly, to whom to attribute his elevation to his "great place," and so has governed himself accordingly.

The census of 1880 fixes, as of that date, the population of the United States at 50,155,785 persons. The official analysis of the census shows that, of the whole population, only 17,392,099 persons are engaged in "gainful work." Of these 7,670,493 are classed as agriculturists, and 9,721,606 as employed in other "gainful work," leaving 19,369,510 other persons over the age of 10 years. In 1880 there were only 12,830,349 males in the United States, over the age of 21 years, presumably all entitled to vote. The returns of the election of 1884, figured up 10,048,-061 votes—the largest number of votes ever cast in any previous Presidential election.

It would be of interest, as a matter of curiosity only, to learn by what mode President Beverly, from the above data—all official—could work out a result which would authorize him to make such a display before the Farmers' National Congress, of the *numerical* and *political* strength of the agricultural class, as, "We are a majority of all the voters!" This is the statement of Col. Beverly, while the *fact* is, the farmers, unfortunately, are in a minority of voters, and there are less than eight millions

classed with agriculture out of the fifty and odd millions of population, and they include "men, women and children over ten years of age."

Where can be the excuse, the apology, for such bold and baseless assertions; so absolutely repugnant to the facts that it is passing explanation how they could have been made. The President of three Agricultural Societies, and yet not know what was the *numerical* force of the class which he represented? Ignorant of its *political* strength, when fifteen minutes, expended in searching the records, would have satisfied the most stupid of the baseless pretense. Let us see.

Thus the *fallacy* of Col. Beverly's claim, in respect both to the *numerical strength* and *political power* of the farmer class is established beyond controversy. Besides, it is known of all men that, but for the vote cast for Mr. Cleveland in the City of New York, he would not now be President. If this issue had de-

pended on the farmers' vote of the State of New York, Mr. Blaine, not Mr. Cleveland, would now occupy the White House.

The *official* utterances of President Beverly are entitled to consideration, his *personal* opinions, privately expressed, do not concern the public. It is no matter to them how false may be his individual statement of facts, how vicious his sentiments, how unjust his assaults on public measures and policies; but when he assumes the rule of a high Official, and pronounces, as ex cathedra, judgment on public measures and policies, he loses the character of the *private* citizen in that of the *public* man, whose every utterance is properly amenable to the respectful criticism of the public. General Washington was not—even Mr. Cleveland has not been, able to avoid scrutiny. It is one of the perquisites of office to be enquired of. Hence it would be gratifying to the curiosity of the readers of his address to know the *authority* upon which President Beverly rested the statements referred to?

No doubt is suggested of President Beverly's faith in the verity of every word, which fell from his lips, reported to have been delivered before the Farmers' Congress. Doubtless he had brought himself to a belief that the statements as he made them to his brother farmers, were literally true; that *they were "a majority of all the voters,"* and that there were "*thirty millions of farmers*" in the United States. His mistake was, that he did not know what he was talking about, and did not take the trouble properly to inform himself. He mistook Common Rumor, for Truth, and he did not take the trouble to examine the record, so accessible to him, which shows how wide his *arrow of assertion* flew from the *mark of fact*. When it is remembered that a few minutes expended in consultation of the census tables, and the election returns, would have prevented such wild, crazy, reckless statements, in respect to the *numerical* sketch and *political* power of the farmers, and that he did not ascertain for himself the absolute truth of the statements of fact to be *officially* made to the body of which he was the President, but rather assuming their responsibility upon the "*hear say*" here, and the "*it is said*" there—rumors everywhere—he has himself only to blame if discredit be thrown upon other statements in his address, however positively asserted; and he has left himself no room to complain, if little faith be reposed in *opinions* expressed by him, when he is in such default as to *the facts, upon which he builds them*; nor, if the Public shall regard both *statements* and *opinions*, coming from him, as of equal claim to their confidence.

Our Agricultural President thought he was stating pleasant facts to his audience. "The wish was father to the thought."

However well satisfied, however exultant, President Beverly may have been in the *numerical* strength of the farmers, and in their potency [as he imagined] in electing Presidents, and "every other public servant in the nation, who holds his office and gets his pay;" when he descends from his lofty height, to deal with the practical, and contemplates their *power to control*, or even to *influence*, the action of those very public servants who, by virtue of their suffrage, "holds their office and gets their pay," it is observed that he drops a peg or two, indeed to a much lower grade, and falls even to the level of "pity the sorrows of a poor old man," as, in dolorous tones, he enquires of the representatives of the "thirty millions of farmers," in Congress assembled.—"*How the rightful voice of agriculture is to be heard and felt? No representative in the Cabinet. [Harping on my daughter," Mr. President?] None in the Senate; in a helpless, pitiful minority in the House of Representatives; not even able to call up its measures for consideration.*"

How can these things be with a "*majority of all the voters*," and with a following "*thirty millions*" strong—with President and all "*other public servants*" holding their office and getting their pay "by virtue of the suffrage" of the farmers—and no representative of such a power in the cabinet? [Cruel and ungrateful Mr. Cleveland. Hasten to repair the wrong. The "*thirty millions*" of farmers have borne and forborne "with packages of rotten seed," until patience has ceased to be a virtue.]

But this *lament* is lost in the Presidential *wail* which follows : "*From EVERY*" [not many—nor very many but] "*from every rural hamlet and homestead throughout the land, the outlook is shrouded with gloom and darkness.*" This is very sweeping—awful—terrific. "*The outlook from every rural hamlet*"—no exception—"shrouded with gloom and darkness," Col. Beverly?—but let this pass, it finds companionship with what follows : "*The products of American Agriculture [are] barred out from equal competition in every market in the world, where we are placed at a disadvantage with every nation on earth, from Africa to Greenland.*"

Query—How many and what markets are between Africa and Greenland?]

This statement is as reckless, and as far removed from the fact, as the previous statement that the farmers are a "*majority of the voters*," or that "*Thirty millions of Farmers*," stand ready to challenge Senators and Representatives for neglect of the farmer's interest—precisely as much foundation for one as for the other—no more—no less—and not the slightest for either. There is *no discrimination made against American products*, especially of

American Farmers, by *any* foreign power. With every power, with which she has commercial treaties, the United States stand on the *same* footing "*as the most favored nation.*" But more of this anon. The agricultural president proceeds to put to shame the teaching of every sound political economist and statesman from Moses to date, [himself only excepted];—"that country is best off which is most independent of other nations for the supplies necessary for the support and defense of its own government, and the comfort and necessities of its own people,' that is to say, which can find within itself a "*home market for its products of the soil and manufacturers;*" for President Beverly complains that "*the home market is left to us [the thirty millions of farmers] only because not worth cultivating by foreign rivals of the American farmer,*" and why?—let President Beverly answer, "*for it [the home market] lies stagnant under a chronic glut;*" which, being interpreted, means that the productions of the American soil are, and so have been for a continuous period, in excess of the capacities for consumption of fifty-five or sixty millions of people. The farmers make so much to eat that the people at home cannot consume it. They do, however, come pretty nigh the mark, for they consume 92 per cent. of the fruits of the farmers toil, but for the soul of them they cannot consume the other 8 per cent. This is the reason why the home market is not worth cultivating by foreign rivals of the American farmer. The ground is almost wholly occupied by the "*home*" farmers. The home consumers have taken all they could properly dispose of—there were no more home buyers. Possibly, if we had not imported last year from Canada and adjoining provinces \$7,000,000 worth of breadstuffs, more than \$1,000,000 worth of hay, \$2,173,450 worth of eggs, and more than \$16,700,000 worth of wool—aggregating \$27,773,454; the '*glut*' would have been somewhat abated. After all, President Beverly, the home market was not so barren as to be *entirely* worthless for cultivation "*by foreign rivals of the American farmer.*" Suppose the duty of 20 cents per bushel on wheat—the \$2 per ton on hay—and the 10 to 36 cents per pound on wool—and from 10 to 12 per cent ad valorem added, had been reduced to the revenue basis, or, as Mr. Cleveland's Secretary of the Treasury recommends to Congress, the retirement of *such articles to the "free list."* Canada and Russia and Australia and India would soon been seen cultivating our home market, from which now they are "*barred out*" by the protective duties, in the interest of the American Farmer, of which Col. Beverly takes no notice, and the distressingly low rates of farm produce would have been reduced to yet more embarrassing figures. It may

be assumed as a verity, that of all the producers of bread-stuffs and provisions in all this broad land, President Beverly is the *only one*, who laments that the 'home market' "is not worth cultivating by the *foreign* rivals of the American farmers." He is the only one, who does not find a cause for rejoicement that, under a wise and benificent tariff, the *home market* is made; "not worth cultivating by foreign rivals," and, so, is reserved to themselves, as their monopoly.

If, with a *secured* home market, which consumes 92 per cent. of all the productions of the soil, with custom duties laid to afford additional protection to the American farmer from the competition of farmers of other nations, "from every rural hamlet and homestead the outlook is shrouded with gloom and darkness," what would the outlook be if these duties were withdrawn, or even reduced to the revenue gauge? Open the flood gates and the American farmer would promptly find his products reduced to the prices of 1816. Wheat 25 cents a bushel—Corn 12½ to 20 cents per bushel—Oats 15 cents a bushel—Eggs 5 cents per dozen, and so on.

Why, Mr. President Beverly, the aggregate value of the egg and poultry crop of the United States for consumption by our people is more than the combined value of pig iron, the silver bullion and the wool clip products of the United States. In 1882 the cash value of the principal farm products were as follows:

Poultry and eggs,	\$560,000,000
Wheat,	488,000,000
Hay,	480,000,000
Cotton,	410,000,000
Dairy products,	254,000,000
Aggregate,	\$2,192,000,000

—Southern Planter, October, 1886, p. 511.

The value of poultry and eggs exceeded by \$150,000,000 the cotton crop of that year; by \$72,000,000 the wheat crop; by \$80,000,000 the hay crop; by \$306,000,000 the dairy products. In the same year the United States imported 14,000,000 dozen eggs. Don't talk, dear Col. Beverly, of "gloom and darkness" *shrouding* anything, or anybody, by reason of an overstock of provisions—a land teeming with bread and meat—a land flowing with milk and honey. Now, *a famine*, my friend, would very naturally "shroud" a hamlet or homestead, rural or otherwise, with "gloom and darkness,"—but by reason of a superabundance of food—"never, never, hardly ever!" The idea of "a

belly with fat capon lined, shrouded with gloom!" Ridiculous! Just to think of it!

Whatever may have been his *intentions*, the effect of President Beverly's teachings, if they should prevail, would lead directly "to the ruin of the interests of the soil," to defend and protect which he "is not unwilling to serve to the best of his ability, as long as he lives." He would have his brother farmers to turn their backs upon the protecting policy, which gives them a home market, and by duties on foreign products of the soil preserves it to their own use, and to adopt the policy of free trade, which has blighted the interest of every nation that has tried it—*it blights all it touches.*

If the "outlook" for the American farmer be "shrouded in gloom," it is so shrouded because he has more surplus than he can sell at *a profit*, either at home or abroad—the *supply* is greater than the *demand*. This has lowered the price of farm produce. Then comes, in addition, the great depressions in all the other industries, but not confined to the United States. The depression is very heavy *under a protective policy*, but much severer in "*Free trade*," now no longer "Merrie England." Then "the fear of the producer that Indian wheat and cotton and Egyptian cotton are rapidly taking the place [in other countries] of American wheat and cotton, producing the feeling that the future has no prosperity for them. The increased efforts to stimulate the crops of Western Europe"—[Rep. Coms. of Labor, pp. 249-50] is a serious cause of depression in the prices of farm products, but the main cause of trouble with the American farmer is that he produces more than he can sell at a gain. These, concurring, have reduced the prices of American farm products.

"Oh, no," says President Beverly, "not at all, at all." "*It [the home market] lies stagnant in a chronic glut under*"—that is, by reason of—"the malign influence of bad laws and maladministration." * * * "*This sad condition*" [of the agriculturist] "exists, because the domestic and foreign policies of our government, both State and National, have been shaped, by the monied classes in their own interests, and by politicians in the interest of party, to the utter neglect and ruin of the interests of the soil."

It would have been well if President Beverly had closed his address, when he had finished his talk to the farmers, with his wail over the pitiable condition of EVERY rural home throughout the land. He had sown seeds of disquiet enough, more than enough, on that fallow, to bring forth much evil fruit. He had said enough, more than he was warranted by the record in saying. The logic of his address is to array the farmer

against the principle of protection, and on the side of free trade; to fire the hearts of the "thirty millions" of braves under his command to follow the lead of Old England, who, within this century, has abandoned her policy of protection, which she had cherished and sustained for nearly, if not quite, five hundred years, and which, *ad interim*, had made her the "workshop of the world," as well as "mistress of the seas," and to adopt free trade, under which, in less than fifty years, she is crying aloud for food for the millions of her people, she is unable to feed. No glut of food in Free-trade England, Mr. President Beverly. Daniel Grant, in "Home Politics," London, 1870, describes the destitution in England as "that silent, hopeless, broken misery, which is too powerless to create work, too feeble to force it—that poverty which sinks, suffers and dies." "In the present condition of manufacturing industries it is foolish to tell the operative class to attribute the prosperity to free trade; they are not prospering; it is mockery to tell them to thank God for full stomachs when they are empty; they are not well off; never has starvation, pauperism, crime, discontent been so plentiful in the manufacturing districts." Never since England has been a manufacturing country has every industry, great or small, been so completely depressed, never has work been so impossible to find. Sullivan's Protection to Native Industry, London, 1870." The Registrar-General of England reports that every seventh person is a pauper.

Lord Slavely Hill, in the summer or fall of 1873, admitted in Chicago, that "England has had the worst of it ever since she adopted the policy of Free Trade. There is a growing sentiment in England now in favor of taxing imported manufactured articles." As an illustration of the evil effect of her policy he said "a shawl can be bought at Glasgow, which is only a short distance from Paisley, the great shawl manufacturing place of the world, for less money than you can buy one at Paisley. Germany is actually exporting shawls to Scotland and undersells us in our home products."

Mr. Hewitt, in his report as U. S. Commissioner to the Paris Exhibition in 1867 reported of the labor in Wales, England and Scotland:

"As a general rule labor of the women and children is required in order to eke out the subsistence of the family. In Wales, women are extensively employed in the works, doing the labor for which a man would be required in America, and earning from ten pence to one shilling three pence per day, or rather less than half the wages that would be paid to a man for the same amount of labor, which they perform equally as well.

"In Staffordshire and in the North of England and in Scotland, women and chil-

dren are still extensively employed above ground about the mines and around the coal heaps at the mouth of the pits, the substantial result of which is that the labor of the whole family is procured for the sum of which would be paid to its male head if he alone labored for the support of the family, of course at a far lower cost in the resulting production of iron than would otherwise be possible. * *

"But if the women and children were altogether drawn from those occupations, as they are in the United States, it would not be profitable to produce iron except at a considerable advance in price of labor.

This same gentleman, Mr. Hewitt, in a letter to Jay Gould, January 27, 1870, wrote :

"Free trade will simply reduce the wages of labor to the foreign standard which will enable us to sell our rails in competition with foreign rails. But as a matter of course, the ability of the laborer to consume will be reduced, and a serious loss will be inflicted on commerce and general industry, and the business of railways especially.

The only reason why a tariff is necessary is to supply the laborer with such wages as will enable him to travel and consume not merely the necessities but some of the luxuries of modern civilizations."

Of France he says :

"It requires the utmost economy on the part of the laboring man and the united labor of his wife and children to keep his family in existence; and it is the accepted rule and practice for such a family to have meat but once a week; and any change in this condition of affairs, involving a change in the remuneration paid to the common laborer, would put it out of the power of the iron masters of France to carry on the business in competition with Belgium and England in the absence of a higher tariff on imports. The existence of the iron business in France, therefore, as a National branch of industry, may be said to rest upon the elementary condition of giving meat once a week only to the great mass of laborers who are engaged in production.

"In Belgium substantially the same state of affairs prevails."

I would particularly call Col. Beverly's attention to the last public speech ever made by Mr. Peter Cooper [the father-in-law of Mr. Hewitt, and for a number of years his partner in business], presiding over a meeting called in the interests of American Labor, at the Cooper Institute, New York, February 1st, 1883. Therein occurs these words :

"These advocates of free trade propose that our mechanics shall either work at the starvation wages of foreign laborers, or be forced to abandon their trades and become competitors of the agriculturists of our country. * * * *

"I have noticed in my own business life, extending over a period of nearly 70 years, that every reduction of the tariff has brought wretchedness and ruin. It is the natural effect from such a cause. Nothing is more certain than that the advocacy of free trade comes from foreigners who want to break up our industries. They have done it several times and they want to do it again. * * * The laborers of the Old World get barely enough to keep body and soul together, and that is the condition in which the advocates of free trade are trying to place our laborers, and it behooves every man to do all he can to deter Congress from the endeavor."

Free trade has blighted every nation that has ever tried it. It means *ruin* to us in America. Mr. McDonald, a member of the British Parliament, says:—"If America would remove her tariff on our iron, we should be able to close every iron works east of Pittsburg within three months." It means confiscation of every factory, mine, foundry in the land, as far as necessary to its purpose, just as Socialism proposes to confiscate the land itself. "And surely," says another, "it is no worse a thing to confiscate

the soil, for the benefit of native workmen, than to confiscate the factories, shops, forges, &c. on it, for the benefit of foreign workmen. Henry George would seem to be an appropriate figure-head for a Free Trade meeting. Free Trade itself is a most dangerous vagary, so is Socialism, of which Henry George is the prophet. Why should not the pernicious vagaries, Socialism and Free Trade blend?" How far President Beverly in his address to the farmers, as *delivered* at St. Paul, has developed a fitness to be the figurehead of a socialists' meeting, "this deponent saith not."

When the Free Traders urged on Gladstone to adopt Free Trade, he said:—"Gentlemen, have compassion on me, while a minister of the Crown, and after that I will go with you strong on the *abstract* principle, although *utterly impossible* in the affairs of Terrestrial Kingdoms. *I warn any terrestrial government against adopting free trade.*"

The free traders in England, and in this country before the civil war, were more frank than their American followers of the present day; and from them the American farmer may learn how *they* regarded the effect of free trade upon *his* particular industry.

What does the English Free Trade Association, the Cobden Club, mean, when in one of its reports it says "We send money wherever it does the most good"—and why? because "We can never rest while the United States are unsubdued."

What did the American free traders in the South say before the war of secession?

In 1860, Dr. Elliott, president of the Planters' College, Mississippi, published by subscription "Cotton Is King," to embody the views of the Southern leaders of secession. On the tariff question, he said:

"The opposition to a protective tariff by the South arose from two causes: First, to secure the foreign market for its cotton; second, to obtain an abundance of supplies at a cheap rate. Let a system of free trade be adopted, the South would constitute the principal market for, and the fertile lands of the North supply, the cheap food demanded for its slaves." * * * * *

"If they could establish free trade, it would secure the American market to Foreign manufactures, secure the Foreign markets for their leading staples, force Northern men into agriculture, multiply the growth and decrease the price of provisions, feed and clothe their slaves at lower rates." * * * * *

This was but the repetition of the view entertained by Mr. Calhoun as expressed by himself in 1834:

"We must prevent the increase of manufactories, force the surplus labor into agriculture, promote the cultivation of our improved Western lands, until provisions are so multiplied and reduced in price that the slave can be fed so cheaply as to enable us to grow our sugar at three cents a pound."

Such was to be the effect of Free Trade, according to Mr. Calhoun—and for that reason he and the cotton and sugar

States favored free trade. Impair the capacities of the home industries, by free-trade, for the employment of a full force of labor, the most skilled workmen will be retained, the less effective will be discharged—and where to go? Mr. Calhoun, an honorable gentleman as he was, was not afraid to say—"into agriculture." This is the outlook of free-trade. Is it altogether lovely to the farmer?

Col. Beverly, do you not remember Mr. Clay's reply?

"The gentleman would have us abstain from adopting a policy called for by the interests of the greater and freer part of the population. But is that reasonable? Can it be expected that the interests of the greater part should be made to bend to the condition of the servile part of our population? That in effect would be to make us the slaves of slaves."

President Beverly proceeds:—"The same pernicious policy, [that is, the policy of the Government, State and National] of working all the forces of government in the service of monopolists and monied men has so oppressed and degraded American labor that it is to-day, everywhere to-day, [25th August, 1886], in a state of angry irritation and revolt against the conditions imposed upon it by arrogant, irresponsible, tyrannical, cruel monopoly, backed up and defended in its presumptuous attitude by all the powers and influences of the government."

These are awful strong words—even for President Beverly: but, let me repeat them—"arrogant!—irresponsible!—tyrannical!—cruel-monopoly! PELION UPON OSSA! [The careful reader of President Beverly's address will hardly fail to observe, that this gentleman would not be President Beverly if he did not always indulge in

"Expletive words to plump his speech."

"We, a majority of all the voters," "from every rural hamlet throughout the land;" "thirty millions of farmers." President Beverly has no faith in "words of moderation.]"

But the Colonel has not completed the task he had assumed to perform. In the mind's eye may be seen the Presidential Mogul of three Agricultural Societies,—two State, one National,—posing his ponderous form towards his enrapt audience, as his

"Soft whisper through the assembly went,"

bearing the secret imaginings, which had wrought his fevered mind into a death shade:—"In some quarters it is darkly hinted that soldiers are now to be hired to butcher citizens, whose crime is, that though lacking bread, and out of work, they will not degrade their humanity to the level of beasts of burthen. In the name and interests of the agricultural classes of this vast country, I protest that this will never do."

Is there any surprise that the journals of St. Paul and Duluth

rebuked such utterances as socialistic? Is there any wonder that the Southern Planter did not publish President Beverly's address, containing these words, *as he delivered it*, at St. Paul, or that it is not so published in the report of the proceedings of the National Farmer's Congress? This was an address to Farmers—whose labor was not "*in a state of angry irritation, and in revolt against the conditions of their service;*" yet he makes no exceptions.

Better it would have been for President Beverly to have been at his Virginia home, watching his "cattle upon a thousand hills," than at St. Paul delivering himself in tirades, pleasant, doubtless, to the effete politicians, who gulped down his utterances, as "words of soberness and truth," while, in fact, the ebullitions of over stimulated fancy, through which, *they*, if not *he*, might hope, in the boiling of the political cauldron, to rise to the top. Yet there was more to say:

"Quousque, Catalina, nostra patientia abutere?"

President Beverly, with that generous frankness, which will not assail an enemy, unadvised of hostile intention, after firing the minds of his audience, hearers and readers, warns 'the powers that be,' in manner and form, which betoken a ready purpose on his part to verify his words by actions, that "*unless the Government, State and National, under which we live, speedily remodel the existing policy and use their future efforts to promote National and State prosperity and progress upon the industrial and business interests of the people, and above all and before all upon the interest of the nation's domain and homestead, the soil itself and those who dig it, a CRISIS and CATASTROPHE cannot long be deferred. The nature and extent of that CATASTROPHE none can foretell until it bursts upon us.*" [Omitted in Southern Planter, and in published report of proceedings.]

Me Hercule! Another threatened attempt to disrupt the government—another upheaval, *this time* in the interest of the *corn* grower, the *meat* producer, and not of the *cotton* planter? "Insatiate, Beverly, will not two suffice?" *Nullification* fizzled. *Secession* failed. Which will be repeated? Or is it that this broad-shouldered Agricultural Powderly purposes the gentler measure of a "*general strike*" of his "*thirty millions of farmers*" and boycott Presidents, Senators, Representatives, Governors, and all and every public servant in the nation, who hold their place and get their pay by virtue of the farmers' suffrage..

The nullifiers in 1832, gave warning also; and old Hickory told them, "By the Eternal, be still," and they were still; and Cleveland will be ready for you, Mr. Beverly, I doubt not.

Let Mr. Cleveland, however, prepare to take up *his* bed and walk—there is no need for *him* to advise or consider of a *second* term. *His* fate is *sealed*. The High Priest of thirty millions of farmers has declared from *his* “great place” that “the Internal Revenue taxes must be abolished—first and foremost” * * and those who stand in the way, must stand aside, and we the thirty millions of farmers must organize as a committee of public safety for that purpose.” * * Mr. Cleveland stands in the way of the repeal of the Internal Revenue laws—“first and foremost”—and the Spokesman of “a majority of all the voters” says he must “get up and git.” Who can stand before “thirty millions of farmers,” led by a chieftain

“—— already arm’d in panoply
Of steel———?”

“Allah is great and Mahomet is his prophet,” but no more civil wars, “an you love us,” dear Col. Beverly. Pestilence, famine, anything, even the crushing oppression of a “chronic glut,” if you please—but no more civil war. “*In the name and interests of the agricultural classes of this vast country, I protest this will never do.*”

President Beverly, with a strong hand, paints a doleful picture of the condition of the American farmer—nothing is attributed to too much rain in spring—too much drought in summer—nothing to famine in some sections—floods, &c., in others; nothing to depressions in trade, collapses in the money market; nothing to his own extravagance, to his bad farming; oh, no, nothing to these and other troubles, but all, ALL due to the “*malign influence of government, State and National, foreign and domestic*—shaped “*to the utter neglect and ruin of the interests of the soil*. Hence, we find, the products of American agriculture barred out from an equal competition in every great market of the world, where we are PLACED AT A DISADVANTAGE with every other nation on earth, from Africa to Greenland.”

Here we have it again—“Thirty million farmers”—“a majority of all the voters”—“every rural hamlet;” it is always with our friend Beverly, “the whole hog, or none.”

This statement is based upon precisely the same reliable authority, which claimed that the farmers “were a majority of all the voters,” “thirty millions” strong,—the *ipse dixit* of President Beverly,—and is entitled to precisely the same confidence.

In the three years preceding the year 1861, and under a tariff for revenue only, France, ~~England~~ and Belgium, all combined, purchased, *annually*, of America, agricultural products to the value of TEN millions of dollars. This was *all* these manufac-

Germany

turing nations of Europe purchased of our agricultural productions, ~~including~~ wool, lumber, pork, wheat, flour, corn. In 1886, under a Protective Tariff, we exported, to these nations, bread-stuffs alone, to the value of one hundred and twenty-six million dollars. Include all the products of the soil, exclusive of corn, tobacco, lumber, and all other cereals save wheat, President Beverly will find that the exports of the surplus of the American "life blood of the soil" is more than one-sixth of the whole foreign trade, imports and exports, domestic and foreign, for the year ended June 30, 1886; more than one-third of the domestic exports for the same year; add cotton, oil cake, seeds and sugar, and the exports of the products of the soil are valued at over 64.46 per cent. of the total domestic exports, including merchandise and specie. To Belgium we sent \$23,294,395; to France, \$41,681,746; to England, \$301,286,970; to Canada, \$33,467,800; to Germany, \$61,961,193; to Ireland, \$18,561,293; to Scotland, \$28,605,436; amounting to \$508,858,833; and to thirty-three other nations, \$144,899,440; which absorb the total export values, except \$12,206,006 which were sent to *unnamed* countries; which latter, possibly, may include the other *great* nations, "from Africa to Greenland." Total exports, 1886, \$665,964,239.

Mr. Atkinson, in the January number of the Century, affords the following:

TOTAL VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS EXPORTED FROM U. S.

1860—\$256,560,972	per cent. of value of all exports,	81.14
1870—\$361,188,483	"	79.34
1875—\$430,306,570	"	76.95
1880—\$685,961,091	"	83.25
1885—\$530,172,966	"	72.96

—Atkinson.

Of the total products of the soil, one year with another, [excepting cotton and tobacco] more than 92 per cent. find a market here at home; "even under the malign influence of bad laws, and mal-administration," according to President Beverly; and the foregoing statements of exports, under the foreign policy of the Government, "shaped to the utter neglect and ruin of the interests of the soil;" show how utterly unreliable are the statements contained in this address of President Beverly, *as delivered*, at St. Paul.

Under the protective policy of the Government, which has obtained since 1861, so anathematized by President Beverly as the *cause* of this sad condition "of the American farmers," the present productions of the earth, as compared with those of 1860, the last year of the tariff for revenue, tell in trumpet notes, how much of verity rests in the charges that they were "shaped

X- over 30 millions Dollars, over 10 per cent
of total bread-stuffs exported for that year.

to the utter neglect and ruin of the interests of the soil." In 1860, the year previous to the War of Secession, the *thrifty* [?] farmers of the United States, stimulated by the *benign* [?] influence of free-trade, which had then prevailed for fourteen years, produced one hundred and seventy-three millions bushels of wheat, and eight hundred millions bushels of Indian corn—say, five bushels of wheat and twenty-five bushels of corn per head of, say, thirty-two millions of people.

In 1880, "*under the malign influence of bad laws, badly administered, under policies of government, shaped to the utter neglect and ruin of the interests of the soil,*" the farmers produced four hundred and fifty-nine millions bushels of wheat, and seventeen hundred and fifty millions bushels of corn; say, nine bushels wheat, and thirty-four bushels of corn, per capita of a population of fifty-one millions of people. That wicked Mr. Coleman, who supplies Congressmen with "packages of rotten seeds," estimates the crop of wheat for 1886 at five hundred and fifty, and the corn crop at seventeen hundred millions bushels; say, ten bushels of wheat and thirty bushels of corn, per head of a population of fifty-five millions. The increase of other cereals has been in the same proportion.

The statistician, Edward Atkinson, in the January number of the Century, 1887, gives the product of grain of *all* kinds, *per capita*, and the ratio of increase of grain to the increase of population, from 1865 to 1885, inclusive:—

For 1865—bushels <i>per capita</i> ,	32.50;	ratio to population,	1.00.
" 1870—	" 50.20;	" "	1.30.
" 1880—	" 48.80;	" "	1.50.
" 1885—	" 52.50;	" "	1.60.

"The commerce of the United States compares quite favorably with that of the United Kingdom, and of France, as shown by the following table, by which the per cent. of increase, since 1860, is seen to be, for Great Britain, 83 per cent.; for France, 80; and for the United States, 105."—[Report Commissioner of Labor, [1886,] p. 72.]

President Beverly would seem to charge the Government with "all the ills that [American agricultural] flesh is heir to;" and credits it with "no good thing." He says that their policy has "so oppressed and degraded American labor," as to drive it to revolt, &c.; "working all the forces of the government in the service of monopolists and monied men." It is no purpose of this Review here to discuss the Labor question; that would occupy more time and space than can be devoted to it now; yet, it may be said, that President Beverly has not abandoned, in this regard, his beaten tracks of error—that is to say, if there

is any credit to be placed in the official documents of the Government and the statements of persons qualified to judge. If it be true, as Secretary Manning reports to Congress, that "we pay to labor the highest wages in the world;" and that "Protectionists have done service to humanity by insisting upon the fact that we pay to labor the highest wages in the world;" if it be true that it is the law of necessity, when there is over production wages are lowered; that depressions in the markets necessitate curtailment of expenses, by the discharge of the less skilful employees, or the decrease of the pay of the wage earner; that the line between cost and profit is sometimes so fine as hardly to be discernible; that 7½ per cent. of the total number of establishments, such as factories, mines, &c., or 19,125 such establishments, according to the Report of the Commissioner of Labor, were idle during the year 1885—I say, if all this be true;—then it cannot be true, if American labor has been "*oppressed and degraded*," that such can be attributed to the *policies* of government. It is a very easy thing to talk of the *Government*, State or National, *creating monopolies*, but it is none the less untrue. Congress has given to no *one* person or company, the exclusive privilege to manufacture, to mine, or to operate any other industry; it has passed *general* laws to protect *any* and *all* of her citizens, in equal degree, who may be engaged in any kind of industry, where foreign competition may come in; and no industry has been more fully, nor more properly, protected, nor more largely benefitted by such laws, than that of agriculture; and President Beverly must be wofully behind hand in his books, not to know it.

It is evident from what has already appeared—or will yet appear—that the farmer class has less to complain of, and more to rejoice in, the policies of the Federal Government, than any other *one* single class of industry in the United States. Everybody is ready to stand by the farmers,—probably not so much by reason that the farmer needs, as that everybody else is interested in his, protection;—and if 20 cents a bushel duty on wheat or \$2 a ton on hay, the duties now laid, be not sufficient, nobody will complain if the duty be raised, if necessary, to prohibition. The American laborer [and who does not] delights in a plenty to eat.

Just here let me enquire, if it be true that the duty laid on an imported article becomes a part of the price paid by the consumer—that is, that a protective tariff is a tax on the consumer and is added not only to the cost of the imported articles, but to that of all like articles of domestic manufacture—which is a

great imposition upon the people in the interest of the manufacturer as alleged by the free-trader—how is it that our friend, Col. Beverly, has forborne to protest, in the name of the bread eaters of the United States, against the duty on wheat? Seven millions of the people of the U. S. are classed as agriculturists, so it may be said they do not buy bread stuffs, but how is it with the remaining forty-eight [48] millions, who *eat*, but do not *produce*? It is a great wrong to tax *the farmer* forty-five per cent. on all the woolen goods made in the United States, but no wrong to tax all of the other forty-eight [48] millions twenty [20] cents on every bushel of wheat, and fifteen [15] cents on every bushel of potatoes they eat, for the benefit of these seven [7] millions of farmers? If the theory of the free-trader be correct, then the price of every bushel of wheat or potatoes sold by the American farmer is advanced twenty [20] and fifteen [15] cents, respectively, on every other American consumer; and ought not these duties to be removed as promptly as the Secretary of the Treasury recommends the repeal of the duty on wool? Certainly, and so the Secretary has advised Congress to repeal the duties on wheat, potatoes, &c., &c., doubtless, impelled by the idea that this taxation on the forty-eight [48] millions “who could only suffer, not enjoy,” is not a proposition “to lay taxes for the *general welfare*.”

Yes, Col. Beverly, by the showing of your brother free-traders, the people of the United States are taxed for the benefit of the farmers over four hundred and fifty millions of dollars one year with another. Take the six articles of wheat, barley, potatoes, corn, oats and rye, and test the point by the returns of 1886:

Quantity raised.	Quantity exported.	Quantity retained for consumption.	Rate of duty.	Amt. of tax paid by consumers in the U. S. according to the free-trade theory.
	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels. per bush.	
Wheat . . .	459,489,503	57,759,209	401,720,294 20 cents.	\$ 80,344,058 86
Barley . . .	44,113,495	252,183	43,861,312 15 “	6,579,196 80
Potatoes . . .	169,458,539	700,000	168,758,539 15 “	25,813,780 85
Corn . . .	1,754,861,535	63,655,433	1,690,206,108 10 “	169,020,610 80
Oats . . .	407,858,999	5,672,694	402,186,305 10 “	40,218,630 50
Rye . . .	19,831,595	196,725	19,634,868 10 “	1,963,486 80
Total . . .	2,855,603,666	128,236,244	2,426,367,426	\$323,439,764 61

This amount of tax imposed on the consumers of grain in the United States, calculated in accordance with the free-trade dogma that the *duty* is added to the price, is \$130,534,741 in excess of the tax which Mr. Secretary Manning says “was the increase of price we paid on commodities imported hither and here consumed” in the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1886. [\$192,905,023.] Then on these six articles of agricultural produce alone, the *increase* of the price was the tax, \$323,439,764, paid “for the benefit of the neglected and oppressed farmers.” Can absurdity go farther? enquired Mr. Kelly, of Pa., in a speech in Congress in 1878, who presented a table for 1877, [upon which the above is framed] by which the tax for that year was \$256,465,681.

Again, the duty on woolen goods of the class of Fitchburg cassimere in 1860 was 19 per cent. ad valorem under a revenue, or free-trade tariff, and the price per yard was 95 cents; in 1882, under the high protective tariff of 45 per cent. ad valorem, the price per yard was 85 cents.

Where is the *theory*, that Protection raises and keeps up prices? If the *theory* be true, the Fitchburg cassimere in 1882 should have been \$1.27 per yard—32 cents a yard in excess of the free-trade year, 1860—but the *fact* is, it was 10 cents a yard less. Here is the *fact* against the *theory*—and what are you going to do about it, Mr. Beverly?

Once more—sometimes the *price* of the article is less than the duty imposed; what part then of that price is the duty? You have, dear Col., often heard the anecdote which Mr. Clay told in that famous speech of his at Raleigh: “My friend,” said a free-trade speaker to a farmer in the audience, “do you know that these tariff monopolists make you pay six cents a yard (the amount of the duty) more than you ought to pay for the shirt on your back?” The farmer looked at the orator with astonishment, and said: “Since you say it is so, I suppose it must be so, but I can’t quite see how it can be so, since I only paid five and a half cents a yard for the cloth in this shirt.”

It is not to be concealed, that President Beverly was looking especially to the railroads in his charge, that “the same pernicious policy of working all the forces of government in the service of monopolists, &c.,” and greater ingratititude was never displayed, *not even* when President Cleveland failed to put “a representative of the farmers in the Cabinet.” It is within the remembrance of all, that it is only a few years back when the Grangers complained that it cost *one* bushel of wheat to get *another* to market in New York, from beyond the Mississippi River, and *two* bushels of corn to carry *one* from and to the same points;—when the farmers of Illinois and other Western States burned corn for fuel, because the price in New York would not warrant the transportation. In 1873, the writer saw vast fields of corn, standing ungathered, in Indiana, because the price of corn would not pay for harvesting it.

In 1855, taking the N. Y. Central and Hudson River R. R. as the standard, the average rate for moving one ton, one mile, was 3.270 cents, in *gold*; in 1865, the rate was 3.441 cents, in *paper*; in 1870 it was reduced to 1.853 cents, in *paper*; in 1880, it was .879 cents, in *gold*; and, in 1885, it was .680 in *gold*. Thus, “under the malign influence of bad laws * shaped by the monied classes in their own interests,” a reduction has been made in the rate of transportation on the farmers’ products from 3.270 cents per ton, per mile, in 1855, to .680 of a cent per ton, per mile, equal to a gain to the farmer, on every ton of the products of his labor, sent to market, of 2.590 cents per ton, per mile. Upon the authority of Poor’s Manual, from 1882 to 1885, [4 years] there were moved over the railways of the United States, 1,597,058,562 tons of food, fibres, fabrics, timber, metals, and fuel, an average distance of 111 miles, at a charge of \$2,052,849,085, upon which Mr. Atkinson says: “The average ser-

vice for each man, woman and child of the population has been, in moving $7\frac{1}{2}$ tons of food, fuel and other necessaries of life, 111 miles, at a charge of \$9.35 to each person, per year, or a fraction over $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per day."—*Atkinson in January Century, 1887.*

* Taking the N. Y. C. & H. Railroad as "a standard of what all other lines may accomplish, when the magnitude of their traffic will permit them to make as great a reduction in their rates. The average charge per ton per mile on this line from 1865 to 1868, [four years], was 3.0097 cents per ton per mile. From 1882 to 1885, [four years], the charge was 0.7895—Difference 2.2202. If we assume that the people of the United States have been saved two and one-fifth cents per ton per mile on the whole railway traffic of the last four years, either by the construction of railways where none before existed, or by such a reduction in the charge for their service, the amount, or money's worth saved in four years has been \$3,898,373,159, which sum would probably equal the cash cost of all railways built in the United States since 1865."—*Ibid.*

Such is the testimony of a free-trader.

Whether corporations deal justly with their employees or not, is not the question under discussion—the proposition President Beverly lays down is that "*the domestic and foreign policies of the government, both State and National, have been shaped by the monied classes in their own interest, and by politicians in the party interest, to the utter neglect and ruin of the interests of the soil,*" not whether railroad, factory, mining, &c. corporations deal by their operatives under the Golden Rule, or that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." Not at all—and it was no part of the President of a Agricultural Association—three associations, two State and one National—to drag in other matters, not germane to the subject matter, which sublie those associations. It may be that railroad employees do get too little wages, and on the other side it may be true that the rates of transportation have been so reduced that the railroads are not able to continue such low rates unless there be a reduction in the wages of employees. If the railroads, in order to meet the demands of employees, increase the rate of transportation, then President Beverly would be among the first to "cry aloud and spare not" "*the arrogant, irresponsible, tyrannical, cruel monopoly,*" and order a general boycott of the whole set of the "*bonded oligarchy of monopoly representing railways, &c.*" But, *non nobis tantus compondere lites.*

With a home market for 92 per cent. of the products of the farmers' labor—with the markets of the world as free to them as to all other comers for the surplus 8 per cent., with internal transportation reduced from about $3\frac{1}{4}$ cents per ton per mile, to less than 7 mills per ton per mile, to talk of oppression, gloom, darkness resting upon the homestead of farmers by reason of "*policies of the government shaped to the utter neglect of the interests of the soil*"—is to trifle with the good sense of the intelligent, or to practice on the credulity of the ignorant and confiding.

The farmers of the United States can not be oppressed, be-

gond endurance, by a policy which not only provides for them a home market for 92 per cent. of their products, but also secures to them almost a *monopoly of it*, by high specific protective duties on the products of foreign soils, imposed for the very purpose of keeping off foreign competitors. The free-traders, with Col. Beverly along, insist that the farmer is not protected by our present laws; that only manufacturing industries are cared for by our Government.

The following extract from a speech of Hon. Mr. Upson of Texas, exposes this fallacy:

Duties which wholly or in part benefit the farmers, stock-raisers, wool-growers, and other producers of raw materials, collected in 1881:

On animals	\$783,564 69	On seeds	277,977 45
On breadstuffs,	2,762,128 48	On tobacco, and man. of	4,655,591 67
On flax, and manufact. of	6,984,374 90	On sugar	45,933,045 09
On fruits and nuts	3,341,848 66	On vegetables	151,470 08
On hemp, jute, and man. of	2,261,997 78	On wool	4,860,815 40
On potatoes	325,207 46		
On provisions	244,089 19		72,582,110 85

Duties benefiting manufactures:

On buttons	\$912,134 96	On steel manufactures . . .	9,347,438 12
On cotton manufactures .	10,825,115 21	On paper manufactures . .	619,832 86
On clock manufactures .	647,657 14	On tin manufactures . . .	4,194,690 33
On glass manufactures .	3,296,541 42	On wool manufactures . .	22,424,809 35
On earthenwares & china	2,727,476 43		
On iron manufactures .	12,115,096 22		67,110,792 04

Col. Beverly neglected to tell his hearers that there is a home market for 92 per cent. of their products, and failed altogether to inform them that there is a specific duty of 20 per cent. imposed on live animals, except those for breeding purposes; of 1 cent per pound on beef and pork; of 20 per cent. on mutton; 2 cents per pound on all hams, bacon and lard; of 4 cents per pound on butter and cheese; of 20 cents a bushel on wheat; ten cents per bushel on rye, corn, oats and barley; 15 cents per bushel on potatoes; other vegetables, 20 cents; hay, \$2 per ton; hops, eight cents per pound; vinegar, $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per gallon; tallow, one cent per pound; and on tobacco, from fifteen cents per pound for stems, up to \$1 per pound for leaf stemmed; on all his wool, from 10 to 36 cents per pound; on flax straw, \$5 per ton; flax, not heckled or dressed, \$20 per ton; on dressed flax, \$40 per ton; on ton of flax and hemp, \$10 per ton; hemp, \$25 per ton; on peanuts, 1 cent per pound, shelled, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound; on rice, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound; on sumac, ground, 3-10 of a cent per pound. Do the farmers observe in this a policy "shaped to the utter neglect of the interests of the soil?" Do they complain of such a policy? Have they any desire for a change? If they have, the free-traders are ready to gratify them. Indeed, Mr. Cleveland's Secretary of the Treasury has already recommended to Congress, that the duties on the farmers' products be taken off, and all agricultural articles be placed upon the *free* list, and that tea and coffee, now on the *free* list, be placed on the *dutiable* list. This is the free-trade farmers are called upon to support.

But Col. Beverly, and his associates, insist that the farmers are *taxed* beyond their legitimate share, for the support of the Gov-

ernment, by reason of the duties laid on imported articles necessary for their use on the farm, and for their comfort in the family; because, as they say, the price the farmer has to pay for such articles is the home price with the American duty added; and that such is the inevitable result of protection, wherever it prevails. If this be so, then it follows, that for what the farmer has now to buy he pays more than he would have to pay in the absence of such protection. The chief article needed on the farm is iron. Let us see how protection has damaged the farmer in the matter of this article of pure necessity.

"Cut-nails are an American invention. When the nail was first protected it was supplied by an imported wrought nail that cost the consumer in this country 25 cents per pound. By the tariff of 1824 the duty was made 5 cents per pound, at which it remained until 1833. According to the assumption of the free-trader the 'tax' of 5 cents would of course have compelled the consumers to pay 5 cents addition to the importer's 25 cents per pound or 30 cents to the consumer. But, what are the facts? By the year 1828 the price of nails had declined from 8 to 9 cents. In 1830 a better nail than England had ever furnished us could be purchased at 5 to 7 cents. Since then, the price has ranged as follows: from 1833 to 1840, 5 to 7 cents; from 1840 to 1844, 5 to 6 cents;—[Hon. W. W. Brown of Pa., House of Rep., May 6, 1884]; and under the protective tariff of 1883, nails, of the best quality in the world, can be purchased, with a duty of $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents per pound, at from \$2.25 to \$3.00 per keg of 100 pounds, or $2\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 cents per pound. The American cut-nail regulates the price of that article in the commercial world.

Taking the free-trade period of 1846 to 1860, [15 years,] the average price per ton for pig-iron was \$26.25; for bar-iron, \$71.52; for cut-nails, \$3.87 $\frac{1}{2}$ per 100 pounds. Under the protective period from 1874 to 1885, [12 years,] the average prices were, for pig-iron, \$23; for bar-iron, \$52 $\frac{1}{2}$; and of cut-nails, \$2.99.

What as to axes? "The American Iron Trade," with reference to the price of axes, says:

"Before axes were made in this country, except by country blacksmiths, English axes cost our farmers and others from \$2 to \$4 each. By the tariff of 1828 a protective duty of 35 per cent. was levied upon imported axes. Under this protection the Collins Company, of Hartford, introduced labor-saving machinery, much of which was invented, patented and constructed by themselves. In 1836 foreign and home-made axes were selling side by side in the American market at \$15 to \$16 per dozen. Axes were selling in 1838 at \$13 to \$15.25 per dozen; in 1843 at \$11 to \$12; in 1849 at \$8 to \$10; in 1876 the price of the best American axes in the market is \$9.50 per dozen, and this country exports to foreign markets. The Collins Company makes its own steel, and a letter from the company claims that it is 'better than any English steel that we can buy, and we have been steel consumers for fifty years. We now only make for our own consumption, and we have no disposition to cheat ourselves.'"

How much has protection robbed the farmer in the purchase of his axes?

The English Commissioners at the Philadelphia International Exhibition [1876] report to their government:—"The impression left upon the minds of the European visitors is, that American competition in machine tools will soon be upon us. * * * There is no time to be lost if we mean to hold our own in the

hardware trade of the world. * * * For years Sheffield supplied not only our own country, but nearly all the world. * * * This monopoly remains with us no longer. * * * *The American axe has for many years displaced the axes imported from Great Britain. They are now imported into this country.* It must be allowed that in table cutlery, tools and safes, America was before Great Britain. *It would be foolish not to recognize the fact that at Philadelphia, Great Britain was in the face of the most powerful rival in manufactures.* A strenuous effort will be required from Sheffield to hold its place in the race of progress."

* * * * * Farm Implements.—Every farmer knows that every article used by him, reapers, mowers, drills, harness, trace-chains, axles, hoes, forks, spades, shovels, cost him less now than prior to the tariff of 1861.

"When the English had command of our markets we were compelled to pay from \$15 to \$19 per dozen for their saws. But now, under the fostering care of protective duties, we are no longer subjected to their exorbitant charges, for Disston and others supply us at nearly half the cost, and they send them to England and sell them there for \$10 per dozen. The same may be said in reference to our shovels."—Hon. W. W. Brown.

Visitors to the Paris Exposition report that foreign reapers, mowers, drills, &c., then on exhibition, cost more than those of American manufacture, and were inferior in make. Who can dispute that this is the legitimate result of "protecting our home manufactures?"

The Courier-Journal, in the early part of this year, in arguing against the tariff, had insisted that "there had been no reduction in the prices of agricultural manufactures since 1873." In resistance of the Courier-Journal's contention, the Baltimore Record of 12th February, 1887, furnishes the following table of prices for the respective years, 1873 and 1887, in the city of Baltimore:

	1873.	1887.
Cultivator,	\$ 8.00	\$ 3.50
Triangular Harrow,	9.00 @ 14.00	6.00 @ 9.00
Square Draw,	10.00	6.50
Double Plow,	7.50	3.00
M. & H. Standard Plow,	7.00	3.00 @ 3.50
Lawn Mower, 14 inch,	21.00	8.00
Seed Sower,	10.00	4.50
Wheat Drills,	110.00	65.00 @ 70.00
Mower,	100.00	45.00
Wheat Fans,	35.00 @ 44.00	15.00 @ 25.00
Corn Planters,	30.00	18.00
Horse Rakes,	40.00	20.00
Reaping Machines,	175.00	90.00
Grain Cradle,	5.00	2.50
Corn Sheller,	10.50	5.50
Small Plow,	5.50	3.00
<hr/>		
Total,	\$583.50	\$298.50

COTTON GOODS, we used to import at 50 cents a yard before we had cotton mills, have since been exported at 6 cents per yard. The price of cotton hosiery has been reduced nearly one-half

since 1860. Delaines we imported in 1860 at 35 cents per yard, have been made in America and sold for 20 cents per yard, the purchaser getting a better article than that imported. Standard sheetings, drillings, bleached shirtings, prints, printed cloths are all fully 25 to 50 per cent. cheaper per yard in 1882 than in 1860, and to-day, in place of importing all our domestic ginghams, as we did a very few years since, we make them in America of better quality and cheaper than we can buy them elsewhere. The fact is, you can buy many kinds of cotton goods as cheap in America as any place in the world. The reduction in the prices I have just referred to is directly attributable to the protective tariffs imposed, or adopted in July, 1861, and afterward. How shallow, then, seems the assertion that the natural price of an article is the American price after taking off the duty.—[Hon. Wm. W. Culbertson.]

The duty on standard sheetings was 57 per cent. The price of such sheetings was 8 cents per yard. Take the duty, 57 per cent., from the cost, 8 cents, and you have 3.40 cents per yard, the price according to the free-trade reasoning. But 3.40 is less than half the price you would have to pay at any place; therefore, it is seen again, the tariff is not a tax on the consumer, because we have seen the prices steadily decrease, although a high protective tariff was imposed.—[Ibid.]

Before the war the farmer paid \$1.25 to \$1.50 for a calico dress of 10 yards, for his wife or daughter, now he can buy the same goods for 50 and 60 cents, and even less than that. Before the war he paid 200 per cent. more for salt than he does to-day. Before the war he paid more for boots and shoes than he pays to-day, and yet this system which has reduced the cost of manufactured goods is denounced by the free-trader as a system—"a policy shaped to the utter neglect of the interests of the soil."

Galvanized fence-wire can now be bought for \$60 per ton. A ton will make a four-wire fence two hundred yards long, or it will cost 30 cents per rod. A four-board fence six inches wide at \$15 per thousand will cost 56 cents per rod. The distance around forty acres of land is three hundred and twenty rods. The difference, then, in the cost of fencing forty acres is \$83.20; besides, something is saved in the number of posts used and something more in nails. There can be found none who will dispute the fact that this cheap iron wire is the legitimate result of "protecting our home manufactures." —*Hon. Wm. T. Price, of Wisconsin, in House of Representatives, April 22, 1884.*

Mulhall, the great prophet of free-trade, admits that "Every day sees an addition of two and half millions of dollars to the accumulated wealth of the Republic, which is equal to one-third of the daily accumulations of mankind." Col. Beverly will not deny the fact, but he cries the louder—"Down with Protection." He will admit the marvellous progress since 1861, but possibly he is of that class of free-traders who, while admitting the fact, insist it is not *due to*, but in *spite of*, Protection. Then, Col. Beverly, in the name of all the Gods, why did not free-trade work out similar results for the farmers, when free-trade prevailed, as practically it did, for more than half of the period of

the life of the Nation prior to 1861? Or, he may be of that other class, who insist that our manufacturing industries can exist and flourish under a tariff of revenue only, despite the proofs afforded in our history to the contrary.

Take off the duty, say the free-traders, and a decrease in the price of the article to the farmer immediately follows as a consequence. This is the *logic* of the free-trader contention, or it means nothing. Let us see how much of truth Experience finds in this operation.

Salt is an article of universal use, and by it may be elucidated the free-trade claim, that the withdrawal of the duty lightens the price of the article. If the farmer will take the trouble to inform himself, he will find that whenever the *duty* on salt has been *reduced* the *price* has advanced, except soon after the tariff of 1857, when the price of salt declined, as did almost every other commodity, before the crushing bankruptcy of that period. In 1872, the duty on salt was reduced from 24 to 12 cents per 100 pounds in bags, sacks, barrels and other packages, and from 18 to 8 cents in bulk. There was instantly such a rise in the prices of salt as was felt all over the country.

On this subject the New York Chamber of Commerce, for the commercial year ending the 30th of April, 1873, said :

"The reduction of duty on foreign salt has not had the effect upon the price of salt which was anticipated by those who advocated the passage of the act. The cost of both ground and fine salt is higher than the price was before the duty was reduced."

The free-trader denounces the "tax on salt" as "infamous," and he delights, on every opportunity, to cite it "to show how the protectionists rob the people for the benefit of a few monopolists." Under the tariff of 1846, salt was on the *free* list, and the average wholesale price of Liverpool salt per sack, during the six years from 1845 to 1851, inclusive, was \$1.35. The average wholesale price for the same article in the six years from 1880 to 1885, inclusive, was 72.2 cents per sack. Since 1873, the duty on salt, in sacks, has been 12 cents per 100 pounds, or 28.8 cents per sack of 240 pounds. So, under a heavy duty of 28.8 cents per sack, Liverpool salt is afforded to our people at a little more than 52 per cent. of the free-trade price. Will Col. Beverly "explain how the people, who pay 72 cents for salt under a high tariff for what cost them \$1.35 cents under free-trade, are robbed by the tariff on salt?"

Once more. By the protection afforded by the tariff on foreign raw wool the number of sheep increased over 100 per cent. In 1883 the tariff was reduced, and in the three next succeeding years there was a loss of six millions head of sheep. The exportation was reduced, from 1874 to 1884, the year of the reduction of the duty on wool, from 73,169 pounds to 3,073 pounds; whereas, after such reduction, the exportation of wool ran up in three years 16,739 pounds; and for 1886 to 476,264 pounds.

Was the increase in the number of sheep of over 100 per cent., and the yearly reduction in the exportations of raw wool under a high tariff, a serious hurt to the wool grower; or, was the loss of millions of head of sheep in three years and the in-

crease in the exportation of raw wool under a reduction of the duty, a benefit to him?

Why multiply *proofs*—not *hearsays*—not *rumors*—but *proofs* from the records of the Government, accessible to President Beverly, and to every other citizen who may choose to examine for himself.

That the condition of many farmers is to be deplored, will not be disputed. The prices of their products are very low—it may be so low, as barely to leave the farmer any margin for profit—that “the line between cost and profit is so fine as to be hardly discernable.” But the same trouble affects all other industries to a greater or less extent; and the American farmer, who moans over the low price of his wheat, at home and abroad, finds company in the farmers of Eastern Europe, who seek a sale for their surplus in the very same markets, whence the hope of the American farmer comes for a better price than he can get at home, by reason of “the chronic glut” and other intervening causes.

The “policies of government” have nothing to do with the price of bread stuffs offered for sale in markets other than its own. Does Russia fix the price at which wheat shipped from Odessa shall be sold in Liverpool? The price is regulated, not where it is grown, but at the place where it is offered for sale, and is there solely determined; yes, and solely by the needs of the Liverpool market for wheat. If the supply in England be equal to the wants of her people, then there will be difficulty in disposing of it at any price. If there be a demand for wheat, and the supply is short of the demand, then wheat will command high figures. Foreign merchants will buy or not buy, at high or low figures, just as the needs of their market may be, and the supply will call for. The government—the policies of the government, have no more to do with the transaction than the State of Virginia has to do with the purchase from President Beverly in Fauquier, of a lot of sheep by the Hero of Drewry’s Bluff at Westover, in Charles City; and the transaction between the Odessa shipper and the Liverpool buyer is no more affected by what the Russian may buy of English manufactures, than the sale of the sheep to Major Drewry is influenced by what President Beverly may buy of him. President Beverly might buy all that is on the Westover estate, which may be for sale, yet that would not operate on its proprietor, to the extent of even a thought, to purchase sheep of President Beverly, if he did not want sheep. When a *government* goes into the market for provisions, or for anything else, it does not go in the *corporate* capacity of the nation to buy of another government in *its corporate* capacity; but it goes just as an individual would go. When England wants bread for her Army and Navy, she does not say to the United States Government: “I want bread—you have it; you want woolens, crockery, cutlery—I have them; I will buy your bread if you will buy my manufactures.” Not at all. She sends her *agent* to buy for her where she can get what she wants on the most favorable terms. The government agent, when he is directed to purchase wheat, pork, &c., cables to his

friend at New York, "At what price can you furnish pork, &c.," and it never enters into the head of the Black Sea farmer, nor the Liverpool buyer, nor of the English Government agent, nor of his friend in New York, to enquire how stands the balance of trade? Not a bit of it, and no one ought to know this better than the President of three Agricultural Societies, one of which is National, the other two State.

Every cloud is said to have a silver lining—some good may be found in every evil, to the diligent searcher after truth; and so the American farmer, distressed as he may be, may find large comfort in the reflection that he does not stand alone; [company, even to the gallows is consoling, Mr. President, you know;] for, while prices for his products range very low—distressingly low—everything that it is necessary for him to purchase for his business, or his comfort, has reached lower depths of depression in price.

The average value of agricultural products have declined about 37 per cent. since 1873, but the average market price of the articles he has to buy have decreased 59.23 per cent.; in other words, \$275.99 to-day, February, 1887, will purchase, of miscellaneous merchandise of all kinds, exactly the same as \$678.41 in 1873; --[Manufacturer's Record, February 5, 1887;]—while one dollar of gold, being taken as the standard, in 1860, represented by a purchasing power of 100, had a relative purchasing power of 74.45 in 1872; it had in the year 1885 a relative purchasing power of 126.44; that is to say, this gold coin will purchase *all the farmer and his family needs* to buy, "in the ratio of 100 units now, relatively to 75 units in 1872"—Atkinson in *January Century*, [1887]. President Bevery ignores all the *blessings*, but sees, "with optics keen," only the *dark side* of the picture.

The thoughtful man who is searching for facts, and is not contented with assertions, though backed up by all the influence of a triple-wreathed Agricultural President, will find in the facts herein stated much food for reflection. The American "sons of toil" have no reason to complain of "policies of [their] government," which have secured to them "the highest wages paid to wage-earners in the world." They can find no room to anathematize, as does President Bevery, such policies as have raised the wages of workingmen of average capacity from \$1.68 per day in 1860 to \$2.04 in 1885; and the workingmen of superior skill from \$2.37 in 1867 to \$3.00 in 1885. These are the wages per day of carpenters, painters, machinists, black-smiths, cabinet-makers, and others in similar occupations, [Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics—referred to by Atkinson,] and even higher in 1886. Is the wage-earner dissatisfied with "policies of government" that have enlarged his pay, payable in money, which at the present time, and at present prices will buy twenty-six per cent. more than it could in 1860, and is he willing to be reduced to the wages of 1860; or, to the wages of the foreign laborer, to enable the products of such foreign labor an equal chance with the products of his own work? If he so wishes, then let him follow Col. Bevery into free-trade and adopt it as the policy of the government. Never in all the his-

tory of the country could the wage-earner buy clothing, carpets, &c., as cheaply as he can now, and, rarely before, provisions, as low as he can now. *His* complaint, however, is not against the *government*; it is, if he has any, against his *employer*, who, as he charges, does not give to him an equal share of the benefits of its "policies;" that he does not get his proper proportion of the results from his labor. *That* is his complaint. He does not demur at the "policies" under whose influences he feels himself to be entitled to demand advance upon the wages he now receives—"the highest paid in the world;" not at all—and the President of three Agricultural Societies must know this.

President Beverly would not be persuaded, though "one rose from the dead," that he is mistaken in facts, figures or conclusions; he is the lineal descendent of Ephraim; it is not, however, for *his* benefit that the task of this review of his address as *he delivered* it before the Farmers' Congress at St. Paul, Minnesota, *August 25th, 1886*, and not as published in the Southern Planter at Richmond, Virginia, *October, 1886*, has been undertaken; but to expose to the hearers and readers of either address, how little he is authorized, by the record, to ascribe the ills, which the farmers suffer, to "policies of government, shaped to the utter neglect and ruin" of their interest, and to establish the contrariwise, in this, that the farmer's interest has been specially guarded and protected by the very policies, so unmercifully berated by him.

Reference has already been made to the true cause of the "chronic glut" which President Beverly mistakenly attributes to the "*malign laws, shaped to the utter neglect and ruin of the interests of the soil.*" Will it be too great a draft on the reader's patience to ask his attention to the testimony of the Agricultural Society of the Valley of Virginia—comprising as intelligent and respectable a body of men, certainly, as compose either of the three Agricultural Associations over which President Beverly presides? In a communication to "The Farmers' Assembly," at its annual meeting in Richmond, 1885, the Valley Society express it as their opinion that the "chronic glut" is caused, not by "the malign policy of the government shaped in utter neglect of the agricultural interests;" not because "the products of American agriculture are barred out from equal competition in every market of the world, where we are placed at a disadvantage with every nation on earth, from Africa to Greenland," but—and please note this—it is caused "by the average annual surplus produced in the United States, and, for which surplus, markets abroad are failing, *because of greater increased productions of the cereals in foreign countries;*" in the which opinion every other farmer in the country, who has spoken out, concurs, saving and excepting President Beverly, who insists that *it is all due to "the domestic and foreign policies of the government, shaped to the utter neglect and ruin of the interests of the soil."*"

These farmers in the Valley of Virginia had heard that Canada was an exporter of bread stuffs; that Australia was sending wheat and other agricultural products to England; that in 1879 India exported to Europe less than 2,000,000 bushels of

wheat, and exported last year [1886] 39,312,969 bushels; that the total deficiency of wheat in Europe, one year with another, is about 200,000,000 bushels; that the total crop in India last year was 287,000,000 bushels, whilst the total crop of the United States was about 450,000,000, of which we exported only 53,025,938 bushels. They saw in all this that the American farmer was brought face to face with open competition in India.

There can be no manner of doubt that the Valley Agricultural Society were right in each particular, assigned for the "glut" of agricultural products in the United States, and the consequent reduction in price of such products—*over*-production at home, *increased* productions in foreign countries. In 1873 the acreage of land seeded to wheat in the United States was 22,171,000 acres, which yielded 281,254,000 bushels, worth \$323,594,000. The acreage in wheat in 1886 was 37,000,000 acres, the product of which was 457,000,000 bushels, worth \$314,000,000; an increase of 15 millions in acreage, and an increase of 176 millions of bushels in yield, with a decrease in value of 9 million dollars. The decrease in the prices of corn and tobacco crops is relatively as great. [Balt. Man. Record.] President Beverly, doubtless, was in as happy ignorance of all these things, as it has been proven he was of the *numerical* strength of the farmers of the United States. *He* had not heard of these things, and hence, as he could see no other cause for "the glut," and the consequent depression in prices of agricultural products, he hopped to the conclusion that "the policies of government, State and National," had caused it.

President Beverly has overdrawn his picture, in the same proportion that he magnified the strength of the army of farmers. He thought that he saw a "dagger before" him, and went for it with a *rim*, and took most undue liberties with facts, upon the statement of which he relied to stir up the farmer's heart, and *fire* the wage-earner's brain. There was not the shadowy shade of foundation for his assaults on "the policies of the government," as being the *cause* of the "chronic glut," and as being inimical to the farming interest, as is herein abundantly proved, whatever may be the fact in regard to any other industry. There was no foundation, in reason, for his reference to the labor element, which, as a class, receives "the highest wages paid" to wage-earners in any other country "in the world," stimulating them to the pitch of outbreak, by telling them that "*in some quarters it is darkly hinted*," yes, "*darkly hinted, that soldiers are now to be hired*"—as the British did the Hessians to fight our fathers—"to *butcher citizens, whose crime is, that lacking bread, and out of employment, they will not degrade their humanity to the level of beasts of burthen.*" It was out of place—not called for—unwarranted by the facts. If the *febrile condition of American labor* is due to the *PROTECTIVE policies* of the United States, to what cause shall be attributed the *outbreaks in England*, under the *policy of free-trade*?

Under the American policy, the acreage of agriculture has been greatly enlarged, and its productions increased beyond proportion to the power of *gainful* disposition. Under the influence of free-trade, almost a million of acres in England, for-

merly devoted to the growing of wheat, have gone out of cultivation since 1870, and England can now no longer supply her own people with food. "The present [1884] prolonged depression of trade in Great Britain is largely owing to the succession of bad agricultural seasons, coupled with large over-production in nearly all the leading manufactures, and with the practical insolvency of many of the minor money-borrowing states of Europe, and the American continent, which, having obtained large loans of money from England, have defaulted in the payment of both interest and principal. Great Britain is becoming increasingly dependent on other nations for her food supplies." [*Report of Commissioner of Labor*, [1886] p. 28.] "The present depression in cotton manufacture in Great Britain, is, however, chiefly due to over-production."—*Id.* 30.

So we have a like depression of trade in Great Britain, and in America, under different policies of government, but, in both, proceeding, not from "the policies" of either government, but from one and the same cause—*over-production*, in the one case, in *manufactures*—in the other, of *grain*.

Never was there an address delivered, after mature consideration, before so respectable an Assembly as the Farmers' Congress is assumed to be, so *full of assertions*, so *void of facts and figures* to sustain them; [not a proof—not a reference—all upon the simple "I say it" of the speaker]; so odious, so sinful in sentiment, so cruel in suggestiveness that, upon its delivery, it met the rebuke of the Public Press of St. Paul and Duluth, and before it came to be reproduced in so respectable a Journal, devoted to the interests of the farmer in Virginia, as is the Southern Planter, its most hateful utterances had been eliminated. If not odious, why was not the address, as it was *delivered* before the Farmers' Congress at St. Paul, re-published without change in the Southern Planter? Aye, in the Report of the Sixth Annual Session of the Farmers' National Congress, at St. Paul, Minnesota, August 25th to 30th, 1886, a copy of which was lately handed me by Col. Beverly, at Alexandria, Va., he then knowing of my purpose to review his St. Paul address?

Possibly the criticisms of the Minnesota Press that the Address, as delivered, was *socialistic*, may have induced the modification by the publishing committee of the Farmers' Congress; Col. Beverly, himself, seems to be *impervious* to such "darts." He made a speech in Washington last January, of such a character as to invoke the following comment:—

"If the charges are untrue, their untruthfulness should be shown, for the tendency of such charges is to array class against class. The incendiary only destroys one or more buildings, which may be replaced by money, but the man who sows the seed of discord and controversy among the people does a wrong, the injury from which it is difficult sometimes to compute, and the effects of which may last for generations."

And the only reply vouchsafed by Col. Beverly, was:—

"I would here remark that I do not feel that I lie under any necessity of defending myself against anybody's charges, that I am a reckless demagogue, if you please, worse than an incendiary, sowing seeds of discord and controversy among the people."

Little does the Colonel care for criticism. He acknowledges

no obligation to defend himself against such trifling charges as "socialism"—of being an "incendiary"—a scatterer of "seeds of discord." His friends, however, were disturbed for him, but while dealing perturbation all around him, Col. Beverly is imperturbable, and might be described, as Condorcet was, as "*un mouton en rage—vulcan couvert de neige.*"

The whole tenor and effect of Col. Beverly's address is to impress the farmer and wage-earner with the belief that *his* government is *inimical to him*. He gathers all the vain imaginings of a disturbed brain and hurls them out before the country as facts—living, undisputed, indisputable facts—without a *scintilla*, without the effort to procure a *scintilla*, of evidence to sustain them; he exhausts himself in declarations as sweeping as space, and as free of foundation in fact as vacuity is of substance; and he affords, by not one word in all his long address, to inform his hearers and readers that, if the price of agricultural products is low, the price of everything the farmer had to buy is much more depressed. Not one word has he to give his hearers or readers by which to understand that a tariff of heavy duties had been laid to protect the American farmer's wheat, his beef, pork, hams, bacon, lard, butter, cheese, corn, rye, oats, potatoes, vegetables, hay, hops, vinegar, honey, tallow, wool, rice, live animals, &c., &c. Not an utterance, nor a sign from which this *policy* of protection to farmers could be inferred. Do the farmers object to this policy? Does it look as if it had been "shaped * * to the utter neglect and ruin of the interests of the soil?" Every word, every thought, spoken or suggested by President Beverly in his address as *delivered* to the Congress of Farmers, is calculated, if not intended, to make the farmers of the United States believe that the agricultural interest never had consideration of the government, other than to oppress it—to enforce "*policies shaped to the utter neglect and ruin of the interests of the soil.*"

President Beverly has reaped large honors from the farmers of the United States,—the President of three Agricultural Associations, one National, two State!—but who, in the light of the address, as *delivered* before the Farmers' Congress at St. Paul, and the facts as herein are set forth, can sincerely congratulate the American farmers, and say that, in their great chief,

"O nimium fortunatos agricolas!"

The farmer *should* be protected—so the manufacturer—so the artisan—so the common laborer—so every industry in danger of competition from foreign rivals. *But above all, and before all, PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR.* Without labor, lands and mines, agriculture and manufactures, trade and commerce—all industries—are worthless. "The laborer *is* worthy of his hire."

In this country there is no universal wage-rate. Under our Constitution there can be none. The price of labor in every locality is regulated by the surroundings of the place where the labor is performed, the cost of living, the skill employed, &c. The employer, also, has his correlative rights. He is entitled to compensation for his plant—for his capital employed. For the expense of administration, including wages to his employees,

taxes, insurance, &c. There *need* be no unpleasant conflict,—“*sum cuique tributo*,”—which, being liberally interpreted, is: “Do unto others as you would have others to do unto you.” Let England—let all the nations of the earth take care of *themselves*: as for *ourselves*, let us “legislate for the United States and not for the whole world; * * it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitors,” and by God’s help and the policy of protection, we mean that this glory shall never be impaired.

The London Times, in its editorial of July 14th, 1880, clearly presents the pith and purpose of the American Protective Tariff: “The United States do not approach the question from the same standpoint as ourselves. The *object* of their statesmen is not to secure the largest amount of wealth for the country generally, *but to keep up, by whatever means, the standard of comfort among the laboring classes.*” That is the *object* and *aim* of the American protective system—“shaped,” as Col. Beverly would have it, “to the utter neglect and ruin of the interests of the soil.”

Sir Edward Sullivan, in speaking of our countrymen, says:—“They understand,” which Col. Beverly does not seem to do, or appreciate, “that manufacturing and agricultural industries are inseparably bound together, that prospering manufactures means prosperous agriculture, and *vice versa*; that each consumes what the other produces; that each is the best consumer of the other.”

—XIX Century.

No man can pretend that the present tariff is perfect—is faultless in its *rates*—I do not discuss *them*, but the *principle* of protection. Revise the rates, correct, amend, but never wander from the great polarity of PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRIES, which is, PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR.

PERSONAL.

Until within the last ten years, I, myself, was a moderate free-trader—never a Calhoun man. I had given the subject no particular study, but content to follow the dogma to “buy where you could buy cheapest, and sell where you could sell the highest,” as the true doctrine, and that the government should by its “policies” enable its citizens to deal with “all the world, and the rest of mankind,”—unrestrained—untrammelled by any regard to the effects of such a policy upon the “general welfare” of the country at large. When I came to *study* the matter, and saw that, when *free-trade* prevailed, *American industries* were *stunned*, if not *paralyzed*: that, when *protection* was the policy, the *country advanced*; I could not resist the conclusion that, however true the *theory* of *free-trade* may be, when reduced to *practice* it had proved a blight upon the country;—[see testimony of Clay, the younger Adams, Dallas and Buchanan;] and especially when now I observe that the growth of the nation, in all the elements of wealth, power and prosperity, has been greater in the short period of a quarter of a century, than it had made in all the preceding 70 years of its existence, I am constrained to admit with Mr. Jefferson that *experience* has taught me that

American industries must now stand by the side of agriculture. I am not ashamed to change my opinions when convinced of my error, nor am I afraid to avow the change. I have no personal interests to subserve. I am neither a farmer, nor miner, nor manufacturer, nor have I any investment in either, to be affected by protection or free-trade. I am, therefore, entitled to be regarded, as Mr. Calhoun claimed for himself, when he *advocated* protection of American manufactures in 1816, as occupying entirely impartial ground.

In reviewing Col. Beverly's address, as he *delivered it*, at St. Paul, while I may not have *extenuated* anything, I disavow the setting down of aught *in malice*.

I ask no one to accept my statements, or to follow my example; but to him, who may have honored me with the perusal of the foregoing paper, I would respectfully say—examine the matter for yourself; decide for yourself upon the *facts*, and be not led away by “*rain babblings and the oppositions of science, so-called.*”

If *free-trade* has done so much for England, and *protection* be so ruinous to us, why should the Cobden Club be so anxious to have us change *our system for hers?* It is *HISTORY*, that under the influence of *protection*, steadily maintained, rigidly enforced for 500 years, England grew to be *the power on the earth*; and now, after less than fifty years' trial of free trade, she is begging bread from other countries, and struggling to maintain herself for her commodities of manufacture in the foreign markets, where once she was without a rival; and is being threatened with successful competition at her very door, under the shadow of her own factories.

It is equally matter of *History* that the United States, her daughter, a little more than one hundred years old, has outstripped England, her mother, and to-day stands as not only the greatest agricultural, but the largest manufacturing country in the world, under the benevolent influences of *Protection*, which had made this mother so great. Why should we change?

I have appended my name to this paper—not because it has, or is entitled to any weight, for I am simply a plain citizen. If the *statements* I have made be *facts*, no name, however humble, can detract from their force. If the *statements* be not founded on *facts*, but, like Col. Beverly's, be fanciful ebullitions, no name, however illustrious, could, or ought to, afford potency to them. Upon the facts—vouched by the record, as every reader may attest for himself if he chooses—I plant myself, and by them I ask that this paper may stand or fall.

THE

Barbour Blight!

POINTS AND PROOFS

For the People.

Points and Proofs for the People.

If the Hon. John S. Barbour, while in Congress, represented anything, it was the Eighth Virginia District, from which he claimed election, and which includes the city of Alexandria. In the House, he was chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia. Now, for several months of the winter the Potomac river is either closed or greatly obstructed by ice, which prevents Washington City, Georgetown and Alexandria from receiving their usual supplies by water—coming from all the Virginia territory lying along the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers and Chesapeake Bay, of which much is comprised in the Eighth District. There is incalculable damage done the cities in question and all the territory and people trading with them by this closing of the Potomac, and to keep it clear of ice is a corresponding benefit to all concerned.

During the last session of the 49th Congress General Mahone was called upon to see if Congress could not be induced to make some provision for the relief of these communities and the large interests involved.

The General at once went to work in the Senate to secure an appropriation for an Ice Boat and its maintenance on the Potomac, and he succeeded in securing an amendment to the District appropriation bill, appropriating ninety thousand dollars for this object. The House of Representatives disagreed to this and other amendments, and the District Appropriation Bill went to a conference committee—there the Senate portion of that committee held on and insisted upon this appropriation for the Ice Boat, until, by the obstinacy of the members of the House, they were forced to abandon it, or pass no appropriation bill for the District.

Where was Mr. Barbour, with his Democratic colleagues from Virginia in that Democratic House? Where was he, with his chairmanship of the House District Committee and his representative trust from the people of Alexandria and the Eighth District? Where was his influence?

The Ice Boat which Mahone had secured in the Senate, *Barbour sunk, or allowed to sink, in the House!*

BARBOUR'S BILL TO DESTROY THE PORT OF NORFOLK.

At somebody's request, the Hon. John S. Barbour introduced in the last Congress a bill which, under a pretence of affording ne-

cessary relief to the port of Newport News, fairly destroyed the port of Norfolk, as far as legislation could do so; depriving her of her ancient and natural rights and privileges and bestowing them on Newport News.

This measure so disastrous to Norfolk, introduced by Mr. Barbour, was pushed through the Democratic Committee of Commerce in the House, under the lead of his colleague, a member of that committee, Mr. O'Ferrall, and was reported to the House and placed on the calendar.

This, too, in face of the earnest protest of the Board of Trade and the council of the city of Norfolk.

Meanwhile the same bill was by Senator Kenna, of West Virginia, (at the request of somebody), introduced in the Senate.

There General Mahone promptly met the question.

The committee which Norfolk had sent to Washington to remonstrate against the perpetration of the outrage upon the interests of that port, which Mr. Barbour's bill would inflict, failing to enlist the friendship of any of Virginia's Representatives in the House, now came to General Mahone urging that he save Norfolk from the disastrous consequences of this bill. General Mahone had already taken the matter in hand. Fortifying himself with maps, statistics and all the needful data, he appeared before the Committee of Commerce of the Senate, of which Senator Kenna was a member, and induced that committee to adopt unanimously the substitute he had proposed, which, while securing to Newport News every rightful relief and privilege, and all that was desired by Mr. C. P. Huntingdon, and relieving the *waiting* commerce of Hampton Roads of theretofore existing exactions, guarded fully every interest of the port of Norfolk.

This substitute was reported to the Senate, and on General Mahone's motion unanimously passed that body and went to the House, where it perished! But Norfolk was saved—thanks to Senator Mahone!

BARBOUR AND HIS RAILROAD.

The city of Alexandria assumed a crushing burden of debt to aid in the construction of the Orange and Alexandria railroad, whose proper and ostensible purpose was to build up Alexandria and extend her trade and commerce. But, as soon as the Hon. John S. Barbour became its President and controller, he diverted the road from all its legitimate aims to be a tributary to Baltimore at the expense of Alexandria—making the line a curse instead of a blessing to that city. The present aspect of the ancient port, once so thrifty and important, proves all this; and besides, so quickly and so keenly did the people of Alexandria feel Mr. Barbour's adverse policy that their city council and other representative bodies publicly and formally denounced it as *treacherous and ruinous—appealing to Mahone for relief!*
ALL OF THIS IS OF RECORD.

BARBOUR AND BRITISH INTERESTS AGAINST VIRGINIA INTERESTS.

At the 1st session of the 48th Congress, Mr. Morrison reported his notorious Horizontal Tariff Bill from the House committee of Ways and Means, of which he was Chairman. It provided generally for a reduction of twenty *per cent.* of the protection afforded *all* Virginia and American products by the tariff (think of that!); and then struck a specially savage blow at the developing resources and industries of Virginia *by placing the following articles on the FREE LIST*, in these terms, as quoted from the bill itself:

"Sec. 3.—That on and after the first day of July, 1884, *in addition* to the articles now exempt from duty, the articles enumerated and described in this section, *when imported*, shall be exempt from duty, that is to say: Salt, in bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages, or in bulk; Coal, slack, or culm, bituminous or shale; Timber, hewn and sawed, and timber used for spars and in building wharves, and squared or sided timber, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act; Sawed boards, plank, deals, and other lumber of hemlock, whitewood, sycamore and basswood, and *all other articles of sawed lumber*; Hubs for wheels, posts, last-blocks, wagon-blocks, ore-blocks, gun-blocks, head-blocks, and all like blocks or sticks, rough-hewn or sawed only; *Staves* of wood of all kinds; pickets and palings; laths; shingles; *Pine* clap-boards; spruce clapboards: *Wood*, unmanufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act."

What a blow at all our interests of mine and forest was this new Free List—coming in as the conclusion of a twenty *per cent.* reduction of protection on all our other products!

Yet the bill was voted for by Messrs. BARBOUR, Cabell, Garrison, O'Ferrall, (*seated for this occasion!*) Tucker—all Virginia Democrats! See *Congressional Record*, May 6, 1884. The whole vote for this destructive measure to Virginia's interests was 155—151 Democrats and 4 Republicans; the whole vote against it was 159—115 Republicans and 44 Democrats.

BARBOUR & CO. AGAIN RALLY FOR BRITISH INTERESTS AGAINST VIRGINIA AND AMERICAN INTERESTS.

It is the fact that the Hon. John S. Barbour is the Democratic candidate before the next legislature to succeed Mr. Riddleberger in the U. S. Senate that makes his record, and that of his party, on all Federal issues, so interesting and important in this canvass. He and his party were for Morrison's *anti-Protective* bill in 1884, and in 1886 they again supported that measure in behalf of foreign importation against native production. On the 17th of June, 1882, (see *Congressional Record*) this bill came up in the House and was defeated by a vote of 157 nays to 180

yeas—122 nays being by Republicans and 35 by Democrats, while of those voting yea, 136 were Democrats and only 4 Republicans. *Among the 235 was the whole Democratic Delegation from Virginia, including BARBOUR, Cabell, Croxton, Daniel, O'Ferrall, Trigg, Tucker and George D. Wise.*

Is Mr. Barbour, or his party, entitled to the plaudit from Virginia or Virginians: "Well done, good and faithful servant?" Shall he be sent to the U. S. Senate (now so near a tie) to turn the balance against Protection and in favor of Free Trade—against native Production and in favor of foreign importation—against Virginia and America and in favor of England and the rest of the world?

You answered last November, as far as you then could, by returning to the House of Representatives *only two* of the eight men who voted for the Morrison bill and by making seven out of ten of your members of the House Protectionists of no questionable or doubtful stripe. Will you undo that grand work for Virginia now by voting to send Barbour, or any other *anti-Protectionist*, to the Senate? Hardly! Not so stupid.

BARBOUR SIDES WITH THE WOLVES AGAINST AMERICAN AND VIRGINIAN SHEEP-HUSBANDRY.

On the 7th of April, 1884, on the motion to take up and pass the bill to restore the protective duties on wool (see *Congressional Record*). Messrs. BARBOUR and Cabell (the only Virginia Democrats voting at all) *voted with 107 other Democrats against the motion*, only 10 Republicans voting with them, while 75 Republicans and only 39 Democrats voted for the motion.

Meanwhile, the Democrats voting to restore the duty on wool and to defeat the Morrison bill (Messrs. Randall and others) were denounced by the Washington *Post*, the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and other organs of Cleveland-Manning and Morrison-Barbour Democracy as "assistant Republicans," and so published in black-lists kept standing day after day and week after week!

BARBOUR AND CARLISLE, MORRISON & CO.

Mr. Barbour wants to go, and seeks to go, to the U. S. Senate on a State platform which is in direct contravention of his party's National platform and record. Indeed, his own record is in flat contradiction of this State platform, for not only did he vote (as we have seen) for the Morrison *anti-Protection* bills against the bill to restore the protective duties on wool, but in caucus and in the House of Representatives he over and over voted for an organization of that body, which he knew would absolutely *prevent* all measures looking to Protection, or to the reduction or abolition of internal taxes, or to Federal aid for schools, *from being even so much as heard on the floor of the House*. Consequently if he even pretended to favor, or vote, for any of these things,

he knew that he was acting a farce when he did so. There can be no rational question of that. Hence, when he voted for Carlisle for Speaker, well-knowing that all the committees would be organized by him against Protection, against repeal of internal taxes and against Federal aid to schools, and that he would also rule against all motions looking to take favorable action on these subjects, and would refuse to recognize even Randall himself, or any other person, who sought to raise a practical debate or vote looking to such action,—he thereby deliberately voted to sacrifice all these things to their enemies.

There has been no reduction of internal revenue since Carlisle became Speaker. The House was Republican in the 47th Congress, when it agreed to the reduction of the tobacco tax from 16 to 8 cents a pound in the amendment adapted by the Senate on the motion of Gen. Mahone. Two Congresses have since intervened, both with Democratic Houses, having Carlisle as Speaker, elected so by Mr. Barbour's vote. These two Democratic Houses, with Carlisle as speaker have sought to bring Free Trade upon us through the Morrison bills (on which Barbour voted); have, through four sessions, refused even to entertain a consideration of the Blair School Bill, which would have given Virginia \$5,300,000, and which was twice passed by the Republican Senate, and have steadily ignored or voted down all propositions to abolish or reduce internal taxes, whether on tobacco or anything else. *Suppose by the election of Mr. Barbour, or some other Democrat, to the Senate, both branches of Congress came in accord with the views expressed officially by Mr. Manning when Secretary of the Treasury, and which President Cleveland so emphatically and unqualifiedly endorsed?* The calamity would be incalculable in its evil consequences.

PROTECTION WOULD BE DESTROYED!

FREE TRADE WOULD RAVAGE US AT WILL!

THE INTERNAL REVENUE SYSTEM, WITH ALL ITS TAXES INCREASED, INSTEAD OF BEING DIMINISHED, WOULD BE A FIXED AND DAMNING BURDEN.

ALL AID FOR FREE SCHOOLS WOULD BE UTTERLY HOPELESS!

BARBOUR AND THE ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. Barbour is said to be in high feather, personally, with Mr. Cleveland and his administration. The latest authentic information from the President is that Mr. Carlisle has recently been in sweet communion with him, and that an agreement has been reached under which a tariff bill will be introduced in the next House, *as an Administration measure*, the principal feature of which will be *an addition to the Free List, EMBRACING RAW MATERIALS OF ALL KINDS AND ALL THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE!* This includes not only *all* our natural resources of every species—ores, coals, pig-iron, lime, plaster, stone, sumac, tobacco, wool,

wood of all sorts and shapes, &c.,—but all agricultural products whatsoever.

There is nothing astonishing in this, for, with Mr. Cleveland's approval, Secretary Manning recommended substantially the same policy to Congress in his reports, and advocated it in his letter of resignation with the emphatic assent of the President thereto. Can anybody conceive that Mr. Barbour in the Senate or elsewhere will put himself in opposition to the President and his administration and to the leading faction of the National Democracy? *Never.*

In the Senate Mr. Barbour will be the willing co-adjutor of the administration, and of the Carlisle-Morrison Federal policy—as he has shown by his course in and out of the House.

BARBOUR NO BOSS EXCEPT IN VIRGINIA.

Whatever Mr. Barbour may be in Virginia, and whatever may be his personal relations at Washington, he is no leader of his National party, whether with respect to party action or Federal legislation, and nobody in Congress or at the White House ever consults him about either. *He is a mere counter (in every sense of the word), and so regarded and used.* In the Senate, or elsewhere, never will he and his set (including O'Ferrall, Lee and George D. Wise) *earnestly* oppose the administration and the Carlisle directory of the National Democracy in anything they do or propose. He is famous as an “acquiescer” equally in Federal and State politics, without the courage of a single conviction, for he has none. American industry and protection will find no friend in him in their hour of need; our raw materials and necessaries of life will find no defender in him against foreign importations; and if an all-embracing internal taxation shall fail to produce enough revenue to support an “economical administration of the government,” which is understood to include only salaries and jobs for the faithful, and to exclude aid to free schools and the like, the tariff will be reserved to *exact an additional income on our tea and coffee*, of which we produce none and use unlimited quantities—a policy urged by Manning and which Cleveland approved.

Remember what the National Democratic Platform says; remember how the Democratic administration and the Democratic House have sought to carry out that platform; and above all, remember Mr. Barbour's record, and how he and the Virginia Democrats have been mere puppets at Washington—useful only to the enemies of this Commonwealth and of no service to her whatever.

The National Democracy said at Chicago (and it did *not* speak at Roanoke) as follows:

RAW MATERIALS.

“The Republican party professes the Protection of American

manufactures. It has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods, and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, *not one of which taxes raw materials.*" That is, imported raw materials!

AID TO FREE SCHOOLS.

"We are opposed to *all* propositions which, *upon any pretext*, would convert the general government [or State government either, logically] into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States [or counties and cities, logically], or the citizens thereof." Which includes the *Blair Bill*, if it does not aim exclusively at it.

INTERNAL REVENUE.

"The system of direct taxation known as the internal revenue is a war-tax, and so long as the law continues, the money derived therefrom should be *sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war.*"

O, ye gods! What people are to be relieved from the remaining burdens of the war by continuing this war-tax on us? Yet this is in precise accordance with two reports from Mr. Morrison's Committee in the last House (received and adopted by that Democratic House) denying any relief from internal taxes, because (as alleged in these reports) "*the war is not half over, and will not be over until we have paid \$4,000,000,000 yet to be collected in taxes from the people.*" The tobacco tax is a war-tax, and the financial war is not yet ended, and will not be *until the last dollar of our war-debt is paid and the last pension is fully in. This tax should not be removed.*"

Nor will it be removed even at the remote period stipulated thus for its necessary continuance by the finance committee of the Democracy, IF BARBOUR AND THE BARBOUR MANAGERS ARE TO RUN THIS GOVERNMENT AND FIX ITS POLICY.

THE SUM OF THE MATTER.

Every vote cast in this election for a Democratic candidate for the House or Senate is a vote to send John S. Barbour to the U. S. Senate, and thereby to endanger all the Protective safeguards we have, to encourage foreign importation at the expense of home production, to perpetuate the internal revenue system and increase its taxes, and to crush every hope of Federal aid for popular education or any other purpose for the general welfare of the States or the citizens thereof.

BROKEN PROMISES.

HOW THE Bourbon AND Barbour Democracy BETRAY FAITH.

INCREASE OF TAXES.

In their platform of 1885, the Democrats said:

We pledged our opposition to any increase of taxes, *whether directly or indirectly*, in the Convention of 1888, and, invested by the people with legislative powers, have redeemed this pledge and faithfully administered all trusts confided to us.

And yet, at the very moment when they said this, the new assessments for 1885, by the Democratic assessors, *indirectly increased taxes* as follows:

<i>Increase</i> in assessment of real estate,	\$36,108,124 02
<i>Increase</i> in assessment of personal property,	21,885,750 00
<i>Total increase</i> ,	\$57,988,873 02

The *yearly increase* of taxes thereby, \$ 281,955 50

An annual increase of near a quarter-million of our burdens, with no necessity whatever therefor, and in the face of a most positive pledge to the contrary!

READJUSTMENT.

The Democratic party, heretofore pledged as final its acceptance of the settlement of the public debt known as the "Riddleberger Bill," which had then been declared constitutional by the courts, State and Federal, and its opposition to all further agitation of the question or *any disturbance of that settlement by repeal or otherwise*.—*Democratic platform of 1885*.

Already, however, the Democrats had disturbed and practically repealed that settlement by their various acts in pretended aid and enforcement thereof, as shown by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the U. S., and by the briefs and arguments before that tribunal of

Messrs. Maury and Royall, both Democrats in good standing. The present posture of Readjustment speaks for itself in crushing testimony against Democratic perfidy.

FREE SCHOOLS.

In 1885, these Democrats (always profuse in promises, as they are now) declared:

"We favor the furnishing of free books to the pupils of the free schools, and an appropriation for the benefit of the common-school system from the surplus revenues of the Federal Government by what is known as the Blair Bill, or a better measure."

Where are these free books? *They are not even apologized for in the platform of 1887—nay, not even mentioned.* And yet the Democratic Legislature has been in almost perpetual session since the election in 1885, doing nothing, or worse than nothing.

As for the Blair Bill, though it was twice passed by a Republican Senate, tendering Virginia \$5,300,000 for her schools, and though it was before the Democratic House of Representatives in 1884, 1885, 1886 and 1887, it has *never yet been so much as taken up there for consideration!* On the contrary, when by a coalition of men of all parties a bill identical with the Senate Blair Bill had been referred to a Democratic committee of the House, with instructions to report it back promptly, it was John W. Daniel who effectually quashed the bill in the committee, and all hope for it in the last session of Congress, by having substituted for it a very different measure of his own, called the Craine substitute! Deliberately, knowingly, and with malice aforethought, he wilfully, for himself and his party, thus destroyed the only prospect the Blair Bill has ever had to get before the House of Representatives on its passage! *He did it. His party did it. They are responsible.*

CONVICT LABOR.

The Democratic platform of 1885 pledged the party that convict labor should no longer be permitted in this State to compete with free honest labor. Yet, for the *first time* in our whole history, soon after the inauguration of the Lee administration, convicts were employed to load and unload cars and vessels at Claremont, to handle and manipulate ores at and near Tolersville, and

to work on farms in Louisa, Orange and other counties. On formal complaint made to him of the employment of convicts at Claremont, Governor Lee responded superciliously in a letter which was published, that, in effect, it was none of his business to see to such matters, and that the whole subject was regulated by laws which complainants were referred to for further information and any relief these could afford them. It was a response which amazed, shocked and alarmed even his own partizans; and, as the exposure of this abuse of convict labor was continued in the columns of the Harrisonburg *State Republican* and the Petersburg *Index-Appeal*, certain perfunctory official action was taken, resulting in the parade of a correspondence between the Governor and Superintendent Moses, *in which it was substantially acknowledged that the convicts had been employed as charged*, and which pretended to have done nothing more than make inquiries of the contractors using the convicts, and to accept the assurances of these men that they would thereafter observe the law. In one case, *actually* (the Claremont case), this unique correspondence disclosed that the contractors, after confessing to the charge of misemploying the convicts, cavalierly threw them back into the Penitentiary, declaring they did not want them if they could not work them where they pleased,—*and this they were allowed to do*, without being held to their contract, or being subjected to any penalty for its violation! As the correspondence itself also shows that nothing whatever was done or contemplated to prevent or punish these abuses, it can safely be taken for granted that convicts hired out are put at anything the contractors please, without let or hindrance.

As to any general system of reform that would put an end to convict competition with free labor, in or out of the Penitentiary, there has been none, and the mechanics of Richmond can testify that practically, convict labor was never more actively and offensively employed to degrade and undercut honest labor.

FALSE IN ALL THINGS.

But what have these Democrats fulfilled faithfully as promised in 185? Nothing! They then pledged themselves to provide for less frequent elections, *whereas they*

have increased them, and taken no step whatever toward the reform so desirable herein in every view.

They promised adequate provision in our asylums for the insane, whereas our jails are full of these unfortunates of both colors and sexes, and whereas no number of asylums can provide for those who should be their inmates under *a system which prefers select or pay patients, and deliberately excludes the poor and needy as far as possible.*

Where is the eight-hour law? Where are any of the provisions that were to be made for the relief and alleviation of labor? What has been done by Democratic Representatives from Virginia, or by National Democracy, to give us the long promised repeal of the internal revenue taxes and system?

Instead of any of these things, we have the debt muddle worse muddled; taxes increased over \$231,000 a year; school warrants hawked and shaved as in the old Funder days; coupons beleaguering and blockading our Treasury; the pittance appropriated to disabled ex-Confederates snatched by a lot of impostors and their partisan attorneys; tobacco depressed to a price that beggars its growers; the internal revenue laws executed with unparalleled severity and unscrupulousness; and a ballot-killing and ballot-box stuffing election law to nullify the will of the people.

There is one item that must not be overlooked. On the 1st of January, 1880, as reported by the then Auditor, Massey himself, the Democrats had robbed the free schools, to that date, of one million five hundred and forty thousand dollars. Under Auditor Marye (who has returned to the *anti-school* methods which robbed our school fund, and which Auditor Massey exposed), as shown by Senate Document 35, 1883-'4, our free schools are again robbed, at one stroke, of \$478,430. Neither the Democratic Superintendent of Schools, nor the Democratic Governor, nor the Democratic Legislature, has done anything whatsoever to prevent or remedy this fresh spoliation.

“Republican Domination.”

WHAT IT HAS DONE FOR VIRGINIA.

A BRILLIANT RECORD!

WHAT IT WILL DO FOR THE COMMONWEALTH, IF RESTORED TO POWER.

“BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL KNOW THEM.”

Behold an incomplete index of the page of Virginia's history made bright by the “domination” which Bourbonism affects to fear as injurious and degrading to Virginia—a “domination” which challenges Bourbonism defiantly to comparison, whether as to “negro rule” or any other matter feared or desired by intelligent patriotism :

It restored **free** suffrage.

Established Readjustment.

Rescued the **free** schools from the coupons and ruin.

Ascertained the just sum of our debt as \$13,000,000 less than claimed and demanded, and fixed its equitable interest at 3 per cent.

Redeemed and enlarged our charitable and other institutions.

Reduced the assessment of lands for taxation over \$12,000,000.

Lowered taxation from 50 cents on the \$100 to 40 cents.

Remitted \$350,000,000 a year to tax-payers on their real and personal property.

More than doubled the **free** schools.

Paid the school teachers in cash and saved them from shaving their school warrants at a heavy discount.

Constructed a commodious asylum for the colored insane.

Established a Normal School for the colored people.

Took the insane from our jails and provided for them in our asylums.

By the decrease of taxation, the promotion of free education and the encouragement of liberalism in all things, it successfully invited capital, enterprise and labor to come among us, with consequent development, progress and prosperity.

Secured liberal appropriations to construct or repair Federal buildings at Richmond, Danville, Lynchburg, Abingdon, Harrisonburg, &c., and for the improvement of our rivers and harbors.

Procured the reduction of the tax on tobacco to 8 cents a pound—resulting in a saving of at least \$2,500,000 a year to our Virginia producers.

Decreased the annual ordinary expenses of our State Government \$250,000.

Applied all public revenue to public purposes and benefit.

Made the penitentiary a self-sustaining institution, whereas it had formerly cost the State \$50,000 or more a year.

Restored our educational, charitable and other public institutions to their original purposes, instead of allowing them to be continued as the adjuncts of class and special privilege.

This was done in spite of Bourbon efforts to prevent it; and more beneficent results would have been achieved but for Bourbon obstruction. And what did this "domination" declare for hereafter, if it should prevail? Read and ponder, remembering that the past record was surety that these pledges would be faithfully and wisely observed:

For the Free Ballot, against the Bourbon Ballot-Killer.

For Free Schools and increased appropriations for the enlargement and extension of the system, against the Bourbon hostility to free education, as manifested in the diversion of the State school funds (there now being a fresh diversion of \$300,000 due teachers for the year 1884-'85), and in the denial of Federal school aid by the defeat of the Blair Education bill.

For the enforcement of the Readjuster settlement of the State debt as covering every dollar of Virginia's equitable share of the debt of the undivided State, and the highest rate of interest that can be borne, against the open opposition of Bourbon-Funderism, and the more treacherous and insidious tampering of Bourbon "acquiescence" which has betrayed us again to our broker enemies.

For economical government, against Bourbon waste, improvidence and crippled finances.

For the liberal support and extension of all our asylums, against the Bourbon system of incarcerating our insane of both sexes in the common jails.

For Free Labor and its just share in its contributions to the power and wealth of the Nation, against the Bourbon policy

which subjects honest labor not only to capital, but to unjust and humiliating competition with convict labor.

For Free Books for free schools, as a proper and necessary completion of our system of public education, against the present Bourbon policy which forces many children to plead pauperism or stay from the schools, and robs the parents of others by frequent changes of books.

For due compensation for all labor impressed for public service, whether on public roads or otherwise (as in the case of private property taken for public use), against this Bourbon robbery of labor to relieve capital of its just burdens.

For good public county roads, under some efficient system, to be supported by an equal and uniform rate of taxation on property and by an employment of convict labor under proper regulations, against the present unjust conscription by which Bourbonism forces the poor, uncompensated, to do this work.

For Biennial Elections, so that our State, county, city, and other elections may all occur together, with great economy and the great repose and relief of the people, against the present system of frequent and costly elections that keep the people in continual agitation, excitement and trouble, only to subserve the fraudulent and inflammatory devices by which Bourbonism maintains its factious and hateful domination.

For the protection of our Oyster-beds and Fisheries from non-resident invaders, and the due regulation of these great interests in accordance with the rights and views of the people directly concerned, against the Bourbon mismanagement which invites invasion and spoilation, while it injuriously burdens and hampers our own citizens of the Tidewater and Eastern Shore counties.

For the execution of all public work by the direct employment and payment of labor, against the system by contracts, under which both Government and workmen are fleeced by speculative and unnecessary middle-men.

For every possible encouragement and aid to promote the construction of railroads and other facilities to open up the immense mineral and other resources of the Western, South-western and other portions of the State, and place these in easy connection with our East and West lines of transportation, in accordance with the Virginia policy of home growth and development, against the suicidal Bourbon policy which sacrifices all our internal advantages and materials for self-advancement to outside interests, and makes our ports and cities mere way-stations and our territory a mere tributary and road-bed of convenient transit to the traffic of other States and their cities.

For an enforcement of the paramount obligation of the various works of internal improvement to the people of the State, by whose authority they were created, by whose money they were constructed, and by whose grace they live; and it is enjoined upon our representative and executive officers to enforce the discharge of that duty, to insure to the people of Virginia such rates, facilities and connections as will protect every industry and interest against discrimination, tend to the development

of their agricultural and mineral resources, encourage the development of active capital in manufactures, and the profitable employment of labor in industrial enterprises; grasp for our cities those advantages to which, by reason of their geographical position, they are entitled, and fulfill all the great public ends for which they were designed.

For money-wages for labor, against the Bourbon store-and-order system, whereby corporate and other employers control the expenditures of their employes, and under which great extortions and oppressions are imposed.

For eight hours a day for all labor employed on public works and in mines and manufactories, and by corporations, with weekly payments.

For a State Bureau of Labor Statistics, to reach a fuller knowledge of the condition of the laboring people, with a view to their welfare and elevation.

For a legal provision securing to all mechanics, laborers and other workmen employed by corporations, firms and individuals the first lien on the assets of these where they are forced into liquidation, to be first satisfied as that of preferred creditors by reason of their share in creating such assets.

For that civil service in which character and capability shall be regarded as paramount tests for public employment.

For such annual appropriations as may be adequate to provide for the proper care and support of disabled Virginia soldiers who need such provision.

For a general law providing that any county, city, town and district in this Commonwealth may determine for itself, by a majority of its votes cast at a special election held for the purpose under due regulations, whether or not the sale of spirituous liquors shall be allowed within its limits.

Alas, bribe and corruption, fraud and force overbore the people and put us all under the "domination" of Bourbonism. The injury is incalculable; but the crowning outrage is to be insulted with the lying calumny by which Bourbonism seeks to palliate its execrable usurpation and excuse the damnable methods by which this usurpation was possible.

But time not only makes all things even, but brings in its revenges. Tyranny cannot exist and prosper long in this age and country.

SHALL WE MAINTAIN

The Public Free Schools of Virginia ?

THE COST OF FURNISHING FREE TEXT-BOOKS TO THE SCHOLARS OF PUBLIC FREE SCHOOLS.

THE LOG-CABIN SCHOOL HOUSE SCHOLAR AND THE COLLEGE-BRED STUDENT—THE COMPARATIVE COST OF THESE TWO SCHOLARS TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA, AS SET FORTH IN A SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF VIRGINIA, ON FEBRUARY 26TH, 1886, BY JAS. J. McDONALD, A REPUBLICAN SENATOR FROM THE 36TH SENATORIAL DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

MR. PRESIDENT:—We have now before us a bill proposing to furnish free text-books to the pupils of our public free schools.

The facts are these:

The people of Virginia believe that free books are a necessity; and as an evidence of this, both political parties of our State *engrafted* in their several platforms a *promise* to give free books.

THE PROMISE OF BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES.

The Republican party of Virginia, in convention assembled July 15, 1885, promised free books in the following words, viz:

“ For free books for free schools, as a proper and necessary completion of our system of public education, against the Bourbon policy which forces many children to plead pauperism or stay away from the schools, and robs the parents of others by frequent changes of books.”

The Democratic party of Virginia, in convention assembled July 30, 1885, promised free books in the following words, viz:

“ It is the cherished purpose of the Democratic party to labor in this sacred work of public enlightenment until the country and town alike enjoy the full advantages of free education. To this end we favor the furnishing of free books to the pupils of the free schools.”

These are the several promises made, and we have clearly a constitutional right to do this under the provisions of article 8, section 6 of our State constitution.

The State can fully protect this property under the provisions of article 8, section 11 of our constitution.

Admitting these things, let us calculate the cost and ability of the State to perform this duty.

The *possible* number of pupils to be supplied is about 420,000.

The *probable* number of pupils to be supplied is about 320,000.

This last estimate is based on the fact that *less* than three-fourths of the pupils *enrolled* attend school daily.

Virginia School Report for 1884 (page 11, line 3) gives 288,030 pupils enrolled and (line 9, page 11) gives 163,369 of these pupils in *daily* attendance.

This report shows there was *less* than three-fourths of those enrolled in daily attendance.

The county of *Rockingham* had in 1884 the largest number of pupils enrolled of any city or county in the State, viz: 8,250 pupils. The average *daily* attendance was 5,016 pupils. This report also shows *less* than three-fourths of those enrolled in daily attendance.

In making the estimate for daily attendance—viz: 320,000—I have made it for *more* than three fourths of the possible number of enrolled pupils.

Having arrived at the number to be supplied, we must then endeavor to arrive at the cost per pupil to be supplied.

There are various methods of arriving at this cost, but in the absence of better proof we must rely mainly upon statistics upon this subject. I have made six estimates, and they are based upon the following facts:

First. The free books supplied by district school boards in Virginia during 1884, to 8,674 indigent children. Virginia School Report, 1884, page 11, lines 20, 21.

Second. The cost to the county of Rockingham of all the books, viz: 24, adopted by that county in 1882, provided the whole 24 books were in use at one time. I name this county because it had in 1884 the largest number of pupils enrolled.

Third. The cost to Baltimore city for books and stationery furnished to 120 day schools and 8 evening schools, containing 40,496 pupils, as given in the 56th annual report of the board of commissioners of public schools of that city for year ending December 31, 1884.

Fourth. The cost to Baltimore city for books and stationery furnished to 4 white and 4 colored evening schools, containing in the aggregate 1,948 pupils. This is found in same report of board of commissioners of that city.

Fifth. The cost to New York city for supplying 298,293 pupils, as given in the report of a committee of this General Assembly, in response to a resolution passed December 14, 1885. Educational Journal, January, 1886, page 39.

Sixth. The estimate made by myself, based on a division of the pupils into three classes, viz: 5 to 7 years of age, 7 to 12 years of age, and 12 to 21 years of age.

I will now calculate the cost in accordance with these statistics and methods of computing such costs.

First. The free books supplied to 8,674 (Virginia School Report, p. 100) indigent children in Virginia in 1884, by district boards, cost \$7,199.83 (Virginia School Report, p. 34, line 6). This is 83 cents per capita, retail price, and but 55 $\frac{1}{3}$ cents per capita wholesale price.

320,000 pupils supplied at 55 $\frac{1}{3}$ cents per capita, would cost \$177,066.

It must be remembered that these books were purchased from local dealers at retail prices. This is an error the legislative committee made in estimating the cost of these books at 83 cents, because they can be purchased from the publisher at a discount of at least 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.; which the State can save by becoming the purchaser.

I will read you a "price-list of text books," dated Department of Public Instruction, May 1, 1882, and signed R. R. Farr, Superintendent Public Instruction. This circular states that publishers have five prices for their books, viz.: The introduction price, the exchange price, two wholesale prices, and the retail price. The ordinary wholesale price is the price at which books are sold to dealers generally, but there is another wholesale price allowed to the largest dealers, which is about $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. below the ordinary wholesale price, and is commonly equivalent to about 40 per cent. off the retail price.

Second. The county of Rockingham adopted in 1884, the following named books—which particular books of each series was used I am unable to state; I will therefore give the names, number and price of the books of each series. (Virginia School Report, p. 70, lines 2, 7, 9, 14, 20, 22, 25, 28; p. 11, lines 3-9:

Venable's Arithmetic, 4 books, cost respectively, 20c., 40c., 31c., 70c....	\$1.61
Maury's Geography, 3 books, cost respectively, 60., \$1.42., \$1.77.....	3.79
Swinton's Grammar, 3 books, cost respectively, 28c., 37c., 76c.....	1.71
Eclectic History, 1 book, cost respectively, \$1.11.....	1.11
Holmes' Reader, 6 books, cost respectively, 16c., 27c., 40c., 53c., 87c., \$1.11.....	3.36
Holmes' Speller, 1 book, cost respectively, 14c.....	14
Webster's Dictionary, 5 books, cost respectively, 53c., 80c., \$1.83, \$2.77, \$1.09.....	7.02
Spencerian Copy Book, 1 book, cost respectively, 8c .....	.08

24 books, amounting in the aggregate to..... \$18.82

If every book on this list—viz: 24 books—were used at one time by 24 scholars, they would necessitate a cost of but \$18.82. This is 78 5-12 cents per capita, retail price, at which I quoted them, and but a small fraction over 52 cents per capita, wholesale price.

320,000 pupils supplied at 52 cents per capita would cost \$166,400.

BALTIMORE SCHOOL REPORT, PAGE 8.

Third. The cost to the city of Baltimore for books and stationery furnished to 40,496 pupils in the following named schools, 120 day and 8 evening schools, viz:

1 Baltimore City College.....	622 scholars.
2 Female High Schools.....	1,127 "
19 Male Grammar Schools.....	5,250 "
20 Female Grammar Schools.....	5,878 "
29 Female Primary Schools.....	8,371 "
29 Male Primary Schools.....	8,343 "
5 Public (English-German) Schools.....	3,967 "
1 Manual Training School.....	150 "
14 Colored Day Schools.....	4,910 "
8 Evening (White and Colored) Schools.....	1,878 "

40,496 scholars.

These 40,496 scholars cost for books and stationery furnished free to them by the city of Baltimore, 98 cents per capita. Baltimore Report, 1884, p. 34.

It must be understood and remembered, in making this estimate, that such studies as Greek, Latin, German, French, music, drawing, &c., are taught at these schools (Baltimore School Report, p. 34), and as the books for these exercises are much more costly than any ever introduced into the public free schools of Virginia, we can safely de-

duct 25 per cent. or 30 per cent. from the 98 cents per capita. 30 per cent. off leaves 60 cents and 6 mills. 320,000 pupils supplied at 60 6-10 cents per capita, would cost \$193,920.00.

Fourth. The cost to the city of Baltimore for books and stationery furnished to 1,948 pupils of evening schools in that city, was but \$809.72, which is nearly 41½ cents per capita. Baltimore School Report, p. 53.

320,000 pupils supplied at 41½ cents per capita, would cost \$132,800.

The report from the Baltimore evening schools shows that these scholars cost only about \$2.00 per capita, including salaries for teachers, books and stationery, and repairs and incidentals. Baltimore School Report, p. 53.

Fifth. The cost to New York city for supplying 289,293 pupils with books and stationery was \$139,181.86, or an average cost of 46 cents per capita. (Educational Journal, January, 1886, p. 40.) 320,000 pupils supplied at 46 cents per capita would cost \$147,200.00.

Sixth. The estimate made by myself, based on an equal division of the pupils into three classes, viz :

1 from 5 to 7 years of age	cost 30 cents per capita,
2 from 7 to 12	" " 85 "
3 from 12 to 21	" " \$2.00 "

This is \$3.15 for the three pupils, and is an average of \$1.05 per capita retail price, and 70 cents per capita wholesale price.

320,000 pupils supplied at 70 cents per capita would cost \$224,000.00. This sum is above all statistical estimates upon this subject.

In a properly equipped school room in our State, if carried on in accordance with law, we find spelling, reading, arithmetic, grammar and history charts, maps and blackboards. (Code 1873, ch. 78, sec. 53.) These are necessary equipments of the school room, and are furnished by the district boards. It will be seen that very many books in the primary classes can be dispensed with by the proper introduction and use of these spelling, reading, writing, history and arithmetic charts.

I have made six estimates as follows: First, \$177,066. Second, \$166,400. Third, \$193,920. Fourth, \$132,800. Fifth, \$147,200. Sixth, \$224,000. The last is the largest, and there is little doubt but that it is sufficient. But suppose it is not, is that any good reason why we shall not supply these books? We are *pledged* to supply these books, and we can safely do it without increasing our taxes.

The auditor's report for 1885, p. 4, shows there is a surplus of \$373,446.61. This amount, and what might be saved from the appropriations which are extravagantly made to the high schools and colleges of Virginia, would be more than sufficient to meet all the emergencies of this bill.

MONIES APPROPRIATED FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES OTHER THAN FREE SCHOOLS.

During the sessions of 1883 and 1884, the General Assembly appropriated *hundreds of thousands* of dollars for educational purposes other than free schools.

As near as I can ascertain by reference to Acts of 1883-'84, there was appropriated for the use of the *University of Virginia* the following sums:

Acts 1883-'84, p. 544, appropriated for year 1884, for free tuition, on conditions.....	\$40,000 00
Acts 1883-'84, p. 534, appropriated for year 1884, again.....	8,916 00
Acts 1883-'84, p. 544, appropriated for year 1885, for free tuition, on conditions.....	40,000 00
Acts 1883-'84 p. 537, appropriated for year 1885, again.....	8,916 00
Section 3, p. 544, appropriated for year 1885, for sewers and repairs	40,000 00

Total \$137,832 00

The number of students in 1884 was 298.

Appropriations for Virginia Military Institute.

Acts 1883-'84, p. 533, appropriated for year 1884.....	\$30,000
“ 534, “ “ 1884.....	1,200
“ 537, “ “ 1885.....	30,000
Acts 1883-'84, p. 537, “ “ 1885.....	1,200
“ 542, “ “ 1885 pay interest, &c....	40,000

• \$102,400

During 1884 there was 112 cadets at this school.

Appropriations for Washington and Lee University.

Acts 1883-'84, p. 533, appropriated for year 1884.....	\$14,205 48
“ 534, “ “ 1884, pay interest on	
\$145,000 lost on steamer “ Arctic,” 1854.....	52,400 00
Acts 1883-'84, p. 537, appropriated for year 1885.....	14,205 48
“ 538, “ “ 1885, pay arrears of	
interest on \$145,000 bonds lost on steamer “ Arctic,” 1854.....	52,400 00

\$133,210 96

Appropriations for Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.

Acts 1883-'84, p. 533, appropriated for year 1884.....	\$20,000
“ 537, “ “ 1885.....	20,000

\$40,000

Appropriations for Union Theological Seminary.

Acts 1883-'84, p. 534, appropriated for year 1884.....	\$8,261 70
“ 548, “ “ 1885.....	8,261 70

\$17,523 40

Appropriated for Hampton Normal and Agricultural School.

Acts 1883-'84, p. —, appropriated for year 1884.....	\$10,329 36
“ —, “ “ 1885.....	10,329 36

\$20,658 72

Appropriations for Miller Manual Labor School.

See Acts 1883-'84, appropriated for year 1884.....	\$60,433 10
“ “ “ 1884, (arrears of interest,..	2,190 00
“ “ “ 1885.....	60,433 10

\$123,056 30

Appropriations for Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary and High School.

See Acts 1883-'84, appropriated for year 1884.....	\$3,594 00
“ “ “ 1885.....	3,594 00

\$7,188 00

Appropriations for Hampden Sidney College.

See same Acts, appropriated for 1884.....	\$5,754 20
“ “ “ 1885.....	5,755 20

\$11,509 40

Appropriations for Richmond College.

See same Acts, appropriated for 1884.....	\$2,641 03
" 1885.....	2,641 03
	<hr/>

Appropriations for William and Mary College.

See same Acts, appropriated for 1884.....	\$2,094 00
" 1885.....	2,094 00
	<hr/>

Appropriations for Randolph Macon College.

See same Acts, appropriated for 1884.....	\$1,182 00
" 1885.....	1,182 00
	<hr/>

Appropriations for Dawson Fund.

See Acts 1883-'84, appropriated for year 1884, to pay interest on bonds held by Albemarle and Nelson counties.....	\$2,052 00
See Acts 1883-'84, appropriated for year 1885, to pay interest on bonds held by Albemarle and Nelson counties.....	2,052 00
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Appropriations for Medical College of Virginia, at Richmond.

See same Acts, appropriated for year 1884.....	\$1,500 00
" 1885.....	1,500 00
	<hr/>

Appropriations for New London Academy.

See same Acts, appropriated for year 1884.....	\$390 00
" 1885	390 00
	<hr/>

Appropriations for Hall's Free School.

See same Acts, appropriated for year 1884.....	\$288 00
" 1885	288 00
	<hr/>

Appropriations for Leesburg Academy.

See same Acts, appropriated for year 1884.....	\$150 00
" 1885	150 00
	<hr/>

Appropriations for Emory and Henry College.

See same Acts, appropriated for year 1884	\$36 00
" 1885	36 00
	<hr/>

Appropriations for State Female Normal School.

See same Acts, sec. 6, p. 418, to defray expenses of establishing and continuing said school.....	\$5,000 00
Sec. 7, 411, Extra Session 1883-'84, there is an annual appropriation to be made to this school of \$10,000, which I take no note of in summing up the aggregate.	

Total amounts appropriated for years 1884 and 1885 for educational purposes other than public free schools, \$619,044.74.

HOW MANY STATE BONDS DO THESE INSTITUTIONS HOLD?

It may be said these appropriations—viz: \$619,044.74—are for payments of interest on State bonds held by these institutions.

This can hardly be the case, as I find by calculations made by myself that the sums appropriated for these schools during 1883-'84—viz: \$619,044.74—would be six per cent. interest on more than *ten and a half millions* of dollars.

Do these schools hold such a large amount of these bonds? And if so, then the State debt is not such a knotty one, as this amount is about half of what we owe to the bondholders. It is not so, however, as the larger part is a gratuity to these schools; and if it were so, we are paying doubly as much interest to them as we *intend* to pay to the other bondholders, whether widow or orphan.

Is our obligation more sacred or more binding to one class of bondholders than to another? What right have we to distinguish between these several classes? Why pass laws granting payment of six per cent. interest on bonds held by a pompous institute and pass other laws forbidding the payment of interest on bonds held by a widow or orphan?

Why make one a privileged class to demand and receive moneys from the State, and shut your doors and set your dogs on the other class because they ask to be put on equal footing?

The plea may be made that Virginia received moneys in trust for some of these institutions of learning. If she did, her honor is no more at stake than when she borrowed money on her bonds for internal improvement.

Did she not make as honorably binding obligation with one creditor as with another? Is it not as disgraceful and dishonest to withhold from one as from another? Why not the orphan bondholder, whose parents loaned money to Virginia, share equally with the superintendent of some institute or other?

Here this body sits day after day deliberating and devising means to prevent the collection of interest by one class and lavishly and extravagantly appropriates for another class!

I have asked several members of this body why certain items are included yearly in these appropriations, and I have not been able to get a satisfactory answer. These institutions were good and necessary in their day, and the question is, are they *good* and necessary in our day?

If an institution or individual once gets its name on the appropriation bill it is safe for all time to come, as the new bill is generally copied from the old one and few questions asked; and, as the State is a big thing, so is the appropriations bill, and perhaps any one who comments upon the bill is considered a small thing.

It may not be popular to comment on these things, but nevertheless I feel it my duty to do so even at the risk of being unpopular. All men have *some* valor in them. With some men, this valor extends only to their jaw-bone; with some others it reaches to the ends of their toes; and with what valor I can command I shall discuss this subject.

The appropriations for 1884-'85, for educational purposes, other than free schools, were \$619,044.74. It may be there are other institutions of learning in this State receiving aid, and which I have overlooked.

I am not opposed to these institutions, and perhaps have voted for some of these appropriations, but it did not then occur to me there was

such a lavish disbursement of the public money. It does appear to me that some, at least, of this enormous amount might be directed to the purchase of free books.

EXTRAVAGANT EXPENDITURES.

Here are some of the items of expenditures of one of these institutions, viz: the University of Virginia.—Annual Report, 1884, table B., p. 7:

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

Experimental Farm. —The cost of running this farm one year was \$1,448 41, and the income from this farm for the same year was \$224 26, thus bringing it in debt \$1,224 15.

This sort of farming reminds me of a gentleman in my country who used to spend a great deal of time in writing articles for the "American Farmer," and his articles were declared to be the best on farming that were contributed to that journal, and yet when a couple of his Baltimore friends paid him an unexpected visit, he was obliged to send his boy out 'possum hunting that same night in order that they might have meat for breakfast.

On same page I find the professors' salaries for 1884 were \$52,916.25, and in table D, p. 10, printing diplomas cost \$505.35; printing, advertising, and printing catalogues, \$1,500. Table D, p. 7. Here is an item of more than \$2,000. Then I see that \$250 was paid to Mr. Bowditch, a Massachusetts gentleman (so I understand,) for surveying a route for laying water-pipes to quench the thirst of 298 students, and an army of professors, all of whom perhaps, profess to know the art of surveying in all its branches. Annual Report of University of Virginia, p. 4.

Something is wrong in our attempt to educate the youth of our State when we cannot teach them to lay a water-pipe down hill.

Table B of same report shows that \$52,916.25 was paid to professors for salaries, and \$4,461.71 was paid to officers for salaries. This makes the sum of \$57,377.96 paid by Virginia tax payers to teachers in this school for teaching 298 students, many of whom are from other States.

How do these extravagant prices compare with prices paid the public free school teachers?

On page 101, Virginia School Report, 1884, I find the average monthly salaries of public school teachers is \$30.32 per month for males, and \$26.39 for females, and the average time in which schools are open is six months, and the average number of scholars to each school is forty-five. How can the public schools thrive under such discrimination?

DEMAND FOR FREE SCHOOLS.

Let us be in earnest about our support to the public free schools or let us wipe them out of existence.

Let us realize the necessity of these schools and act accordingly, or let us say to the people that general education is not a necessity, and should be prohibited.

I say the people need them and must have them, and the widow who contributes her mite is as much entitled to them for her boys as the millionaire who contributes his thousands, because when her boys

become men the millionaire needs their aid in the jury box and on the battle-field to protect his property and defend his home.

It may be said that the man who pays the most taxes should have the greatest liberty in disposing of these taxes. I deny this right to him, because were it not for the protection afforded by the poor man to his wealthy neighbor we never could accumulate or hold together anything which we could not guard and keep under our own strong arm. Civilization, backed by the poor as well as the rich, has decreed that the wealthy, miserly, cowardly, weak invalid shall have the same protection before the law which is accorded to the most courageous, powerful, gigantic man who lives on God's earth. It needs neither battle axe, nor shield, as in feudal ages to enforce or defend this decree. This much the strong arm of the poor man has accorded the puny weak arm of the rich man.

I would not destroy the will and power of the State to contribute to the support and encouragement of all those schools, colleges or institutes, but I would insist that a close scrutiny should be had of their accounts.

It is said the State has large monied interests in these schools.

To force the State to keep alive these schools is a job equal to keeping a consumptive alive on whisky—between the drams his dying gasps are plainly audible. It appears they require the bottle to their mouth constantly, else they die.

WHAT IT COSTS VIRGINIA TO EDUCATE HER SONS AT THE HIGH SCHOOLS.

Let us see what it does cost. Suppose the University of Virginia has forty State students—this number is based on the presumption of each senatorial district being represented there.

The appropriations made for this institution for the years 1884 and 1885 were \$137,832.00. Divide this by 40 and we find the cost to the State of Virginia for each of its 40 students for two years \$3,445.80 per capita, or a yearly average of \$1,722.00 for each student.

Let us suppose the Virginia Military Institute has 40 State students—this will also allow one for each senatorial district.

The appropriations made for this institution for the years 1884 and 1885 were \$102,000.00. Divide this by 40 and we find the cost to the State of Virginia for each of its 40 students for two years \$2,560.00, or a yearly average of \$1,280.00 per capita. Add to this the sums paid by the State cadets as expenses, viz: \$165 each. Annual Report, Virginia Military Institute, 1884, p. 14.

A Democratic Senator upon this floor told me to-day that he was informed by the professors of one of these schools that \$375 was the least sum under which his son could be entered in that school, and this could only be done by entering as State student, with the sum of \$165.00 paid by the State student—as mentioned in said report—added, we have the sum of \$13,200 more for years 1884 and 1885, making the total sum of \$115,600, contributed to that institution by the State of Virginia and her State scholars.

DO THESE HIGH SCHOOLS SUPPLY TEACHERS TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

It is frequently stated that these great schools furnish teachers to the public schools of our State, and this is given as a strong and pow-

erful argument in favor of the maintenance of them. Let us see how that argument compares with facts.

In 1884 there was in Virginia 6,371 public free school teachers (2,362 white males, 2,421 white females, 885 colored males, and 703 colored females). School Report, page 56, lines 7, 8, 9, 10.

Out of this total number of 6,371 teachers, there was but 58 from the University of Virginia, and 34 from the Virginia Military Institute. School Report, page 170.

As to the manner in which the State derives *much benefit* from some at least of these High Schools, I am unable to state; certain it is, they do not furnish scholars to teach our public schools.

If the conditions of entry to them are such as I now read (School Laws Virginia, page 75, section 180), I now say, with a full understanding of myself, that the majority, and the great vast majority, have no need and no use for them. The people have more use for a good plain education, which sensible business people need oftener in their places of business and on their farms, than in a society drawing-room. I now read from a speech of Prof. Noah K. Davis, of the University of Virginia, in which he acknowledges this school is for a select few, and yet the many contribute to it through the public purse.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA A SCHOOL FOR THE SELECT FEW.

Read the speech of Prof. Noah K. Davis, of the University of Virginia, delivered at the second annual conference of school superintendents in the city of Richmond during April, 1884 (School Report, 1884, page 124.) In connection with other remarks, this gentleman said :

“ Notwithstanding all this, I freely confess that the *University is a select school*. It is *not for everybody*, by any means. It is for those only who have *enjoyed opportunities* for considerable preparation, who have shown talent in making it, and who give promise of ability to make high attainments. These are not the many, but the few, and *one University* is quite enough for Virginia. For while all are free to come, and are free of charge for tuition, and are moreover free to choose their branches of study, yet ‘the principle of natural selection,’ which seems applicable here, if not everywhere, forbids and *prevents* the actual entrance of any except the *elect few*.”

Mr. President, these are the words of that professor, as I copied them from the Virginia School Report for 1884, page 123. I shall not comment on them, as I believe they are already plain enough for any one to understand.

It may be said these High Schools produce great men; I say *great men are produced by great efforts of their own*.

I repeat I am not opposed to the schools, but we must be just before we are generous.

Is it just to send to one school in this Commonwealth \$137,832, to another \$102,400, and so on in the list, each of these sums for a single school, and at the same time to send to a whole county the small sum of \$4,000 or \$5,000 for the maintenance of perhaps 30 or 40 schools?

One scholar to cost this Commonwealth an average of 70 cents per month, and another scholar to cost the Commonwealth \$1,722 per year. These high schools and colleges are evidences of civilization, but they should not be evidences of extravagancies.

DO WE DISCRIMINATE ?

This is the situation : We furnish one boy a cheap teacher, log cabin school-house, no books, plain benches, little or no fire, little or no instruction. All these things at a cost of perhaps 70 cents per month, and the other boy, you surround him with all the ancient and modern comforts combined : learned teachers, well-fitted, handsome quarters, access to the best books, and the best of instruction, and abundance of it.

And when these two lads leave their several schools what becomes of them ? Well, sir, the first mentioned boy when he enters manhood, if not earlier, takes off his coat, rolls up his sleeves, and to work he goes with such strength and will as God gave him, and he hews out his fortune by hard knocks.

You don't find college-bred young men following the plow to make corn at 40 cents a bushel to help pay these appropriations. No, sir ! You may find them accepting some of that corn for extracting a tooth, curing a headache, or drawing a mortgage on a yoke of buffalo steers ; but they don't plow—log-cabin does the plowing !

When we get into such a disturbance as occurred in 1861 to 1865, the plow boy carries the knapsack and goes to the front of the battle, while *frequently*, though not always, his college friend stays in a bomb-proof to figure up the expenses of this disturbance. Of course *he* knows he is most capable, and he don't fail to let others know it.

It is right these high schools should exist, but is it right they should exist at the expense of the free schools ?

You say a poor boy has an equal chance at these high schools ; grant it. My reply is, that to put a poor boy there is to make his education cost more than the boy is worth. This calls to mind that education in Virginia is not what it should be. The schools do not PRACTICE what they profess. Here we have appropriated \$619,044.74 to high schools and colleges in Virginia during the last two years, and perhaps many millions of dollars since and before the war, and yet we are obliged to send to Massachusetts for a civil engineer to lay a water pipe in one of these institutions which contained 298 students and an army of professors ! Yet it is said we cannot buy a book for a barefoot, anxious boy, who probably with half a chance would invent a system of pipe-laying which would put to blush an institution which has been standing and pampered from time immemorial, and has not ingenuity enough to quench its own thirst. (Report of Rector, 1884, pp. 3 and 4.) We are pampering an institution at a cost of \$157, 832, and it feels so proud and elevated that it would not even drink from pipes furnished by its mother State, but sends to Buffalo, N. Y., for them—so I understand. (Same report, page 5. Blairstell, contractor.) Stripping bare its mother's breast, it refuses longer to comfort her in her old and decrepid age, and boldly and defiantly passes over her prostrate form and tenderly conveys in its arms to a stranger and an alien the nourishment which she needs in this her great distress.

What a rebuke to the many pupils which these "great schools" turn out yearly by scores !

What a rebuke to the scientific and mechanical skill of Virginia. We send to Massachusetts for a pipe-layer and to Buffalo for a pipe ;

\$250 to a Massachusetts gentleman for a survey at one of the highest schools in our State !

The civil engineers of Virginia idle and the iron-workers out of work.

Read the reports of *some* of these institutions, and you will find them unfathomably in debt and almost ready to tumble down because of it. Annual report, 1884, page 12, University of Virginia, shows bonded debt of \$89,500 owing by that school, and V. M. Institute report, 1884, page 13, shows debt of \$98,431.91. A committee each session is appointed to investigate these institutes. What do they see and how much time have they to see it, and what more is seen than is shown them?

COLLEGE LIFE.

Look at this picture ? Large imposing edifices, finely laid out walks, shady, pleasant groves, large, airy, and comfortable school-rooms, extensive and valuable libraries, ancient and modern histories, cleanly, tidy French pastry-cooks, well-trained, skilful servants, spectacled professors of all the lost arts and all the discovered arts. Dignified professors of all the dead and dying languages, gentlemen who *possibly*, can tell you what Adam thought of when he first struck Paradise. They can tell you, sir, whether Adam went in at the front or back gate, or climbed over the wall, and whether the "apple of discord" was a rusting or Albemarle pippin.

Of what use are these dead and dying languages ? Why should we bother our minds as to whether Adam addressed Eve in Sanscrit, Arabic, Greek, Latin, or Pennsylvania Dutch ?

WE ARE MAKING A LANGUAGE AS WELL AS A HISTORY.

Our language should be as plain as our actions, so that all might understand.

We are now living in the age of the English language. Yes ! I hope to be pardoned for saying we live in the age of the United States language. It was under the influence of this United States language that our national constitution was born, in which *all men* are acknowledged free and equal before the law. No ancient language ever before *expressed this*. No British word could be found to express *this sound* until Thomas Jefferson uttered it in the United States language. It was under the inspiration of this language that *Benjamin Franklin* brought lightning from the clouds and subdued it on earth, and that *Morse* made lightning convey his thoughts ; and that *Fitch* and *Fulton* built their steamboats ; that *McCormick* brought forth his reaper to mow the golden harvest ; and that *Elias Howe* compelled cold steel to aid our mothers ; and that *Bell* learned to transmit the human voice through space ; and that *Edison* brought forth his light to compete with the noonday sun. It was under the protection of this United States language that the iron horse was harnessed, which conveys us through mountain and over desert, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

It was by an intelligent understanding of this language that a monument, surpassing the "Tower of Babel," was successfully erected to the Father of his Country.

STUDIES FOR OUR DECLINING YEARS.

We have no more need of these dead and dying languages than we have for a pair of old-fashioned tallow-candle snuffers.

We are making not only a history of our own, but we are making also a language of our own.

Let us quit digging for tracks in the sands of a desert, for while our heads are bowed down in that task the world's panorama is being rapidly shifted out of our sight.

Why should we concern ourselves whether the oil which anointed Saul came from a whale or porpoise?

What should we care whether Joseph's coat had the colors of the rainbow or was the pattern of a modern crazy quilt?

What do we care whether Joshua blew down the walls of Jericho with a tin horn or trombone?

What need we care whether Helen of Troy banged her hair or trimmed it with a switch from the tail of a wooden horse?

What do we care whether Ajax defied lightning or shook his fist in John Sullivan's face?

No one but a strict local optionist would care to know whether the Philistines were slewed by a jaw bone in the hands of Sampson or by a jug full of Jersey lightning.

What need we care whether the earth stands still or "the sun do move?"

Books are cheap and authors are numerous, and we can much better afford to leave these studies for our amusement and recreation while we are going *down* the hill of life than to expend the best efforts of our youth in such useless work.

We should be more concerned about our present and immediate surroundings than about the things which are buried in the catacombs of the dead past.

We should teach our youths something practical, that which will show them how to alleviate the distresses of themselves and their fellow creatures.

After a four or five years' sojourn amidst luxurious surroundings, the student comes forth in the world of business, and when a small job of work is to be done at these institutions, *perhaps* some one from another State is called upon to do it. What nonsense that the State should be obliged to pay \$619,044.74 for tuition which is not sufficient to show a man how to conduct water down hill. That is college life.

OLD-FIELD SCHOOLS.

Now I give you a picture of country—old-field, log-cabin school life. Diminutive log-cabin, with creaking door and worn threshold, through which the snow gusts chase each other until met by the howling winds which pour in from many a crevice in sides and roof. In one corner of this dismal abode is a thing called a fireplace, where lie three charred sticks of green pine wood. *This is the comfort.*

Now the convenience. Rough, undressed pine benches, supplemented by gum logs, which the boys, in their eagerness for learning, have deprived the old bares the short-lived pleasure of; windows without shutters, and frequently without glass, through which may be seen defiantly protruding the covering of some green boy's brains, as a warning to *Boreas* to advance no farther. In the middle of this room sits the "terror of the place." He is monarch of all he surveys. Firmly entrenched behind a cheap desk or empty dry goods box, his precious form held aloof from mother earth by a three-legged stool. He is

scientific—especially when tanning the hides of the unruly ones. And as pay in full for his best efforts is allowed the beggarly sum of \$140 or \$150 a year.

THE COUNTRY SCHOOL BOY.

How fares the country school boy? Up early in the morning, he waters his colts, feeds the horses, chops the wood, and after a hasty, and perhaps scanty breakfast, hastens to school through slush and sleet, through rain and through sunshine, perhaps over five miles of road that would mire a mule. Wet to his skin, shoes muddy and wet, shivering from cold, down he sits in his accustomed place. Though on the point of freezing, he is too noble, he is too manly, to force his way through his female schoolmates who are huddled around the only semblance of fire this horrid place contains. I have been an eye witness to some such scenes, and I regret my inability to do this subject justice.

A single well-worn book and cracked slate constitute the library and apparatus with which this manly youth must work out the problem of free education.

The water supply of this "institution" is an old-fashioned piggin, in which floats a gourd whose sweetness is not surpassed by "the old oaken bucket, the moss covered bucket, that hung in the well." Sir, the biggest fool in the school can keep it supplied.

LOG-CABIN SCHOOL-HOUSES.

How many log-cabin school-houses do you suppose, Mr. President, there are in Virginia? Turn to your model document, the Virginia School Report, 1884, and you will find (on page 58, line 8,) there were 2,185 *log-cabin school-houses* in Virginia in 1884, and you will also find that *forty-eight* of these log school-houses are in the county of Albemarle, perhaps within sight of the University. Poor as we are, there are none in my county.

In introducing this bill I have no purpose other than that of benefiting our public free schools; and I believe it can be done if the State will husband her resources, force her delinquent officers to settle, and refuse to make such lavish disbursements of the public money; there will then be an abundance to meet the requirements of this bill.

LOOK AFTER YOUR OFFICERS WHO COLLECT YOUR REVENUES.

Men holding offices of trust in this State are as supreme controllers of their respective offices as was Robinson Crusoe over the island of Juan Fernaudez.

I know of several instances in which it is said the county treasurers and ex-treasurers are defaulters to the Commonwealth. Collect from these delinquents and add it up, and what more is needed make it up in the way of cutting the appropriations which I have shown are superfluous, and, perhaps wasteful.

Do not send your country boys and girls from Virginia to seek a home in a strange land and to battle with life blindfolded by ignorance. Give them a chance, and I am sure they will prove worthy of the trial.

In this progressive age nothing builds up and improves a community faster than education. It is the lever by which everything is now moved.

It is for this Senate to say whether they shall continue to appropri-

ate, session after session, these enormous sums for one set of schools which are already richly endowed, and which are yearly receiving hundreds of thousands of dollars of donations from other sources, and which cost to the State of Virginia for some of its State scholars the sum of \$1,722 a session per capita, while the free-school scholars are obliged to content themselves with an outlay of sixty-five or seventy cents a month per capita.

REVENUE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA AND HOW IT IS WASTED.

I see by the report of the rector of the University of Virginia (Annual Report, 1885, p. 12-13), there was received by that school since 1869, \$931,000 in gifts and donations. Add to this the amounts appropriated since 1869 to 1884 by the General Assembly of Virginia—viz: \$435,302—and we have the *magnificently* large sum of \$1,366,302 to that school alone *since 1869*.

I have made no estimate here of the sum of expenses by Virginia and other scholars. I suppose it would astonish any member of this Senate to know the whole amount of money passing through the hands of the treasurers of these schools.

Notwithstanding the fact, this State provides for and maintains a Commissioner of Agriculture, who reports annually to this General Assembly valuable information relative to his department, at a cost of \$4,658.38, (Table 27, Annual Reports, 1885,) there is nevertheless maintained at one of the high schools an agricultural experimental farm, and there is a professor attached to this experimental farm who is only heard of through the *valuable* information, that this farm cost \$1,448.44 to run it, and the income from it is \$224.26. Here is a dead loss of \$1,224.15, besides the salary of the professor, which I cannot reckon as dead loss, at least, not to that gentleman, I hope.

Well, sir, my constituents know nothing of this experiment, and probably I shall not tell them, else they might be induced in their wrath to go there, and *dig it up*, and scatter it to the four winds of Heaven.

Yes, these experiments are carried on, and at a time when Virginia's fair soil is being stained by the glaring red flag of the delinquent tax collector

Well, sir, in my country there are no such experiments, everything must be a dead certainty; we cannot afford it, sir; especially while our boys are forced to trade the proceeds of a whole night's hunt—a possum hide or coon skin—for a copy book, and they are glad to get it so cheap.

Perhaps in summing up the income of this institution a credit will be given it “*by appropriation*,” as appears in table D, page 9, University of Virginia annual report, 1884. In my country, we credit our farms “*by appropriations*” given them by God Almighty. His rain and His sunshine; His answers to our prayers, that our industry and thrift may meet His approval; these are entered as credits on our farm journals, in the way of bountiful crops, as donations of “*His all wise*” policy.

The Senator from Augusta asked in his remarks a few days ago: “What policy has been adopted by this General Assembly for the collection of the State revenue?” In his further remarks the honorable

Senator said: "It is a reproach to this body that we cannot manage the finances of this State."

I fully concur in the statement made by the Senator, and I believe if there is an honest administration of our State government by all its fiscal agents we will have not only means sufficient to meet the requirements of this bill, but we will have means to spare.

HOW FREE BOOKS CAN BE HAD WITHOUT INCREASE OF TAXATION.

Appoint honest, competent men to office, keep a strict watch over your officials, and money will flow into the treasury, or the rascals will pour into the penitentiary.

The increase of our revenue, according to the auditor's report for 1885, is \$92,530.90. This sum is nearly half as much as what is needed for the purposes of this bill. (Table 21, Auditor's Report, 1885.)

If we have had sufficient to run our government upon our past income, notwithstanding such defalcations as \$140,000 made by Smith, and thousands of dollars elsewhere, we certainly have enough and to spare since this income is so largely increased, and the stealings are so largely diminished.

Auditor's report 1885 shows large amounts of unexpended balances on hand, viz: \$373,446.61. There is no necessity for an increase of taxation, but only a little skill is wanted in appropriating your revenues to the most useful and needy purposes.

THE NORTHERN NECK.

I represent a part of Virginia that is sacred with the memories of the past. While its settlement does not date quite back to the days of Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom we are all indebted not only for our name, but for our maintenance, as it was he who first introduced the weed into England and made it a medium of exchange; and in grateful remembrance of him a monument of smoke goes daily and hourly up as an incense offering of this nation. Yes, sir, it was there George Washington first saw the light. It was there he set the good example to the youth of our land, that "truth is mightiest of all." It was there the famous cherry tree grew and flourished until cut down by his little hatchet. It was there Barnum always looked to for a supply of little George's nurses. It was there chivalrous "Light Horse Harry Lee" first learned to mount a horse. It was there Monroe first planned his famous doctrine. It was there Madison first learned the rudiments of statesmanship. It was there the Confederacy found some of its warmest and most zealous and patriotic supporters.

It is there the wild duck and the stately swan sail majestically over the most delicious morsel that ever entered the mouth of man. The lowly, silent and meek oyster has its home there. Nature has been kind to us. We have everything that is ancient, and nothing modern. No screaming locomotive startles the midnight repose of this people. No telegraph conveys with lightning speed messages of sorrow or alarm. No university sewers convey through that "sacred soil" the filth and stench which offend the eye and nostril. No stately temple of learning was ever erected there; but pure, artless and confiding are its people.

No magnificent donation for that district was ever coaxed or squeezed out of repentant millionaire or bloated bondholder.

When the State of Virginia desired to make internal improvements such as building railroads, canals, endowing colleges, &c., she issued her bonds, and thereby bound Tidewater Virginia as firmly to the payment of these bonds as any other section of the State; and what has Tidewater Virginia, and especially my district, received from these immense outlays by the State? I say, nothing whatever!

We have neither railroad, telegraph or express office; we have neither college, institute, or high school; and is it fair play to say that, now we have helped to build up and enrich other sections of this Commonwealth, we shall be extended the empty privilege of helping ourselves?

PLEADING FOR THE COUNTRY BOYS.

I am pleading for the country boys and girls of my district who never saw, and never will see, the inside of these high schools.

I am pleading for the aged mothers and fathers of these children who beg you not to force their boys and girls to accept the inheritance of a pauper—a book for indigent children.

I am speaking for the lads who, by their vote or their voice, will take our places when we are gone.

I am pleading for the youth whose valor and manhood will, in time to come, control the destinies of those we leave behind us.

Shall we fit them for this *great charge*, or shall we leave them blind-folded by ignorance to fall into such pits as the cunning may prepare for them?

I hope it will be the pleasure of this body to pass this bill. We can surround it with such safeguards as will fully protect the State. We have means sufficient without increasing taxation.

VIRGINIA DEMOCRATS ON EDUCATION.

Every poor man in Virginia ought to have a copy of the speech by Mr. James J. McDonald, the Republican state senator from the thirty-sixth senatorial district, in favor of furnishing school books to children of the public schools of the state.

Senator McDonald makes an eloquent plea for the children of the poor who attend the public schools, and shows how Virginia neglects them to bestow its bounty upon the children of the rich who attend the universities and colleges.

Both the Democrats and the Republicans, in their state conventions in 1885, pledged themselves to the policy of furnishing free books to the pupils of the public schools. The Democrats, having secured a majority of the legislature, had the power to carry out their pledge. Here is what they promised: "It is the cherised purpose of the Democratic party to labor in the sacred work of public enlightenment until the country and town alike enjoy the full advantages of free education. To this end we favor the *furnishing* of free books to the pupils of the free schools."

Republicans like Senator McDonald did all in their power to induce the Democrats to carry out their own pledges, but they failed. No free books were furnished. The Democrats obtained power and then went back on their pledges.

Senator McDonald, in his speech, shows very conclusively that the cost of furnishing all the books needed for every pupil in the free

schools would not be over \$225,000, and would probably be much less than that sum, and he also showed by the auditor's report that there were "unexpended balances" on hand to the amount of \$373,466, a sum much more than sufficient to purchase the books.

Senator McDonald then showed how much money was voted by the state for the universities and high schools. The two thousand log cabin school houses, where the children of the poor acquire a rudimentary education, were denied help, (and many a child fails to attend school because its parents are too poor to buy it books), but \$619,000 is given to the universities for two years.

The Democrats could not give 60 cents to buy books for each of the 320,000 children who would have attended the public schools if books were provided, but they could give \$137,832 to the University of Virginia to educate forty scholars two years, that is at a cost of \$3,445 for each scholar. The poor man's son could not get 60 cents a year to help him to learn how to read, write, and cipher. The rich man's son could get \$1,722 to help him to a knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, German, the differential calculus and base ball.

The people of Virginia will never again trust the Democracy with power, after the display made by the last legislature. They have repudiated the congressmen who fought the Blair educational bill, and they will repudiate the legislators who refused their children school books. Ignorant voters are the only hope of the Democratic party, and the Virginia Democratic leaders have sense enough to know it.—*National Republican, June the 30th.*



THE WHAT IS IT!

IS IT THE

Whangdoodle or Gyascutis ?

“EVERYTHING BY STARTS AND NOTHING LONG.”

MR. BARBOUR'S

BAMBOOZLING BEGGAR'S OPERA !

AS PERFORMED IN THE

OPERA HOUSE AT ROANOKE,

— WITH —

Democratic and other Critiques

ON THE PERFORMANCE AND PERFORMERS.



HON. JOHN S. BARBOUR

Is a notorious "acquiescer." He first came to the front in 1883 as an "acquiescer" in Readjustment,—wrapping himself and his party in the Virginia Republican dress, as a wolf in sheep's clothing, and proceeding to ravage accordingly. Now he is here again, this time putting on the National Republican costume, with the same wolfish purposes. "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." In the *Pilgrim's Progress*, he would have been the agreeable gentleman who followed Christiana so devoutly—for her silver slippers.

Mr. Barbour's last appearance in begged, borrowed or stolen habiliments is as the Democratic candidate, on the Roanoke platform, to succeed Mr. Riddleberger in the U. S. Senate. Now, Watterson's *Courier-Journal*, published at Louisville, Ky., is the organ of Democracy as understood, declared and practiced by the National Democratic party—Watterson himself being the chief architect and artificer of National platforms for his party. Mr. Barbour made his first bow in his new *role* on the 4th of August, and the Washington correspondent of the *Courier-Journal* wrote as follows next day to that paper:

"If a set of political pirates ever deserved defeat for cowardly utterances, these so-called Virginia Democrats certainly do. The platform is an outrage upon Democratic principles and a fraud upon the Democracy of that State. It is a lie and a cheat from the beginning to the end. If John S. Barbour expects to get in the Senate on such a platform, he should meet with disappointment, as he surely will."

The *Courier-Journal* editorially said:

"If Virginia can be saved to Democracy only by surrendering the true principles of the party, the sooner these facts are honestly acknowledged and a just recognition made of the truth and wisdom and justice of the tenants of the Republican party, the better. A victory won under the flag of the enemy has no value."

The Alexandria *Gazette*, the oldest Democratic paper in Virginia, and which used to be Barbour's chief trumpeter, says:

"How such a platform could have been adopted by a Democratic convention passes the comprehension of people of ordinary understanding."

The Democratic Boston *Post* tells us why the Alexandria *Gazette* is so amazed at the Roanoke transmogrification:

"An indorsement of the Blair educational bill, a demand for the abolition of internal taxation and a protective tariff, is to go so far outside the principles of the Democratic party at large, as generally accepted, as to leave but little room for even partisan approval."

That's so: and thus Mr. Barbour has provoked even his party friends to expose the true inwardness of the Democracy whose repulsive character he would disguise to win the favor of Virginians who want the Blair School Bill, who want the internal tax on tobacco and fruit brandies repealed, and who want the protective tariff perpetuated to develop their resources and enterprises—not only Mr. Barbour's party, but himself, being on record against these, as he voted in the different Congresses for Morrison's tariff bills, which would destroy protection and make the abolition of the internal revenue and Federal aid to free schools equally impossible.

The Fredericksburg *Free Lance*, Independent, registers an impartial judgment as follows, in concluding a review of Democratic action and declaration in this State:

"To forcibly illustrate the inconsistency of Virginia Democracy, we refer to its Roanoke platform on the tariff, which is generally conceded to be the work of Mr. Barbour; certainly he did not oppose it. *Mr. Barbour is a free-trader, as every vote he ever cast in Congress or out of it will show*, and yet he formulates a Republican platform and pledges himself to stand upon it. Can such things be and win? We reckon not."

They can only win if the people of this Commonwealth knowingly and wilfully prefer falsehood to truth, fraud to honest right.

The Clarke *Courier*, one of the staunchest of Democratic organs, promptly repudiated the Roanoke platform and has since said:

"Last week we felt called upon to enter our protest against the tariff policy enunciated by the Roanoke Convention, and we have been gratified by the commendations we have received from our people generally for our utterances on that subject. We thought the calling of the Roanoke Convention a mistake at the time, and the "milk and cider," un-Democratic doctrine laid down by that convention confirms us that our position then taken was the right one. We have seen it stated that the farmer and labor (or manufacturing) elements in that convention were each given the opportunity to prepare their respective planks for the platform, and under such circumstance it is not to be wondered at that we were treated to the dish of 'hash' set before us."

Turning to West Virginia, we find the Charleston *Democrat* saying:

"Thoughtful men everywhere are disgusted with the conduct of the Virginia politicians who promoted and managed the recent State Convention at Roanoke. With a stupidity without parallel, they have made proclamation that the coming campaign *is to be one of hypocrisy and false pretences*. In one breath they endorse President Cleveland, and in next breath adopted every plank in the Republican platform. This is equivalent to publishing that *the resolutions are not intended to influence sensible voters, but to deceive simpletons*.

"Upon the whole the Roanoke Convention has placed the Virginia Democracy in such a predicament that we do not believe the State can be saved from the Republicans unless the candidates for the Legislature repudiate the platform."

But even if the Democratic candidates repudiate the platform, none but "simpletons" can trust their fortunes to a house divided against itself, and which is forced to issue forged paper to keep it from instant and utter disruption.

The leading Democratic paper of the country, the N. Y. *World*, reviews Mr. Barbour's platform in a scoffing spirit, and says:

"The holding of a State Convention in dog-days, when no election is pending, simply for the sake of 'declaring their sentiments,' was rather a funny proceeding on the part of the Democrats of Virginia. The platform adopted was as queer as the meeting.

The first plank declares that the administration of Grover Cleveland 'deserves and will receive the cordial support of the Democracy of Virginia.' How was it then, that last year Virginia gave 20,000 Republican majority and elected seven Congressmen out of ten, in opposition to Mr. Cleveland's party?"

In conclusion, the *World* says:

"What sort of Democracy is it that borrows its revenue policy from the Republicans, and its State ethics from repudiators?

On the whole, it hardly seems worth while for the Democrats in Virginia to have convened."

Yes—it is a "queer" platform indeed, and that, too, in the sense in which counterfeiters employ the word to designate their base issues of bogus money.

Congressman Mills, of Texas, on Virginia Democrats:

"That platform adopted by the so-called Democratic party of Virginia was something extraordinary. It must disgust every Democrat, both in and out of the state. The present leaders of the Democratic party in Virginia are the queerest set of imbeciles that ever ruined a state."

The Norfolk *Virginian*, referring to the Roanoke Convention, declared that "the mountain has been in labor and has brought forth a mouse"—ridiculing the body, and disagreeing with it upon the debt and Blair Bill. The Wytheville *Enterprise*, the Philadelphia *Record*, the Wilmington (N. C.) *Star*, the Philadelphia *Times*, the Washington *Post*, and many other Democratic journals in and out of the State speak of the convention and platform to the general effect as quoted above. The Washington *Post*, National organ of the Democratic party and the administration, has the following:

"An esteemed contemporary has "seen it intimated that the Virginia Democratic platform had its inspiration in the White House," and that "Col. Lamont is credited with having a hand in its formation." This is rather severe on the politics of President Cleveland, and is, possibly, a little trying even to Col. Lamont. It is bad enough to be accused of writing editorials for this paper,

but it is truly awful to be charged with the erection of such an hermaphrodite structure as the platform of the Virginia Democrats."

It has been said that the Roanoke platform is incomplete through the omission of a plank that it was intended to incorporate in it, but which was lost by the Platform Committee. It is rumored that this plank was to the following effect:

"Notwithstanding the foregoing declarations, it is hereby resolved, that if the Republicans in convention, or otherwise, shall propose anything with reference to the State Debt, or any other subject, different from what is herein set forth, we fully adopt the same by anticipation as ours, and sternly renounce everything inconsistent therewith, that appears in this platform—laboring, as we do, under the obvious disadvantage of having been forced to frame our proclamation of profession and promise this year in advance of Republican action."

A Botetourt correspondent of the *Fredericksburg Free Lance* claims that another plank was forgotten. Hear him:

"The Roanoke Convention has omitted a most important 'plank' in their platform. It should, by all means, have instructed all of its speakers, all of its editors, and all of the small fry to commence, and continue, a denunciation and coarse abuse of 'Billy Mahone.' He should be held responsible for all acts of omission and commission and all others. He should be held responsible for the 'Funding Bill' of '70-'71, and all the evils which have followed in the train of that vile act. This course would save a vast amount of trouble, and it would be in good taste and good policy, and then it would require such small amount of brains, and could be practiced by 'knaves and fools.' Knaves to lead and fools to follow."

With respect to that, however, the Petersburg *Index-Appeal*, Democrat, says:

"We do not take much stock in clap-trap. Wolf! wolf! wolf! is an old cry that alarms nobody; and if anybody believes that to shout 'Mahone! Mahone!' or 'nigger! nigger!' is going to defeat the Republicans in Virginia this year, he will be badly mistaken. These bugaboos have lost their terror, if they ever had the effect intended by the alarmists. Hard work and solid argument are now demanded, for the days of our political infancy are over."

And, by the way, the same journal (August 24th) remarks:

"There was an ominous silence in the State press yesterday morning concerning the Republican State Committee's address. Why do you hesitate to speak, my brothers? Can't you find words to express your indignant amazement at the Republican impudence that persists in standing on your debt platform—the Riddleberger bill?"

But, besides what the Republican State Committee say of Mr. Barbour and the latest form he and his managers assume, it is fit that the Republican press and private opinion should be heard on the subject. The *State Republican*, for instance, well characterizes the Roanoke platform as amounting simply to this, and nothing more:

"First, last, generally, all the way through, *will the public please accept our apologies?*"

The Philadelphia *Press* passes judgment on the Roanoke abortion as follows:

"It does not take the open and honest, though wrong ground covered by the Democratic declarations of Kentucky and Ohio. It comes up on both sides and the par-

ty which has so long boasted that it was held together through many years of adversity by principles alone, ducks and dodges in fear, showing that it really has no principles when it undertakes to meet the vital issue of the day. It does one thing in Kentucky and Ohio, and another in Virginia, and still another in Pennsylvania. The Virginia platform, we are told, is a measure of safety, and 'any departure from it toward Free Trade would make both the Virginias Republican next year, with Tennessee, North Carolina and Louisiana doubtful, and the chances in favor of the Republicans.' Thus, it seems, the boasted principles of the Democratic party have been reduced to a confessed expediency dodge." * *

"If the people of any State are again cheated by these safety platforms, these two-faced declarations, on a question of vital importance to every citizen, it will be because they want to be cheated; because they are willing to cheat themselves and their best interests. For intelligent people, whether North or South, the Democratic platform on the tariff has already been made. It is made in the record of the Democratic administration and the overwhelming majority of the Democrats in Congress. It is a record in behalf of free trade, and a contest for a second term for the present administration will only give emphasis to the position of the party. The declaration of any convention cannot change that fact. The safety platform of Virginia will save only the blind."

Noticing the assertion of John Goode and the platform that the Democratic party has fulfilled all the promises it ever made, the *Bristol News* says :

"Yes, it promised free books for free schools—it promised to settle the public debt—it promised to pay its taxes in money and not in coupons—it promised to repeal the internal revenue—to give us the Blair Bill or a

better measure—to reduce the tariff—to reduce the surplus in the National treasury. And every one of these promises it has kept. See?"

A mere excursion party, the Convention gave far more time to pleasure than to business, and, on its hasty adjournment to secure a free junketing offered by the Norfolk & Western Railroad Co., the Bristol *News* observes:

"Was ever anything more grimly appropriate than that Barbour's Convention should close out by going up Cripple Creek?"

The Roanoke *Sun* says:

"The Convention endorsed Cleveland's administration as 'wise, conservative and fearless.' Under it the farmers of Southwest Virginia are selling their new wheat at seventy-five cents per bushel. Under it they are selling their cattle for three cents per pound. This is the lowest price that has prevailed for twenty-five years. Comment is unnecessary."

The same paper gives a parody on the platform, beginning thus:

"The Democratic party, in convention assembled, congratulates the people upon the continuance in power of the 'best people'—people who have descended from the F. F. V.'s, and who would always remain in office, as they have no other way of making a living."

"Again invoking the popular verdict in their behalf, we point with pride to pledges faithfully made and never performed."

Ex-Judge Staples is reported to have said at Roanoke:

"If the Democratic party don't settle the debt question in the fall, Mahone will."

Well, it takes no prophet to foresee that the Democrats

neither know how to settle, nor care about doing it. *Mahone must do it!* "MAHONE WILL," says Mr. Staples.

Mr. Trigg, former Democratic Congressman from the 9th district, is credited with saying:

"To tell the God's truth about it, I do not know what the Roanoke Convention was called for anyhow."

On the other hand, Gen. Mahone and the Republicans are in full accord with each other and with their State and National platforms, while (best of all) Republican profession and promise are identical with Republican performance and honest endeavor. There are no false pretences, past or present, chargeable to Republican account.

That there are a few alleged Republican malcontents is true. But who are they? Let the Fredericksburg *Free Lance* answer:

"The opposition of certain prominent members of Gen. Mahone's party is accounted for in various ways. The fact is, that most of these malcontents were simply the creatures of Mahone's influence as a leader, and because they failed to come up to his expectations on account of inability to correct bad habits, they are now abusing their creator. Had Mahone taken us from comparative obscurity and placed us where he did some of the 'kickers,' we would have stuck to him like a leach and endeavored to fill the position assigned us with credit to all concerned, and if we failed would have kept our mouth shut."

The Roanoke *Sun* (Republican) says:

"Virginia Republicans who antagonize Gen. Mahone commit a serious blunder, and are simply supplying the enemy with ammunition. We may differ in our personal prejudices, yet the great fact remains that he is the

most desirable chief of our party. The victories he has achieved are many, even secured in the face of difficulties that would have appalled almost any other man, and are far-reaching in their beneficial results to the people. Considered in all their phases, the history of a century does not reveal anything surpassing them. He is endowed with a capacity truly marvellous, and has been trained and learned lessons in the school of experience that are invaluable. He is a leader of men, with ample leisure to perfect and carry to success his plans, and abundantly able to afford it. In no other man in the party are all the essentials to successful leadership so well blended and developed. The distrust of the Democrats is his highest and strongest eulogy, and the Republicans trust him as they do no one else. He is the man of all men to lead us to victory this fall, and Republicans who oppose and thwart his plans are simply Democrats in disguise."

A correspondent of the *Grayson County Journal*, writing from Grant, Va., speaks thus:

"I see in a Fredericksburg paper that the people look next November to Mahone for relief. I hope that Grayson and all Virginia will rally to Mahone's standard, shoulder to shoulder, and we will get relief. What good times did we have under the leadership of that good man, William Mahone! He has done more for Virginia than any other man living. He worked and watched over his country like a father over his children. It was astounding and mortifying to me, and many intelligent men, that Virginia could set aside such a man and put in a man who had publicly expressed himself an enemy to the public at large. But the eyes of the deluded are opened. They see that the other party gulled them by great promises, but did nothing but hold five sessions of

the Legislature in one year, which cost us over \$200,000 and did not do us five cents worth of good; but, on the contrary, put Virginia in the mud up to the neck."

The Dakota *Pioneer*, *apropos* of the address of the Virginia Republican Committee, says:

"Virginia can be made a Republican State, if the proper effort is made. The National Committee ought to render General Mahone every assistance in its power. He stands to-day the greatest Republican statesman in the South. He has fought Bourbonism for years and has won substantial victories in times past. With half a fighting chance he will this year redeem Virginia. He is, intellectually, among the greatest of Americans. In him is embodied the spirit of progress in the South. It is to him, and men like him, that we must look for the New South. The *PIONEER* sincerely hopes that a Legislature will be elected this year that will send him back to the United States Senate. It speaks of him from personal knowledge of the man and his views, which are broad and comprehensive. It has no sympathy with those pretended Republican papers in the East, which have in the past sneered at and slighted him, for it knows of the brave contest he made in 1884, almost entirely at his own expense. In that year the Republican party was not defeated at the polls, but counted out. Gen. Mahone has with him the old Confederate soldiers who followed his fortunes during the war of the rebellion. Among his trusted and faithful lieutenants are Hon. John S. Wise, as bright and clear-headed a man as there is in the country—a philosopher and statesman—and such men as Gen. Stith Bolling, and ex-Mayor Lamb, of Norfolk. Mahone has the faculty of gathering around him the bravest and best of Virginia chivalry."

A. H. Lindsay, Esq., of Portsmouth, Va., writes to the *N. Y. World*, thus:

"To the Editor of the World:

Your editorial in your issue of the 12th inst., on Gen. Mahone, of Virginia, is unworthy of so great and fair a paper as THE WORLD. No man should make such charges against another without having the proof. You give none; nor can you. No man living can trace one dishonest act or dollar to Mahone. His great crime in the eyes of the Bourbons, which causes the Democratic press of the State to abuse and vilify him, is because he is dangerous to their methods of carrying elections. Before he re-organized the Republican party of the State, the State elections were entirely one way; not because there were not Republican votes sufficient in several Congressional districts to elect, but because they were not counted as cast; and there was only one Republican member in Congress from the State. Last year the Democrats only elected three out of ten. In proof of these charges I refer you to the contest in the House, of Platt vs. Goode, and to the testimony of prominent Democrats in the confirmation of Jno. Goode for Solicitor-General. Many persons have as bad an opinion of THE WORLD as you have of Mahone. Neither is justified by facts. The reason the writer became a reader of your paper was because of the daily abuse by your neighbor, which accused you of about all the crimes known. I ordered THE WORLD for a week only. Since then I read it as regularly as the day comes, and cannot do without it. The reason why your neighbor abused you is about the same as given above. Now, will you not be as just to Mahone as his friend was to you? Investigate for yourself. For that purpose I send you his Congressional record. If he is the man that you portray, how is it that he secured and maintained the friendship of such men as Senator Edmunds and ex-Senator Conkling, and many others of equal reputation?

Respectfully, A. H. LINDSAY."

Portsmouth, Va.

"Vox Populi," writing from Botetourt, has this to say in the *Free Lance*:

"Mr. Editor, *you know* I have never been a partisan of Gen. Mahone, and I think *you know* I have, in other days, given him some hard blows, but open and fair. But, since he entered the Senate of the U. S., I have closely watched his course, and I do not hesitate to say, that so far as the rights, interests and honor of the State are concerned, he has ever been 'the sentinel,' watching and maintaining, with great power, all of Virginia's interests. That in his every act he has maintained his personal dignity and carried aloft the honor of his State. That no act of his has brought a blush of shame on any Virginian. That he has challenged the respect and confidence of his brother Senators, and has wielded an influence which few, if any, have wielded in that body. From the bottom of my heart, I do wish I could say the same of others from Virginia, in the Senate and House, as truthfully as I can say what I have said of him, and I think I but speak the

'Vox Populi.'"

The *Free Lance* itself (edited by Col. John W. Woltz) says:

"Mahone's hold upon Virginia is comparable only to that of the Octopus upon its struggling victim. It is desirable the Democrats say, to break that hold. Even the thunders from Democratic clouds of anger and hate affect him not sufficiently to force him to let go. The people are at his back and all around him encouraging his bull-dog tenacity, and so far, nothing has sufficed to loosen his grip, except a circumstance, and that only for a time, which placed Virginia in the minds of many, within the category of States that tolerated murder and bloodshed to accomplish political results."



FOOD FOR THOUGHT!

BOURBON BLUFFING.

The Richmond "Dispatch" will not complain of this measure, having stated editorially that the \$60,000, the cost of the extra session of the Legislature, was a paltry sum to be expended for keeping its party in power in the State.—*Page Courier*.

And it was a paltry sum when compared with the good which its expenditure has accomplished already and will accomplish hereafter. The old Commonwealth may well congratulate herself that that extra session united her good people and paved the way to the success this year of the Democratic party. Better spend a million of dollars on extra sessions than to return to Mahone rule.—*Richmond Dispatch*.

Well neighbor, that is a startling assertion and it becomes us to investigate it—for a million dollars is a huge pile of money for us poverty-stricken Virginians to handle. Verily, we must have escaped an awful calamity.

Now, we presume that by that awful "Mahone rule" you mean the administration of the State's affairs during the four years that Senator Mahone's friends were in power.

Very well; now let us see if your financial calculations are reliable and trustworthy—we confess to a leaning toward an opinion that you are some kin to the financiers (?) who did the figuring and handled the funds of this unfortunate Commonwealth for a score of years prior to 1880:

It may be possible that you remember somewhat of the State's condition in 1879 and in 1883. Prior to 1880 Bourbon rule so administered the affairs of the State that it's every limb and branch was paralyzed, and bank-

ruptcy spread a pall of ruin over all of the once proud Commonwealth.—“Mahone rule,” *in four years*, raised the State from her prostrate and helpless condition and stood her upon her feet, in such condition that she could look the world in the face, and say: “I am doing the best I can.”

Was the former condition worth a million dollars more than the latter?

Bourbon Rule stole the constitutionally-secured school funds, closed many of the public schools, reduced the school term and compelled teachers to have their warrants shaved heavily in order to meet necessary expenses.—“Mahone rule,” *in less than four years*, DOUBLED the number, capacity and efficiency of the public schools.

Was it worth a million dollars to Virginia to have her school system ruined?

Bourbon rule confined many of the State’s unfortunates in the gloomy and unhealthy cells of county jails, because they had not funds to meet the expenses of the asylums. “Mahone rule,” *in less than four years*, put all the asylums of the State in proper condition with ample accommodations for all who were entitled to their protective care.

Was it worth a million dollars to the State to have her asylums in deplorable condition and her insane people in felons’ cells?

Bourbon rule made the Penitentiary a burden and a reproach to the State.—“Mahone rule” soon put that institution in good condition and made it self sustaining.

Was it worth a million dollars to the State to have the privilege of making apologies and appropriations for the Penitentiary?

Bourbon rule was doing nothing for the education of the colored race except a *pretended* compliance with the requirements of the public school system—and even that had to be enforced upon them by the national government. “Mahone rule” not only greatly improved

the primary schools for colored people, but it established a normal college exclusively for the colored race.

Is it worth a million dollars to the State to keep a large proportion of her people in ignorance?

Bourbon rule did everything possible through its influence in Congress and out of Congress to discredit and defeat the Blair Educational bill. "Mahone rule" did everything in its power to secure to Virginia the \$5,000,000 offered by that beneficent measure.

Was it worth a million dollars to Virginia to have her representatives THROW AWAY FIVE MILLIONS?—Ridiculous proposition!

Bourbon rule declared in its platform that it was opposed to increase of taxation; and not many weeks thereafter it was working a stupendous lie on this people, by slyly increasing the taxable valuation of property. "Mahone rule" greatly decreased taxation.

Was it worth a million dollars to our struggling people to have the burden of taxation increased?

Bourbon rule vowed to the people that if returned to power it would not molest the debt settlement; but in less than thirty days after it took the reigns of government, this whole Pandora's box was upset in our midst.

"Mahone rule" had settled the debt question and all was moving along peacefully.

Was it worth a million dollars to Virginia to have the dreadful debt trouble again precipitated upon us?

Bourbon rule, (through the Senator from Loudoun,) passed a special act which practically prevents the holding of teachers institutes in Virginia—none having been held in Loudoun since. "Mahone rule" had these most valuable institutions in good working order all over the State.

Was it worth a million dollars to Virginia to have teachers institutes suppressed?

Bourbon rule endeavored to deceive the people with a two-faced promise of a local option law; which promise

it violated at the first opportunity, and was finally forced to back down by the force of Republican aggression.

“Mahone rule” put a square, straight local option plank (the first one in Virginia) into its platform and stood squarely and honestly upon it. [The *Richmond State* admits that but for the Republican party’s action in this matter the democrats would not have enacted a local option law.]

Would it be worth a million dollars to Virginia to have no local option law?

Bourbon rule enacted the infamous Anderson-McCormick election law, which is an open invitation to fraud and a promise of immunity from punishment. “Mahone rule” gave the people free elections and an honest count.

Is it worth a million dollars to our State to school her people in fraud, which breeds anarchy?

The comparison might be carried further in the same direction, but, Great Fathers! this is enough to show any sane man that it is the very climacteric of the ridiculous for Bourbonism to point a finger of scorn at what they term “Mahone rule.”

Bad as “Mahone rule” may have been—defective as it probably was; far baser were the conceptions and blacker were the deeds of political infamy of Bourbon rule. This fact is notorious; and the *TELEPHONE* intends to see to it that it is not forgotten. Such sneers and lies as the above, from one of the leading democratic papers of the State, is only a fair sample of the bluff game the Bourbons have been playing for years, in order to discredit the facts in the case and distract public attention from the real relation of parties to the welfare of Virginia. They have been put to shame by what they desirously term “Mahone rule,” AND THEY KNOW IT! In fact, they have, on various occasions, practically admitted it, by actually doing the very things which they had denounced “Mahone rule” for advocating.

Bourbonism cannot, and shall not, hide its ugly nakedness with a cloak of self-righteousness. It has been a blot upon Virginia's name; and just so sure as the sun of political freedom and independent thought has arisen, Bourbonism in Virginia is doomed—AND DOOMED FOREVER!—*The Telephone.*

MAHONE.

At times we have not agreed with General Mahone in his conduct of the political campaigns in this State. Oft-times we have been forced to use that old hackneyed expression "I told you so," but notwithstanding that we have never failed to give him credit for the great good he has accomplished for Virginia. Many of those newspapers and politicians, who will do all they can this year to make him the issue in order to secure republican defeat, will admit that he has transmitted blessings to the state which generations yet unborn will enjoy with profit and pride.

No one of the public men of the State has contributed so much to the progress and development of Virginia or done so much to increase its wealth or enhance its greatness. When the history of his career up to the present period shall be impartially written, and when it shall be reviewed free from passion, and disconnected from the feeling generated by the heat of rivalry and fostered by disappointed and envious enemies, the results be estimated at their true value, and will be found to comprise a vast compendium of material benefits and give a complete defence of his course. In all future time, to his credit be it said, he will be looked upon as a most efficient promoter of prosperity, education and progress. The great Norfolk & Western Railroad, as well as the Vir-

ginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, will stand forth to testify in this regard no less than the public buildings to be erected, and now in course of erection, by the United States government in this State. His perseverance, his self-reliance, and his self-sacrifices entitles him to the highest consideration of his fellow-citizens.—*Lancet.*

“ACCEPT OUR APOLOGIES.”

We have read the Democratic platform framed at Roanoke, and all the Democratic speeches made there. We did not know at first why the Convention was called—now we do. The platform and the speeches formulate no new policy and announce no new principles. All said and done is by way of apology and explanation, for failure to settle the debt, repeal the internal revenue, pass the Blair Bill, &c., &c., &c. As the Republicans are to have no Convention, we are left to infer that the issue of the next campaign will be on the part of the Democrats. “Will the people accept our apologies?”—*Truth.*

General Jas. G. Fields, a distinguished member of the Democratic party, speaks out in open meeting at the Farmers' Assembly at Roanoke the day preceding the Bourbon Convention. He said that “**He had been all over the State and spoken for the party, and what had he talked about?** He had told the people we would abolish this odious*internal revenue if we got in power, and where are we to-day? **We have the same odious laws we had in 1865.**”

The speaker alleged that Mr. Carlisle had refused to recognize a certain member on the floor of the House because he knew he wanted to abolish the internal revenue taxes. Mr. Randall had likewise refused to allow the tariff to be reformed. What are we going to do? How are we going be-

fore the people? We can't make the same promises over again, because they will say: "You have been doing that since 1865."

And about the debt question; what could the convention do about it? Stand by the Riddleberger settlement? Haven't we been doing that for years? Didn't the Lynchburg convention swear by all the gods in Heaven to stand by it?"

And yet what else did the Roanoke Convention do but "*make the same promises over again?*" What else have the Democratic managers ever done but to resolve for whatever the managers should think would for the time delude the runaway voter?

Yes, they have resolved to stand by the Riddleberger settlement as though they supposed the people had forgotten that they likewise have several times resolved, or suspected that the people might not put any faith in their previous declarations.

Yes, they have again resolved to stand by the Riddleberger settlement, as though that composed the Debt Question and arrested the accumulation of the tax-receivable coupons, which goes on at the rate of a million and more yearly, and as though the people did not know that they had killed stone-dead the Riddleberger settlement--that they had by their blundering intermeddling with that settlement, not only restored the coupon to active interference with our revenues, but have secured for it supreme powers.

They have not only caused the return of the coupon to stay and live as a mortgage upon our revenues until it is satisfied, but now with absolute power to forbid process for the recovery of any dues to the Commonwealth where it has been tendered in payment.

There is no resolve of a remedy--no measure proposed for the relief of the tax-paying energies of the people from the crushing effect and weight of their accumulating

burden. It is to stand still in the middle of a rapidly rising stream until the water has risen above our heads and all is swept away. Practically and in fact, the Democratic Platform is to do nothing in this or in any matter of pressing concern to the people or the welfare of the State. Yet, all the same, with a complacency that strangely presumes upon the over-taxed confidence and patience of the people, they would ask to be restored to the Legislative control of the State. They make no report of their four years administration of the public affairs. They give no account of the State of the public debt and of the Treasury. They withhold the fact that four millions and more have been added to the load. They disclaim to explain what has become—how has gone—the one million and a half cash in the Treasury, with which they took legislative control in 1883, and the eight millions of taxes meanwhile collected, and that there is now no money in the Treasury. They neglect to tell the people how it has been that they have run up, increased, the necessary current expenses of the Government from \$802,000, to which figure the Republican party had reduced them, to over a million and a quarter. They forbear to speak of the condition of the Schools, and tell the people that teachers are no longer paid in money, but in depreciated school warrants. They fail to explain how it is that so many insane people are now again confined in county jails.

They do nothing—propose nothing—but resolve to stand by promises often made and at no time and in no respect fulfilled.



THE
LOUISA COUNTY CONTEST.

RECORD

— OF A —

Holladay Legislator.

VOTE FOR

ELAM!

Mr. F. H. Holladay is again the candidate of the Democracy of Louisa County for the House of Delegates, and against him the Republicans have put up Mr. W. C. Elam.

MR. ELAM NEEDS NO INTRODUCTION

To the people anywhere in Virginia, for his record as editor of the Richmond *Whig* from 1878 to 1885, both years inclusive, is as familiar to all as household words. His views on all public questions, Federal and State, have been almost unanimously endorsed by the voters of Virginia, insomuch that even the Democratic party itself has had to make a pretense of adopting them. Last year, although he came into the Congressional contest at the eleventh hour, Louisa emphatically proclaimed her recognition and appreciation of him by giving him a majority of 374 votes over his Democratic competitor, an ex-Confederate General and the son of Robert E. Lee. Without fear and without reproach, he now offers to represent the popular interests in the lower branch of the General Assembly, and there can be no question that if he be elected he will do his whole duty vigilantly, diligently, resolutely, faithfully and well.

But what has

MR. HOLLADAY

done to warrant his coming again before the people of Louisa to demand their endorsement and support? What has his party done that he should be again returned to the House of Delegates to answer at roll-call as

his Bosses direct? Hard times prevail on account of Democratic mismanagement of our Federal and State revenues and finances; the public treasuries are overflowing and our pockets are empty; Democratic re-assessments have increased our State taxation over \$231,000 a year; the coupons are getting the better of our free schools, and our free school teachers have to submit to rascally shaving of their school-warrants; the promised free books for our children are not forthcoming; the people are still compelled to work the public roads for nothing, and the roads themselves are the fit results of so mean and unfair a policy; our jails are again filling with the insane of both sexes and colors; our Agricultural and Mechanical College, as well as our other institutions of learning, is perverted from its true purposes to reward partisan retainers with soft places; the State Debt is again unsettled; free suffrage is throttled by the Anderson-McCormick election-law, which puts our ballots and ballot-boxes at the complete mercy of partisan electoral boards whenever and wherever they can procure election-officers base enough to commit crimes that involve every infamy that can attach to perjury, theft and forgery; and every right, privilege and interest that can be touched by legislation or public administration is either attacked by gross invasions, or is menaced by usurpations and usurpers that have no scruples, and no aims beyond power and plunder.

Surely the people of this county cannot desire the re-election of a man implicated in bringing about these dire results, and who, as far as the record shows, has been

A SILENT TOOL

and ready accomplice of the betrayers of every public trust. Mr. Holladay, during his whole term, has never

said nor done anything to serve us. It is charged, however, that he has served certain private and personal interests in breach of promises made by him and his friends; but as these are strictly Democratic matters, we leave them to those immediately concerned, as we know nothing of them and have no direct concern in them.

An examination of the *Journal of the House of Delegates* for 1885-6 reveals that during the entire regular session Mr. Holladay did two things only, besides responding to the call of the roll: he nominated W. S. Gooch for county Judge of Louisa; and he moved to take up a bill to allow the erection of a wharf along the shores of Chincoteague Island.

THAT'S ALL!

He introduced no bill, nor resolution; he offered no amendment to any measure; he made no speech, as far as the *Journal* shows; and he made no motion, save the single one we have indicated.

But our distinguished representative and statesman did vote sometimes when the roll was called; and we here give a few samples of how he did vote, as he seems to have been equal to nothing else.

He voted *against* repealing, or instructing the committee on privileges and elections to report a bill to repeal the infamous act which puts our registrations, elections and returns in the exclusive hands of partisan tools —to restore free suffrage to the people, in fact. See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 105. He voted to refer and bury the resolution to that effect.

He voted *against* the bill to release the lands of poor men delinquent for non-payment of taxes previous to 1875. See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 142. At the bidding of Boss Echols, he voted to reconsider and re-commit the bill; but he voted all the same as stated.

He voted *against* House bill No. 15 to extend the exemption of property from distress for debt, &c. See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 188.

He voted *against* instructions for a bill to provide free books for free schools, as pledged by both parties. See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 204.

He voted *against* requiring the Auditor to give the legislature and the people a detailed statement of the expenditures made by the legislature of 1883-4, *and for what purposes these expenditures were made*—so voting to save his party from a damaging exposure! See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 230.

He voted *against* instructions for bills to restore Re-adjustment to the condition in which the Democrats found it in 1883—when it was a complete success and had the endorsement of the Supreme Court of the United States. See *House Journal*, 1885-6, page 327. *Reference* was defeat.

He voted *against* taking the appointment of school-trustees from partisan boards, and restoring their appointment to the hands of the Judge, the Superintendent of Schools and Commonwealth's Attorney of each county. See *House Journal*, 1885-6, page 372.

He voted *for* the resolution which ruthlessly and illegally ousted school superintendents from their just terms to put in Democratic partizans. See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 442.

He voted *against* House bill No. 275, as originally offered, to provide free books for free schools, and voted for Figgat's substitute, to provide books at cost! See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 466.

He voted *against* Judge Waddill's amendment to the election-law, to prevent frauds in registration and mak-

ing new registrations. See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 483.

He voted *against* the bill to prohibit members of the Legislature, Judges, and other public officers from accepting and using free railroad passes and complimentary tickets. See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 504.

He voted *against* printing and distributing the report of the committee of his own party, giving the scandalous and iniquitous abuses in the Democratic administration of the Lunatic Asylum at Williamsburg,—refusing to give this important information to the people! See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 528.

Such are specimen votes given by Mr. Holladay at the regular session of the House, and if these votes and others of a like sort do not damn him in the eyes and hearts of the people of Louisa county, then they must desire an enemy of their rights, privileges and interests to legislate for them. If he be returned again by the votes of the people, they will thus endorse a most damaging course against themselves and invite its continuance. Are we so blind—so idiotic? No!

We will now glance at some of Mr. Holladay's votes during the extra session of the present year. As far as appears from the *House Journal*,

HE DID NOTHING

but vote occasionally; and the record shows no bill nor resolution introduced by him, no motion nor amendment offered by him, and not a single speech on any subject whatever. But in his voting, as the *Journal* testifies,

HE VOTED AGAINST

discharging the finance committee from the consideration of the bill to appropriate \$72,000 to disabled ex-

Confederates, and place it on the calendar for prompt action (page 42); *against* Judge Waddill's resolution for a fair election-law that would insure an honest count (page 43); *against* instructing the finance committee to report on the expediency of providing some compensation for the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers who died or were killed during the late war (page 43); *against* a committee of investigation into the disordered affairs of the Agricultural and Mechanical College under Democratic management (page 44); *against* Mr. Franklin's resolution to instruct the report of a bill to supply free books to free schools (page 81); *against* Dr. Wise's resolution for a special committee of both parties to frame an impartial election-law (page 58); *against* pledging the House to stand by the Riddleberger Bill (page 134); *against* requiring the committee to confer with the bond-holders to report their proceedings daily to the Legislature, to prevent secret and unfair dealing with the subject (page 158); *against* permitting members of the Legislature to be informed of the proceedings of the debt conference (pages 180 and 181); *against* discharging the committee of privileges and elections from further consideration of the bill to appoint two supervisors for State and local elections, one from each party, so as to exhume the bill and bring it before the House for action (page 207); *for* Senate Bill No. 23, which Judge Waddill characterized as a bill "to defeat the act of 14th February, 1882, commonly known as the Riddleberger Bill, and to make fees for attorneys for the commonwealth and other officers" (page 231); *for* the adoption and publication of a new Code in advance of completion, and without allowing it to be examined or discussed (page 249, &c.); *for* giving \$38,000 of the people's money to the Kendall Bank Note Company (page 255); *against* the very proper require-

ment that railroad companies chartered by and doing business in the State shall be required, under penalty, to have their principal offices in this State (page 268); *for* the bill empowering the Governor to remove treasurers of counties and cities, elected by the people, at his discretion (page 293); *for* reconsidering a bill, already passed by the House, providing how tax-payers, without incurring the 5 *per cent.* penalty, may obtain an extension of time till May 1st, 1888, for the payment of their taxes (page 329); *for* a bill to authorize extra counsel, with big fees, to assist the incompetent Democratic Attorney-General (page 331); *for* the bill to authorize the Auditor to borrow money to support the government, &c. (page 341); &c., &c.

We might further arraign Mr. Holladay on many of his votes for appropriations, for relief, &c.; but surely we have presented enough to satisfy any rational being of his infidelity to the popular trust confided to him. He and his party have been tried, and are found wofully wanting.

Leave him at home. Put your trust in W. C. Elam, and you will not be betrayed, nor disappointed. You may rely alike on his capacity, his fidelity and his zeal to serve you at all times and in all things.

VOTE FOR ELAM.

The Botetourt Contest.

LAWYER VS. FARMER.

THE FIDGETY RECORD

— OF —

“PROFESSOR” FIGGATT.

*Let the People Consider,
and Decide!*

THE HON. J. H. H. FIGGATT, — LAWYER, —

Is again the candidate of his party—the Democratic party—to represent the County of Botetourt in the next House of Delegates of Virginia.

JOSEPH B. BUHRMAN, — FARMER, —

Is the candidate of the Republican party, and he is known to all the people of Botetourt as an intelligent, industrious tiller of the soil—a gentleman whose honorable vocation and every interest identify him with the hope, burden and fortune of the producing classes of our people. Whatever legislation affects the interests of the agriculturist, the manufacturer, the miner and the laboring man, directly appeals to his own interests. Not so with Mr. Figgatt. He is a lawyer, and they live upon the misfortunes and troubles of the people. They neither toil nor spin. They are non-producers—add nothing to the productive values of society.

“By your works ye shall be judged.”

Accordingly, let us look at the legislative record of the Hon. J. H. H. Figgatt. He was a member of the last House of Delegates, which was composed of 70 Democrats and 30 Republicans, and which House of Delegates sat 160 days, when the Constitution contemplates a session of only ninety days.

He is a member of that party which has undone the Republican settlement of the Public Debt, destroyed the Riddleberger Bill and restored the cut-worm of the Treasury to its destructive work.

He is a member of that party, and was a member of that Legislature which subjected the over-burdened people of the State to the expense of an extra session of the Legislature, which cost the people full sixty thousand dollars and did nothing—of more significance than the passage of a hurried act which legalized the issue of forty millions of stock, made by a gigantic railroad speculation.

He is a conspicuous member of that party, and was of that Legislature which has run the expenses of the State Government up from \$802,000 to more than one million and a quarter, equal to an excess of a half million of dollars, which is half the

taxes derived from real estate in the Commonwealth. He is a member of that party that pledged the people to furnish free books for free schools, and yet Mr. Figgatt and his party in the Legislature voted against that proposition when made in the House of Delegates by a Republican member of that body; (House Journal, page 476) and yet Mr. Figgatt voted to pay his brother member, Democrat and lawyer, the Hon. Mr. Meredith, the sum of one thousand dollars for certain trifling services in the Courts, which might as well have been discharged by the Attorney-General, and for which that officer is paid. He voted against every proposition made by the Republicans to reduce this excessive waste of the people's money (House Journal, pages 220, 221). Mr. Figgatt voted to refer to the Committee of which he was a member, the Republican proposition to abolish the Anderson-McCormick electoral board, where, in this Democratic committee, it was buried (House Journal, page 105). He voted against the proposition to relieve delinquent lands from the penalty of sale for the non-payment of taxes previous to 1875—a proposition that related to the relief of the poor people (House Journal, page 142). He voted against Mr. Waddill's proposition to allow the Board of Supervisors to fill vacancies on the Board of School Commissioners (House Journal, page 148).

Mr. Figgatt voted against every proposition to give the Board of Supervisors any control over the appointment of County Surveyor and Overseer of the Poor, and to confer the power upon the County Judge (House Journal, page 176).

Mr. Figgatt not only voted against free books for free schools, but he voted against printing the communication of the State Superintendent of schools, showing that the cost of these books would be only 83 cents per scholar, for the first, whereas the Democratic Committee had reported the cost to be not less than \$2.70 per scholar (House Journal, page 197-8.) He voted against requiring the Auditor to furnish a detailed statement of the expenditures of the Legislature of 1883-4, and for what those expenditures were made—thereby seeking to shield his party from damaging, but just exposure (House Journal, page 230.) He voted against Mr. Mayo's proposition to remit all delinquent taxes and levies due the State from our poor fellow-citizens to January 1, 1880 (House Journal, page 233.)

Several of his other votes, too, were in the same direction—against affording relief to the people (House Journal, page 267, 293, &c.) He voted against allowing railroad commissioners to be elected by the people, or to have them appointed from both political parties (House Journal, page 302). He refused to concur in a return to the Readjustment and Debt Settlement of 1883, as endorsed by the Supreme Court of the United States (House Journal, page 327). He voted to give the railroad commissioner \$3,000 a year, and against the proposition to make the salary \$1,000 (House Journal, page 367-8). He voted against

taking the appointment of school trustees from the partisan boards of his party and revesting that power in the hands of the Judge, Superintendent of Schools and Commonwealth's Attorney for each county (House Journal, page 372.)

He refused to give the City of Petersburg any recourse or relief against the swindling Virginia & N. C. R. R. Co., which had cheated that city out of \$100,000 of its bonds (House Journal, pages 374, 382, 279.) He *dodged* voting on the bill "to increase the usefulness of the Department of Agriculture, Mining and Manufactures"—his name not appearing in the recorded vote upon that bill, although it does appear in the recorded vote next preceding! (House Journal, pages 399, 405.) He voted to unjustly oust Republican school superintendents from their legal terms to put in their partizans (House Journal, pages 441-2.) He voted over and over again for large and extravagant fees for lawyers for services that should have been rendered by the Attorney-General and the Attorneys for the Commonwealth (House Journal, pages 436, 439, 498, 523, 551, &c.) He voted against a proper compensation for witnesses put to the trouble and expense of appearing before grand juries (House Journal, page 501). He voted to create a costly special court of appeals to give soft places to his partizans (House Journal, pages 502). He voted for a costly and oppressive road-law for Botetourt—costly in its allowances to commissioners and overseers and oppressive in its exactions from the people, which are to be enforced by fine and imprisonment. *He was the author of this bill.*

At the extra session (see its *Journal*), he voted to give the Governor summary power to remove, at his discretion, the county and city treasurers elected by the people (House Journal, pages 293-4, 303). His various votes in the regular and extra session to give extra fees to lawyers voted an aggregate sum of \$10,250—and all for legal services which the Attorney-General and his subordinates should have rendered. Think of it, ye tax-payers, who have to earn your scant returns for hard labor in the sweat of your faces!

We have not gone into a full detail of Mr. Figgatt's malodorous record, for it is too voluminous; and we have contented ourselves by giving specimens of his representative work that tell you enough of him. You cannot return him to the Legislature, people of Botetourt, if you have any respect for your dearest rights, or any care for your best interests. Vote him down, and vote for

JOSEPH B. BUHRMAN.

KING and QUEEN.

THE RECORD

— OF —

H. R. POLLARD.

A BAD SHOW FOR HIM.

Let the People Know!

MR. H. R. POLLARD

Has a long legislative record, and one as full of evil as it is long; but, not having time to present it all, we shall only give here a few samples of his acts as a misrepresentative of the good people of King and Queen. Of course, as a prominent leader of his party in the Legislature, he is largely responsible for its policy, which has unsettled the Readjusted debt, given new life to the coupons, increased taxes by assessment and re-assessment

over \$231,000 a year, again filled our jails with lunatics of both colors and sexes, forced our teachers to hawk their dishonored school-warrants among greedy shavers, refused free books to the free schools, denied pensions to our disabled ex-Confederates, and brought upon us an era of hard times almost unparalleled.

But we shall confine our review to

MR. POLLARD'S OWN RECORD,

As it stands in the official Journals of the House of Delegates for the last regular session and extra session, and, on examining that record, it will be for the voters of King and Queen to say whether or not they desire the further services of the gentleman, especially when it is known that the principal thing expected of him, if elected, is to help send John S. Barbour to the U. S. Senate to undermine the Protection of our potatoes and other vegetables, fruits, peanuts, sumac, oysters, &c., to deny our schools the aid of the Blair Bill, and to maintain upon us and the rest of the State the heavy burdens of the Internal Revenue.

At the last regular session (see *Journal*) Mr. Pollard gave the following votes, among others:

He voted *against* repealing the infamous ballot-killer bill and to restore free suffrage to the people (page 105); *against* House joint resolution for the relief of the taxpayers of this Commonwealth (page 157); *against* instructing the report of a bill to supply free books for schools (page 204); *against* requiring the Auditor to give a detailed statement of the expenditures of the Legislature of 1883-4 and what these were for—thereby preventing information of importance from coming to the people and exposing the shameful course of the Democratic majority (page 230); *against* Mr. Mayo's amendment to remit “all delinquent taxes and levies, due the State or counties, down to January 1, 1880” (page 231); *against* releasing taxes returned delinquent before January 1, 1875 (pages 231-2); *against* selecting a railroad commissioner from each political party (pages 301-2); *against* investigating the Virginia & N. C. R. R. Co.,

which had defrauded the City of Petersburg of a subscription of \$100,000 in bonds (page 307-8); *against* electing railroad commissioners by the people (page 320); *against* taking up the bill to provide free books for free schools (page 354); *against* restoring the appointment of school trustees to the Judge, Superintendent of Schools and Commonwealth's Attorney of each county (page 372); *for* the bill arbitrarily and unjustly vacating the offices of county superintendents of schools for partisan purposes (pages 440-1-2-3); *for* substituting books at cost for free books for the free schools (page 476); *against* fair and impartial registrations and reregistrations (page 483); *against* allowing compensation to witnesses testifying before grand juries (page 501); *for* a costly special court of appeals, to give five partisan lawyers fat berths at the expense of the people (page 502); *against* the bill to prohibit members of the Legislature, Judges and all salaried officers of the Commonwealth from using free railroad passes and complimentary tickets (pages 503-4); *against* printing for the information of the people the report of the Democratic investigation into the scandalous maladministration of the affairs of the Eastern Asylum under Democratic management (page 528); *against* the resolution passed by the House, declaring the Morrison-Hewitt bill in the House of Representatives at Washington, unwise in proposing to put iron ores on the tariff free-list, "and if adopted will greatly injure the iron interests of this State and retard the development of the same" (page 539); *for* raising the pay of the Adjutant-General from \$300 to \$1500 a year, and *against* paying the Commissioner of Agriculture \$2000 a year (page 541); *against* providing necessary machinery and accommodations at the Agricultural and Mechanical College (page 541); *for* various bills giving big fees to lawyers to help the incompetent Attorney-General (pages 551-2, &c.); &c., &c.

In the extra session held this year (see *Journal*) we find the following amongst

MR. POLLARD'S DOINGS:

He voted *against* recalling from committee and placing

on the calendar, for early action, the bill to appropriate \$70,000 to disabled ex-Confederates (pages 42 and 150); *against* repealing the present infamous election-law and enacting one restoring a free ballot and a fair count (page 43); *against* providing by law some compensation for the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers who died or were killed during the war (page 43); *against* investigating the Democratic mismanagement of the Agricultural and Mechanical College (page 44); *against* Dr. Wise's resolution for a committee from both parties to frame a non-partizan election-law (page 58); *against* standing by the Riddleberger bill (pages 92 and 97); *against* printing the report of the Superintendent of the Penitentiary in reference to convict labor in that prison, and which shows Democratic legislation as to convict labor to be foolish and futile (page 110); *against* having the proceedings of the debt conference public (pages 157-8, 191, &c.); *for* adopting, at heavy charges for preparation and printing, a new Code before completion, without permitting full examination and discussion (pages 244-5, &c.); *for* paying an unjust claim of \$38,000 to the swindling Kendall Bank-Note Co., when the amount actually paid the American Bank-Note Co. for engraving and printing the Riddleberger bonds was only \$13,798 (pages 255 and 305); *against* requiring railroad companies chartered by and doing business in the State to establish and maintain their principal offices in the State (page 268); *for* investing the Governor with arbitrary power to remove county and city treasurers elected by the people (pages 293-4, &c.); and so on.

Now, if the people of King and Queen choose to keep on sacrificing themselves, their rights and interests, so that Mr. Pollard may still be honored with power and place, they will elect him again to the House of Delegates; but if they prefer to butter their own bread rather than Mr. Pollard's, they will give that gentleman a rest—a long rest.

The 18th Senatorial District.

THE LEGISLATIVE RECORD

— O F —

HON. J. J. A. POWELL,

LATE DELEGATE FROM

FLUVANNA.

VOTE FOR

Hon. EDMUND W. HUBARD.

MR. J. J. A. POWELL served as a Delegate from the County of Fluvanna, during the regular session of 1885-6, and the extra session of 1887, and now presents himself as the candidate of the Democracy of the 18th Senatorial District for a seat in the State Senate.

What record does he present of past service to commend him to the suffrages of the people of the District?

What has his party done that you should send him to represent you in the Senate, to answer at roll call, the dictates of the party managers?

Hard times prevail on account of Democratic mismanagement of our Federal and State revenues and finances; the public treasuries are over-flowing and our pockets are empty; Democratic re-assessments have increased our State taxation over \$231,000 a year; the coupons are getting the better of our free schools, and our free school teachers have to submit to rascally shaving of their school-warrants; the promised free books for our children are not forthcoming; the people are still compelled to work the public roads for nothing, and the roads themselves are the fit results of so mean and unfair a policy; our jails are again filling with the insane of both sexes and colors; our Agricultural and Mechanical College, as well as our other institutions of learning, lunatic asylums, &c., are perverted from their true purposes to reward partizan retainers with soft places; the State Debt is again unsettled; free suffrage is throttled by the Anderson-McCormick election-law, which puts our ballots and ballot-boxes at the complete mercy of partizan electoral boards, whenever and wherever they can procure election-officers base enough to commit crimes that involve every infamy that can attach to perjury, theft and forgery; and every right, privilege and interest that can be touched by legislation, or public administration, is either attacked by gross invasions, or is menaced by usurpations and usurpers that have no scruples, and no aims beyond power and plunder.

Surely the people of the Eighteenth Senatorial District cannot desire the election of a man to the Senate implicated in bringing about these dire results, and who, as far as the record shows, has been

A READY ABETTOR

of the betrayers of every public trust. An examination of the Journals for his entire legislative term reveals a paucity of service to his people and the State. He nominated county Judges for Fluvanna, Buckingham,

Powhatan and Cumberland—he moved the pending question once [165]; he moved an amendment to the special Court of Appeals bill, and he introduced One bill, and had it passed into a law, the effect of which was to

STEAL AWAY

from a citizen of his own county, under cover of law, his *vested* rights. This was his famous (?) bill to authorize the establishment of a ferry across James River at Columbia. This law was so bold in its infringement of the Constitution, that when it came before the County Court of Cumberland, despite his appearance as the attorney of the applicants, that a Democratic Judge promptly

DISMISSED THE APPLICATION

from which order no appeal was taken.

THAT'S ABOUT ALL!

But our distinguished representative and statesman did vote sometimes when the roll was called; and we here give a few samples of how he did vote, as he seems to have been equal to little else.

He voted *against* repealing, or instructing the committee on privileges and elections to report a bill to repeal the infamous act which puts our registrations, elections and returns in the exclusive hands of partisan tools—to restore free suffrage to the people, in fact. See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 105. He voted to refer and bury the resolution to that effect.

He voted *against* the bill to release the lands of poor men delinquent for non-payment of taxes previous to 1875. See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 142. At the bidding of Boss Echols, he voted to reconsider and recommit the bill; but he voted all the same as stated.

He voted *against* instructions for a bill to provide free books for free schools, as pledged by both parties. See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 204.

He voted *against* releasing all delinquent taxes and

levies due the State or counties down to January 1, 1880 [p. 231].

He voted *against* House bill No. 275, as originally offered, to provide *free* books for free schools, and voted for Figgat's substitute, to provide books *at cost!* See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 466.

He voted *against* printing and distributing the report of the committee of his own party, giving the scandalous and iniquitous abuses in the Democratic administration of the Lunatic Asylum at Williamsburg,—refusing to give this important information to the people! See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 528.

Such are specimen votes given by Mr. Powell at the regular session of the House, and if these votes and others of a like sort do not damn him in the eyes and hearts of the people of the 18th Senatorial District, then they must desire an enemy of their rights, privileges and interests to legislate for them. If he be returned again to the legislature by the votes of the people, they will thus endorse a most damaging course against themselves and invite its continuance. Are we so blind—so idiotic? No!

We will now glance at some of Mr. Powell's votes during the extra session of the present year. As far as appears from the *House Journal*,

HE DID NOTHING

He bitterly opposed the removal of dams in James River, which was petitioned for by the people on the line of the River, because the same were injurious to the health of the people and damaging to their lands—the bill was passed on an unrecorded vote—its opponents upon Powell's call, failing to muster recruits enough to demand the ayes and noes.

HE VOTED AGAINST

Mr. Franklin's resolution to instruct the report of a bill to supply free books to free schools (page 51); *against* pledging the House to stand by the Riddleberger Bill

(page 134); *against* requiring the committee to confer with the bondholders to report their proceedings daily to the Legislature, to prevent secret and unfair dealing with the subject (page 158); *against* discharging the committee of privileges and elections from further consideration of the bill to appoint two supervisors for State and local elections, one from each party, so as to exhume the bill and bring it before the House for action (page 207); *for* giving \$38,000 of the people's money to the Kendall Bank Note Company (page 255); *against* the very proper requirement that railroad companies chartered by and doing business in the State shall be required, under penalty, to have their principal offices in this State (page 268); *for* the bill empowering the Governor to remove treasurers of counties and cities, elected by the people, at his discretion (page 293).

He voted against instructing the joint committee on the debt question to consider no proposition looking to a settlement of the debt upon any other basis than provided by Riddleberger Bill, Extra Session [92]; the motion was referred without instructions to Committee on Finance. At a subsequent time, he voted against discharge of the committee from further consideration of the resolution that the House might pass directly upon the resolution to instruct [96-7].

The act approved March 6, 1886, commonly known as the Doran act had for its alleged object the abolition of convict labor. A motion was made and agreed to, that the Superintendent of the Penitentiary should report how far the said law has proved a success. The Superintendent made his report that this *great Democratic* measure was a *failure*; and the House refused to print 1000 copies of the Report—and Mr. Powell voting with the majority. Mr. Powell objects to light for the people [110].

He voted against the bill to prevent the Governor and Board of Directors, or Superintendent of the Penitentiary from hiring convicts to engage in the manufacture of products, where machinery is used [243].

We might further arraign Mr. Powell on many of his

votes for appropriations, for relief, &c.; and it might be supposed that we have presented enough to satisfy any rational being of his infidelity to the popular trust confided to him. He and his party have been tried, and are found wofully wanting.

LEAVE HIM AT HOME.

But it is a pleasure to note the vigilance and punctuality of this distinguished legislator, and it would be a wrong to him not to make it known, that in the two sessions of his service he was absent from his post *only 169* times on the call of yeas and nays—see Journal.

If Mr. Powell displayed no particular part before the footlights, he was eminently conspicuous for his absence without leave from roll call.

He was absent when the attempt was made to bring the House to a vote on the bill to appropriate \$70,000 to pay the claims of disabled Confederate soldiers and marines [42].

He was absent upon the vote to instruct the Committee on Finance to report a bill to provide some compensation for widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers, who died or were killed in the late war [43].

He was absent on the vote to instruct Committee on Privileges and Elections to report a bill for a fair election law, that would insure an honest count [43].

He was absent when a resolution was offered for a special committee of both parties to frame an impartial election-law [58].

He was absent when the vote was taken on the resolution to permit members of the General Assembly to be informed of the proceedings of the debt conference [180-1].

He was absent on the passage of S. B. 23, which Judge Waddill characterized as a “*bill to defeat the act of 14th February, 1882*, commonly known as the Riddleberger Bill, and to make fees for Attorneys for the Commonwealth and other officers [231].

On a motion to discharge the Committee on Finance

from the further consideration of bill to appropriate \$70,000 to pay the claims of disabled soldiers for prompt action by the House, Mr. Powell was nowhere to be found and the motion was rejected [42].

 Mr. Powell *professes* great concern for the Confederate soldier.

PROFESSIONS ARE CHEAP.

This faithful servant of the people "was solemnly called" to vote for S. B. to lease the quarries on the Central Lunatic Asylum, "but came not" [154].

He objected to the people being informed of the daily proceedings of the Debt Commission, but he was

"CHARLIE AT THE CAT-HOLE"

to incur the expense of a stenographer to the commission [158].

 [Where are these proceedings which were subsequently printed? Why did not Mr. Powell distribute copies among his people? Echo answers, Why?]

BLOW YOUR HORNS.

On 10th May, 1887, there were fourteen roll calls, our legislator voted 12 whole times—and then asked for *leave of absence* to recover his strength [248].

THE LEGISLATOR LOVES THE WAGE-EARNER AND LABORER.

He was present to pay Pegram & Stringfellow large fees for professional service which ought to have been performed by an incompetent Attorney-General; but was absent on the very next next vote to secure to operatives and laborers in mines and factories for the payment of their wages *in money* at regular periods [290].

On the vote approving the action of the joint committee to confer with the commission of the council of the Foreign Bondholders in rejecting all propositions of

settlement offered by said commission—only 48 democrats could be found to vote for such approval—and the delegate from Fluvanna

Dodged the Vote.

Such is a part of the Record of Mr. Powell.

Mr. Powell takes credit for his vote for the appropriation to pay \$70,000 to pay the claims allowed disabled soldiers and marines under act, 24 February, 1884, which has this provision, that where the applicant was wounded in the leg, and the same resected, and is in a condition as helpless and disabled as if he had actually lost his leg, then the Auditor is authorized to issue his warrant, &c. If the soldier is not “in condition as helpless as if he had actually lost his leg” he gets nothing.

Put your trust in Edmund W. Hubard, and you will not be betrayed, nor disappointed. You may rely alike on his capacity, his fidelity and his zeal to serve you at all times and in all things.

VOTE FOR HUBARD.

Spotsylvania and Fredericksburg.

WHOM WILL YE CHOOSE?

Crismond, the Guano Merchant,

— OR, —

Turnley, the Farmer?

SPEAK OUT!

AND VOTE FOR THE FARMER.

Mr. Crismond has served one term in the Legislature, and seeks re-election at the hands of the people of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania. Why? What has he done to command him to their confidence? Try him by the Record, and you will find him

TRIED IN THE SCALES AND FOUND WANTING.

What bill—what resolution did he ever offer in advancement of the interests of the farmer? His record shows him to be a
DO NOTHING.

He introduced a bill to incorporate the Spotsylvania Railroad Company [52]; a bill to incorporate the Fredericksburg Street Railway Company; to amend the charter of the city of Fredericksburg.

THAT'S ABOUT ALL.

This *distinguished* legislator did *occasionally* vote, and here are a few specimens of his votes.

NO FREE BOOKS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Both parties in the State stood pledged to free school books for pupils in the public free schools, and our *Guano* delegate voted *against* instructions for a bill to provide free books, as he and his party stood pledged. [H. J., 1885-6, p. 204.]

He

REFUSES LIGHT TO THE PEOPLE,

and by his vote denies a detailed statement of the expenditures made by the reckless and extravagant Legislature of 1883-4, at its regular, extended and extra sessions [230].

WHAT ARE PARTY PLEDGES TO HIM ?

The Democratic party swore at Lynchburg to stand by the Riddleberger Settlement. The first Legislature thereafter destroyed its vitality, and when the effort was made to recover the lost ground, he voted *against* instructions for bills to

RESTORE READJUSTMENT

to the condition in which his party friends found it in 1883, when it was a complete success and had the endorsement of the Supreme Court of the U. S. [327]. *This was to kill the resolution.*

HE HAD NO CONFIDENCE

in his county Judge, Superintendent of Schools and Commonwealth's Attorney, and refused to take the appointment of school trustees from partisan boards and restore it to the Judge, Superintendent of Schools and Commonwealth's Attorney for each county.

With a ruthless hand he *ousted* school superintendents from their constitutional terms to put in Democratic partizans [442].

He voted *against* an amendment to the election-law, to prevent frauds in registration and making new registrations [483].

Our legislator loves a

FREE RIDE ON THE RAILROAD.

He voted *against* passing the bill prohibiting legislators from using *free* passes and complimentary tickets on railroads [503].

He again refuses

INFORMATION TO THE PEOPLE,

and voted *against* printing and distributing the report of a committee of his own party, setting forth the outrageous abuses in the *Democratic* administration of the Lunatic Asylum at Williamsburg [528].

A FAIR VOTE AND HONEST COUNT

has no charms for him. He voted *against* a resolution for a fair election-law that would ensure an honest count. [43, Ex. Ses.]

He had no heart for

WIDOWS AND ORPHANS

of Confederate soldiers.

He voted *against* a resolution of instruction to bring in a bill providing compensation to the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers who died or were killed during the late war [43].

INVESTIGATIONS ARE ODOROUS.

He voted *against* investigating the crooked affairs of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, under Democratic management [44].

NO FREE BOOKS FOR POOR SCHOOL CHILDREN.

He voted a second time *against* a resolution to instruct the report of a bill to give free books to free schools, as he and his party had pledged themselves *before* the election [51]; and

FAIR ELECTIONS

he despises. He voted *against* a resolution for a special committee of both parties to frame an impartial election-law [58]

Mr. Crismond was not absent, however, when the House refused, by a party vote of 50 to 20, to adopt Mr. Wise's resolution to direct the committee for courts of justice to *report* a bill to *replace* the appointment of school trustees in the counties of this State in the hands of the county judge, the county superintendent and the commonwealth's attorney.

The fact is now as Mr. Crismond avers, but it was not *then*, as he would create the impression. Chapter 38 of Acts of 1884, p. 43, provided for the election of school commissioners by the General Assembly who are to constitute the county school electoral boards of their respective counties. Mr. Wise's resolution was offered February 12, 1886, and it was not until May 14, 1887, [see acts 1887, ch. 233, p. 305], that this law was amended making the judge, the commonwealth attorney and the superintendent of schools the electoral board for their respective counties. Hence the reason assigned by Mr. Crismond could *hardly* have influenced his votes cast fifteen months *before* the enactment of the law. Do you think it could, people of Fredricksburg and Spotsylvania?

The resolution was *referred*, without instructions to the committee, by a strict party vote,—Mr. Crismond voting with his party [372], and accordingly the committee never reported on the resolution and it died in the committee, as was the true intent and purpose of the vote, and so well understood by the committee and everybody else in that House *save, perhaps*, by Mr. Crismond.

His own answer shows that he knew perfectly well that the *reference* was to kill the resolution—for he excuses *his* vote that the law was *then*, as the resolution sought to make it, and when *the fact* was contrarywise, and he seeks to avoid the charge by citing a page where his name was not recorded—he being absent from the House.

The charge then is true as made that he had NO CONFIDENCE in *his* judge, county superintendent or attorney for the commonwealth, MR. CRISMOND'S DENIAL to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. Crismond admits that he voted for the present election laws, and does not deny the charge as made against him that he voted against an amendment to the election laws to prevent frauds in registration and make new registrations.

On p. 58, Journal Extra Session, 1887, is the following entry:
Mr. Wise offered the following resolution:

“Whereas, It is the opinion of all fair-minded men, of all political parties in this State, that a revision of the election laws is necessary to allay the wide-spread impression which now prevails that their practical operations are unfair and do not tend to preserve that right which is the preservative of all rights, viz: a free ballot and a fair count; therefore,”

“Resolved, That a committee of seven members of this House, as equally divided as possible between the two political parties, be appointed to prepare and recommend to this House such an election law as may be acceptable to all the people of this State,

as a guarantee that it is the determination of this body to assure equal fairness in the conduct of all elections in this State in the future, and to frown down any appearance of an attempt to gain partisan advantage through the election laws of this Commonwealth.

The House *refused to adopt* the resolution but *referred* it to Committee of Privileges and Elections. Yeas 56, Nay 23.

It is true that Mr. Crismond did not vote *against* passing by the bill to prohibit the use of *free* passes by members of the Legislature, and in this respect the charge against him is incorrect.

Mr. Crismond admits the charge that he refused to vote for the printing of the report of the committee of his own party setting forth the outrageous abuses of the Democratic administration of the lunatic asylum at Williamsburg, and he excuses his vote because the newspapers had published a full statement of the facts and results, and he did not chose to tax the people with such a big job of printing. This big job of printing involved the cost of printing some 250 copies for the use of the members of the House.

Mr. Crismond proceeds: "It charges me with voting against a resolution to provide some compensation to the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers dying during the war.

Answer: This is untrue, I voted for the resolution in the mode asked by its author, Mr. Turner, a Republican, viz.: To refer it to the Finance Committee. See Journal of Extra Session, p. 43. I voted for every bill to grant commutation to disabled Confederate soldiers, and the result of these bills was that I aided in distributing over two thousand dollars to Confederate soldiers in Spotsylvania."

The point in controversy, Mr. Crismond, is not what you voted to *live* Confederate soldiers, but that you voted *against* a resolution to provide compensation to the widows and orphans of *dead* Confederate soldiers. The Journal does not show that you "voted for the resolution in the mode asked by its author, Mr. Turner, a Republican," but it shows that you voted precisely the other way. *Mr. Turner* moved *instructions* to the committee, and *you* voted to *refer*, which, as has been before shown, was to *refuse the instructions*. And so the Journal reads, at the page cited by you—not that the *resolution of instruction* was *adopted* but "the House referred the resolution to the Committee on Finance," which everybody knew was to *smother* it in committee, as was the fact. The reference was made by a strict party vote, 46 yeas, 27 nays [Crismond yea]. The Committee on Finance perfectly understood that the *instructions* were refused, and the *reference for enquiry* was only ordered. Mr. Hoge [at p. 151] had presented a bill to give aid to the widows who had lost husbands during the war, which was referred to the Committee on Finance. This was on January 5. The Committee on Finance

took no action on it, so at the Extra Session Mr. Turner moved the resolution of instructions to spur the committee up.

Mr. Crismond takes large credit to himself that he "voted for the resolution *in the mode asked for by its author*, Mr. Turner, a Republican," but he neglected to say that he did not vote on that resolution as Mr. Turner voted. Mr. Turner had full knowledge that *reference to the committee* did not mean *instructions of the House*, and so he voted *no*—as reference meant death to the whole matter.

Mr. Turner subsequently [p. 73, Extra Session] offered a bill "to give aid to the widows and orphans of citizens of Virginia who lost their lives in the service of the Confederate States during the last war," which was referred to the Committee on Finance, where it died the same death of his resolution.

No. 9. "It charges that I voted against investigating the crooked affairs of the Blacksburg College."

"Answer: This is untrue. There was never any charge made of any crookedness. The President, Gen. Lomax, asked the Legislature for a special grant of \$50,000. I voted against raising a special Junketing Committee to spend money needlessly in visiting this college. See Journal of Extra Session, p. 44."

How far does Mr. Crismond's denial of the charge go?

Now, and be it remembered that, this resolution was asked for by the committee for schools and colleges. If Mr. Crismond never heard of any charges of 'crookedness,' it seems that the committee for schools and colleges had heard *something* which that committee thought made it proper to investigate "the condition and management" before it could approve of General Lomax's request for "a special grant of \$50,000" [44-5, Extra Session].

Mr. Crismond is charged with having again voted at the Extra Session *against* a resolution to *instruct* the report of a bill to give *free* books to *free* schools, as he and his party had pledged themselves *before* the election.

He says, "this is untrue," and says that he "voted *for the reference* of the resolution to a committee *as asked* for by its mover, Mr. Franklin, a Republican."

Now, people of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania, read the resolution and judge for yourself if the mover asked for a *reference* or for an *instruction*.

At p. 50, Journal of Extra Session, is the following entry:

"Mr. Franklin offered the following resolution:

"Whereas, The Republican party in Virginia, in convention assembled, pledged itself to the passage of a law to provide *free* books for the *free* schools; and whereas the Democratic party, in convention assembled, made the same pledge and promise to the people of the State; therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the House of Delegates, that the Committee on Schools and Colleges be and is hereby INSTRUCTED to enquire

and report as early as practicable to this House, such bill or bills as may be necessary to carry said promises into effect."

The Journal says, "the House referred the resolution to the Committee on Schools and Colleges." *Ayes* 56—among whom was Mr. Crismond. *Noes* 26—of whom was the mover of the Resolution, Mr. Franklin.

Mr. Crismond says, "it is untrue" that he voted *against* the instructions, and in the same breath he admits he voted for the reference, and then he adds, "*as asked for by its mover*;" whereas the *Journal*, at the page he cites [51] shows that the reference was not asked for by the mover, but the *adoption* of the instructions.

Now you can judge if Mr. Crismond voted for the *instructions* as he would have it implied by his denial.

He excuses his vote refusing a daily report to the Legislature of the proceedings of the joint committee to confer with the foreign bondholders [p. 158], upon the ground that such a motion was unprecedented. He voted *against* the proposition however, and that was the charge. Mr. Crismond further excuses this vote by saying, that when the Conference was ended he voted for 15,000 copies of all the proceedings, for distribution among the people.

The representatives of the people were denied light, pending the consideration of a matter of highest importance they were to transact, but after it was all over 15,000 copies were ordered for distribution.

[Were they distributed—how—when—by whom?]

Mr. Crismond is charged with being

RECKLESS WITH THE PEOPLE'S MONEY.

He voted for the adoption and publication of a new Code, before it was completed, and without allowing it to be discussed or amended, and when he knew there was a Legislature to intervene before it could go into effect [289]; and the only answer is—"the imperative need of a New Code is acknowledged by all candid and sensible people." Nobody denies this—this does not meet the charge—[read it for yourselves] which was *not* for the adoption and publication of a New Code, *which was completed and presently to go into effect*—but for the adoption of a New Code of Laws, for the government of the people, without allowing it to be discussed or amended, and for the expenditure of a large sum of money in its publication, more than a year before it was to go into effect, with the knowledge that another Legislature would meet months before the New Code was to go into effect, to-wit: July 1, 1888. The people can say if such expenditure was prudent or reckless.

He justifies his vote for the payment to the Kendall Bank Note Company of \$38,000—but is as *dumb as an oyster* in respect to his vote *against* the bill requiring railroad companies chartered by the State of Virginia and doing business in the State,

to have their principal offices in the State [268]; and to the charge that he refused light to the people and by his vote denies a detailed statement of the expenditures made by the reckless and extravagant Legislature of 1883-4, at its regular, extended and extra sessions [229-230].

Mr. Crismond rather vaunts himself as being the friend of the farmer, but the Journal shows that he failed to record his vote for the "bill to increase the usefulness of the Department of Agriculture, Mining and Manufacturing," although he was present at the immediate preceding vote [Acts Session 1885-6 p. 399-400]. The bill was rejected—was reconsidered, and again rejected, Mr. Crismond, the farmers' friend, not present.

"Which will ye choose?" Did not pretend to give Mr. Crismond's *whole* record—only "*a few specimens of his votes.*" He denies them—they are repeated save *one* which in this paper has been withdrawn. The 'dodger' of Mr. Crismond is more *ingenious* than *ingenuous*. The people have *both* sides. They may say—*who is the dodger?*

It may be pardoned to note *one* line in Mr. Crismond's preamble, as particularly refreshing, coming from a Democrat. It is—"the people of Virginia approve open and manly political discussion"; when it is a known fact that the Democrats refuse discussion, before the people, with the Republican speakers, by the order of their Executive Committee. *They* prefer to keep the people in ignorance—they *deny them light*—it is not so wonderful then that Mr. Crismond has followed suit.

THIRTY-SECOND SENATORIAL DISTRICT.

LEGISLATIVE RECORD

— O F —

DR. THOMAS H. BARNES.

VOTE FOR WHITFIELD.

Dr. Barnes served Nansemond as her delegate in the General Assembly of Virginia during the sessions of 1875-6 and 1876-7.

The Journals of the House show that, with a majority of two-thirds of party friends, he was able to do

NOTHING

in advancement of the interests of his constituents.

He *tried* to pass a bill "in relation to notice to terminate tenancy," [164, Journal, 1875-6], but he *failed*. At the following session Mr. Bogart, of Southampton, passed a similar bill.

He *tried* also to pass a bill to "encourage making manure on rented land, to prevent the removal thereof," &c. [198], and he *failed*.

The Doctor having proved

A FAILURE

in getting his bills passed, contented himself to make no further efforts in that direction.

TWO BILLS—TWO FAILURES—

THAT IS ALL.

This distinguished representative and statesman, however, voted *sometimes* on roll-call—and here are a few samples of how he did vote, as he seems to have been equal to *NOTHING* else. He knew how

TO STAND FOR HIS OWN INTEREST,

voting *against* "reducing the pay of members of the General Assembly and its officers to five dollars a day" [141]; *against* any reduction, [477], while he

NEGLECTED THE TAX-PAYERS,

in voting *against* instructing the committee on Retrenchment and Reform to report a bill reducing, by 15 per cent. the pay of the members, officers and employees of the General Assembly, of each and every department of the State government, of clerks of courts, commissioners in chancery, all legal fees of attorneys-at-law, and to reduce the mileage of members of the General Assembly to the amount actually expended in traveling to and from the capital by the nearest mail route [156].

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS, COLORED FOLKS?

He voted, on H. B. 62, "to appropriate a certain sum

annually to the University of Virginia, *against* a proposed amendment of \$3,000 annually, for the Hampton Normal School [250], but he voted for an annual appropriation [\$30,000] to the University of Virginia; [295-333, same Journal,] but

NOTHING TO THE COLORED NORMAL SCHOOL TO TEACH THE DARKEY HIS A. B. C.'S, BUT \$30,000 A YEAR TO THE UNIVERSITY!

NOT A DOLLAR TO THE NIGGER, but \$10,000 annually for *six* years [416],

\$60,000

to the Virginia Military Institute.

NARY RED FOR YOU, SAM,

but \$1,000 for repairs to Margaret Academy, Accomac [429].

PAY BEFORE YOU RIDE.

Dr. Barnes voted that every citizen, poor man and darkey, otherwise entitled to vote, should

PAY ONE DOLLAR

before he should be allowed to vote [296-7]. How is THIS FOR HIGH!

“NONE FOR ME, JOSEPH.”

Pending consideration of a bill, to provide for the pay and mileage of members of the General Assembly—a motion was made that the amount saved by the reduction in pay and mileage should be credited on the amount due by the tax payers to the state, but the motion was rejected. Dr. Barnes voting *No.* [317, same Journal].

NO FRIEND TO THE LABORER.

At the next session, 1876-7, Dr. Barnes voted *against* a bill to secure the payment of wages or salaries to certain employees of railways, canal, steamboat and other corporations [344]. The bill, however, passed. Yeas, 50. Nays, 31.

STORE-KEEPERS, BAR-KEEPERS, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS?

He voted to impose upon all retail liquor dealers, keepers of ordinaries and bar-keepers, in addition to the specific license tax, an amount equal to 25 cents per gallon on whiskey, apple and peach brandy; on gin and rum, 40 cents; French brandy, 50 cents a gallon; on all wines, 20 cents a gallon; on champagne wine, 30 cents per bottle; on all other wines, 10 cents per bottle; on all malt liquors, 5 cents per gallon, or 2 cents per bottle, &c., [401].

He voted for \$16,250 to Va. Agricultural and Mechanical College [436-458]—NOT ONE cent ever to the COLORED MAN.

STRIPES AND CHAIN-GANG—NO TRIAL BY JURY!

He voted to change the criminal law of Virginia; to extend petit larceny from \$20 to \$50; to enlarge the jurisdiction of magistrates to try the same; with power to ascertain the punishment in cases of misdemeanors, where the same is not fixed by law; to punish petit larceny with stripes, and for the second offence punish it with stripes and the chain-gang not more than 12 months, at the discretion of the justice; all of which is contrary to the 6th amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which provides—"In all criminal prosecutions the

accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury," &c., [466].

The much-abused Mahone legislature of 1881-2, abolished stripes (Acts of 1881-2, p. 403), and the payment of a capitation tax as a pre-requisite to voting.

He voted to create the useless office of railroad commissioner and for the wasteful expenditure of money in a large salary—\$2000 [467].

He was *one of six* to vote *against* compensation to Commissioners of the Revenue and Treasurers, for services under the act imposing a tax on the privilege of selling ardent spirits. The bill passed. Yeas, 79. Nays, 6. [469].

He voted *against* bill to restrict the sale of ardent spirits within *one mile* of the University of Virginia [470].

He voted *against* reducing the salary of the Attorney General from \$4,000 to \$3,000 [475].

MARRIED WOMEN HEARKEN.

Dr. Barnes voted *against* bill to secure to married women, on conditions, all property acquired by them, *before* or after marriage [494].

Such are specimens of the votes of Dr. Barnes when a delegate in the General Assembly. More, if needed, could be supplied to show his

Want of sympathy with the

POOR MAN, WHITE OR BLACK—LABORER OR TAX-PAYER.

What better is to be expected of Dr. Barnes—now? He was a *Democrat* THEN and ran along with his party. He is a *Democrat* now, and he will follow his leaders again, if the people shall elect him to the Senate of Virginia.

He comes before you as the chosen representative of the Democratic party. What has that party done, that he should again be clothed with a Legislative trust?

LET US SEE.

Hard times prevail on account of Democratic mismanagement of our Federal and State revenues and finances; the public treasuries are over-flowing and our pockets are empty; Democratic re-assessments have increased our State taxation over \$231,000 a year; the coupons are getting the better of our free schools, and our free school teachers have to submit to rascally shaving of their school-warrants; the promised free books for our children are not forthcoming; the people are still compelled to work the public roads for nothing, and the roads themselves are the fit results of so mean and unfair a policy; our jails are again filling with the insane of both sexes and colors; our Agricultural and Mechanical College, as well as our other institutions of learning, lunatic asylums, &c., are perverted from their true purposes to reward partizan retainers with soft places; the State Debt is again unsettled; free suffrage is throttled by the Anderson-McCormick election-law, which puts our ballots and ballot-boxes at the complete mercy of partizan electoral boards, whenever and wherever they can procure election-officers base enough to commit crimes that involve every infamy that can attach to perjury, theft and forgery; and every right, privilege and interest that can be touched by legislation, or public administration, is either attacked by gross invasions, or is menaced by usurpations and usurpers that have no scruples, and no aims beyond power and plunder.

Surely the people of this Senatorial District cannot desire the election of a man who represents a party

which has brought such dire results upon the State and people.

If the legislative record of Dr. Barnes, and of the party whose chosen candidate he now is, do not damn him in the eyes and hearts of the people of this Senatorial District, then they must desire an enemy of their rights, privileges and interests to legislate for them. If he be returned again by the votes of the people, they will thus endorse a most damaging course against themselves and invite its continuance. Are we so blind—so idiotic? No!

We might further arraign Dr. Barnes, on many of his votes for appropriations, for relief, &c.; but surely we have presented enough to satisfy any rational being of his infidelity to the popular trust confided to him. He and his party have been tried, and are found wofully wanting.

LEAVE HIM AT HOME.

Put your trust in D. A. Whitfield, and you will not be betrayed, nor disappointed. You may rely alike on his capacity, his fidelity and his zeal to serve you at all times and in all things.

VOTE FOR WHITFIELD.

Loudoun County Contest.

LEGISLATIVE RECORD
— OF —
JOHN F. RYAN!

VOTE FOR
HOLMES!

MR. RYAN

Has served his *party*, not his *County*, in the past two Legislatures, and he again presents himself to this people for *re-election*.

What has he done to commend himself to your further confidence? The answer is—

NOTHING,

in the whole of four years of service for the COUNTY OF LOUDOUN.

A VALUABLE REPRESENTATIVE

indeed. The *County* would have been as well off with him

AT HOME.

He voted however, when present at roll-call, as his *party* leader dictated. Here follows some of his votes as

SPECIMEN BRICKS

in his political structure.

He aided by his vote to rush through the House on the same day, without allowing one single word of explanation, a bill to amend the Act establishing the Electoral Boards, and thus to place the elections wholly under the control of partizan boards, and thus enable them to stifle the free voice of the people [p. 10-11.]

He voted, with thirteen other Democrats, against an appropriation to complete and equip the Central Lunatic Asylum [88].

He was one of ten—all Democrats—who voted to pass by the bill to pay the claim of citizens of Virginia, wounded and maimed during the war [103]; and

DODGED

the vote on the passage of the bill [145].

He voted to invest the partisan Electoral Board with the power of ordering new registrations of voters [44] or indeed giving that board the entire control of all elections. He voted to remove the visitors at Virginia Military Institute [166] for partisan purposes.

He voted to increase the taxes on the people, by voting to substitute *three* Commissioners of Railroads for ONE [182-200].

He voted *against* a bill to provide for the establishment of a South-western Lunatic Asylum with fourteen other Democrats [259].

In the bill to prevent the spreading of diseases amongst domestic animals, on motion of Mr. Ryan the bill was amended by striking out the words "Domestic animals which," and inserting "hogs that" [245].

To come to the regular session of 1885-6. Mr. Ryan showed how little regard he had to the true interests of the country.

He voted *against* repealing, or instructing the committee on privileges and elections to report a bill to repeal the infamous act which puts our registrations, elections and returns in the exclusive hands of partisan tools —to restore free suffrage to the people, in fact. See *House Journal* 1885-6, page 105. He voted to refer and bury the resolution to that effect.

He voted *against* the bill to release the lands of poor men delinquent for non-payment of taxes previous to 1875 [142]. At the bidding of Boss Echols, he voted to reconsider and recommit the bill; but he voted all the same as stated.

He voted *against* reducing the compensation of W. R. Meredith, for services the law officers of the State ought to have performed from \$1,000 to \$500.

He voted *against* instructions for a bill to provide free books for free schools, as pledged by both parties [204.]

He voted *against* releasing all delinquent taxes and levies due the State or counties down to January 1, 1880 [p. 231].

HE DODGED

the vote on bill, as originally offered, to provide *free* books for free schools, and the vote for Figgatt's substitute, to provide books *at cost!* [466].

He voted *against* printing and distributing the report of the committee of his own party, giving the scandalous and iniquitous abuses in the Democratic administration of the Lunatic Asylum at Williamsburg,—refusing to give this important information to the people! [528.]

Such are specimen votes given by Mr. Ryan at the regular session of the House, and we will now glance at some of Mr. Ryan's votes during the extra session of the present year. As far as appears from the *House Journal*, as usual,

HE DID NOTHING

for the betterment of his constituents.

HE DODGED

the vote to pay large fees to W. R. Staples and John M. Daniel for services rendered the Democratic party in a litigation involving the validity of the Congressional Apportionment Act [185] and on the next vote

HE AGAIN DODGED

the bill to allow mileage to jurors [185]; although present to vote on taking up the tax bill, the next succeeding vote.

He voted to lay on the table the bill to increase the usefulness of the department of agriculture, mining and manufacturing [198], there to sleep the SLEEP OF DEATH.

He voted to rush through the House, without reference to a Committee, not allowing one moment for investigation or debate, House joint resolution to take such steps as may be necessary to determine the rights of James G. Field, late Attorney-General, to money drawn from the Treasury and to recover the same if he is not entitled thereto [198-9].

He voted to authorize the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund to employ counsel in certain cases to assist an incompetent Attorney-General [221-2].

He voted to pass by the special order of the day which was a bill to provide for the inspection of mines and the appointment of an Inspector of Mines [223] and on the passage of the bill, he, and twelve other Democrats, voted *No.*

HE VOTED AGAINST

Mr. Franklin's resolution to instruct the report of a bill to supply free books to free schools (page 51); *against* pledging the House to stand by the Riddleberger Bill (page 134); *against* requiring the committee to confer with the bondholders to report their proceedings daily to the Legislature, to prevent secret and unfair dealing with the subject (page 158); *against* discharging the committee of privileges and elections from further consideration of the bill to appoint two supervisors for State and local elections, one from each party, so as to exhume the bill and bring it before the House for action (page 207); *for* giving \$38,000 of the people's money to the Kendall Bank Note Company (page 255); *against* the very proper requirement that railroad companies chartered by and doing business in the State shall be required, under penalty, to have their principal offices in this State (page 268); *for* the bill empowering the Governor to remove treasurers of counties and cities, elected by the people, at his discretion (page 293).

He voted against instructing the joint committee on the debt question to consider no proposition looking to a settlement of the debt upon any other basis than provided by Riddleberger Bill, Extra Session [92]; the motion was referred without instructions to Committee on Finance.

The act approved March 6, 1886, commonly known as the Doran act had for its alleged object the abolition of convict labor. A motion was made and agreed to, that the Superintendent of the Penitentiary should report

how far the said law has proved a success. The Superintendent made his report that this *great Democratic* measure was a *failure*; and the House refused to print 1,000 copies of the Report—and Mr. Ryan voting with the majority. Mr. Ryan objects to light for the people [110].

He voted against the bill to prevent the Governor and Board of Directors or Superintendent of the Penitentiary from hiring convicts to engage in the manufacture of products, where machinery is used [243].

He objected to the people being informed of the daily proceedings of the Debt Commission, but he voted to incur the expense of a stenographer to the Commission [158].

 [Where are these proceedings which were subsequently printed? Why did not Mr. Ryan distribute copies among his people? Echo answers, Why?]

THE LEGISLATOR LOVES THE WAGE-EARNER AND LABORER,

but was absent on the vote to secure to operatives and laborers in mines and factories the payment of their wages in *money* at regular periods [290].

On the vote approving the action of the joint committee to confer with the commission of the council of the Foreign Bondholders in rejecting all propositions of settlement offered by said commission [324]—only 48 Democrats could be found to vote for such approval—and the delegate from Loudoun

Dodged the Vote.

SUCH IS THE RECORD OF MR. RYAN.

Put your trust in HUGH R. HOLMES, and you will not be disappointed. You can rely on his capacity, his fidelity and his zeal to serve you at all times and in all things.

VOTE FOR HOLMES.

3

A Pair of Arcadians.

The Wickham-Cardwell Deal!

YOKE FELLOWS IN
POLITICS AND LEGISLATION.

GEN. CARDWELL - WICKHAM
IN THE SENATE,
— AND —
MR. WICKHAM - CARDWELL
IN THE HOUSE.

“Two souls with but a single thought,
Two hearts that beat as one!”

WHICH IS “ME, TOO?”

The joint course of Gen. Wickham and Mr. Cardwell in the Legislature is a very curious and interesting phenomenon. Though in separate branches of the General Assembly, and belonging nominally to different political parties, there is an identity of action between them which has the same effect upon the observer as the double clog-dance of two Ethiopian variety performers, dressed precisely alike, and going through the same steps and motions in sweet accord with the same music. It is in respect to railroad and other corporations especially that these twin statesmen exhibit a drilled harmony of motion that defies all competitors; but upon all subjects they act together with a unity of design and movement which actually confuses the spectator as to which is which, and suggests the idea that one must be the shadow of the other. Of Gen. Wickham's devotion to railroad and other corporate interests the explanation is very easy, as he is a railroad President, with a \$10,000 salary; but where and how Mr. Cardwell derives a similar devotion is a matter which can only be left to the conjecture which inevitably arises upon the most casual glance at his record. Without dwelling upon the implication of these patriots in all the ills, State and Federal, that have come upon us through Democratic misgovernment, we shall briefly call attention to a few of their votes in the last Legislature upon matters in which their constituents should have a public, if not a private interest. Beginning with Gen. Cardwell-Wickham's record in the Senate at the last regular session, we find the following:

He voted *against* House bill to bar the Commonwealth from collecting taxes due and payable prior to January 1, 1876 (page 338); he voted *for* the bill directing the annual sale of lands returned delinquent for taxes after the year 1884 (page 427); he voted *for* paying \$38,000 of the people's money to the swindling Kendall Bank Note Co., when Auditor Marye reported (House Journal, page 305, extra session) that the actual sum paid the American Bank Note Co. for engraving and printing the Riddleberger bonds was only \$13,768 (page 494); and on every railroad bill he voted steadily and uniformly for corporate interests against the interests of the people and the Commonwealth. But Gen. Cardwell-Wickham was frequently absent, or not voting, and in many cases the *Journal* gives no recorded vote. Taking up his record, however, in the extra session of 1887, we find him voting as follows:

He voted *against* instructing the joint committee, to confer with the bondholders on the State Debt, to make the Riddleberger Bill the basis of any settlement (page 88),—although he was the author of the notorious joint resolution adopted in 1883-4 by the Legislature making solemn pledge and proclamation that Virginia would *never* recede from the Riddleberger readjustment! He moved and voted *against* interfering in any way with existing contracts for convict labor (page 248); he voted, solitary and alone, *against* requiring the Governor to annul the contract with the South Atlantic & Ohio R. R. Co. for the hire of convicts (page 267); he voted for the acceptance, adoption, publication and distribution of the new Code, at heavy cost to the people, before it was completed, and without allowing it to be fully examined and discussed by the representatives of the people (pages 277, &c.); he voted *against* requiring certain railroad corporations to pay in money the taxes assessed against them (page 279) &c., &c.

Gen. Cardwell-Wickham introduced and engineered in the Senate (regular session, 1885-6) the bill to pay \$38,000 to the Kendall Bank Note Co. (page 18); he proposed to amend the assessment bill so as to provide that the roadway and track of any Railroad Co. *shall not be valued at more than \$7,500 per mile* (page 506); he introduced a resolution to authorize the employment of Judge W. R. Staples as “an associate of the Attorney-General” in the coupon cases (page 160); and it is also charged against the said Gen. Cardwell-Wickham that under the bill confining the lease of the Chesapeake & Ohio R. R. to the Newport News & Mississippi Valley R. R. Co., and the bills relating to process against railroad companies and other corporations, it is held that no suit can be maintained in the courts of this State to recover damages against the said N. N. & M. V. Co. for any loss of life, limb, &c., occurring on the said C. & O. line.

However that may be, the performances of Gen. Cardwell-Wickham *alias* Mr. Wickham-Cardwell appear in a stronger light on the floor of the House of Delegates, and at the last regular session of the House Mr. Wickham-Cardwell is on record as follows:

He voted *against* Mr. Franklin’s resolution to repeal the Anderson-McCormick Bill and restore free suffrage (page 105); he voted *against* the resolution to publish the names of persons

tendering coupons in payment of taxes (page 143); he voted *against* the House joint resolution No. 2 for the relief of the tax-payers of this Commonwealth (page 157); he voted *against* the motion to print the communication of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, showing that the average cost per scholar for free books is only 83 cents, whereas the Democratic committee reported this cost at \$2.74 (page 198); he voted *against* the provision that only lands delinquent since January 1, 1875, shall be sold for taxes, and to release all taxes delinquent to that date (page 231); he voted *against* the resolution to release all delinquent taxes prior to January 1, 1880 (page 267); he voted *against* a board of railroad commissioners, one of whom was to be selected from each political party (page 302); he voted *against* electing railroad commissioners by the people (page 310); he voted *against* the Acker resolution to restore Readjustment to what it was in 1883, when the Democrats "acquiesced" in it, and promised not to interfere with it (page 327); he voted *against* the bill "to increase the usefulness of the department of agriculture, mining and manufacturing" (pages 399, 400 and 456); he voted *for* ousting county school superintendents from their lawful terms to put in his own partizans (page 440); he voted *against* the bill to provide free books for free schools and for the Figgatt substitute (page 466); he voted *against* the Waddill amendment to secure honest registrations (page 483); he voted *for* a costly special court of appeals, at the expense of the people, to create soft places for five Democratic partizans (page 502); he voted *against* the resolution to print the report of the Democratic committee that investigated the scandalous maladministration of the affairs of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum under Democratic management—thereby seeking to keep that information, so damaging to his party, from the people (page 528); he voted *for* big fees to lawyers employed to do what the Attorney-General and the Commonwealth's Attorney should have done (pages 551-2, &c.); he voted *to dismiss* the bill to prohibit members of the General Assembly, Judges, &c., from using railroad passes and complimentary tickets (page 565); he voted *against* discharging the finance committee from the further consideration of the bill to reduce taxes, so that the bill might be acted upon (page 571); &c.

At the extra session of this year (see *Journal*) Gen. Cardwell-Wickham *alias* Mr. Wickham-Cardwell voted as the following references will show:

He voted *against* withdrawing the bill to appropriate \$70,000 to disabled ex-Confederates from committee and placing it on the calendar for immediate action (page 42); he voted *against* repealing the Anderson-McCormick ballot-killer bill and restoring free suffrage to the people (page 43); he voted *against* providing by law some compensation for the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers who died or were killed during the late war (page 43); he voted *against* a committee to investigate the Democratic mismanagement of the Agricultural & Mechanical College (page 44); he voted *against* instructing the report of a bill to provide free books for free schools (page 51); he voted *against* a committee from both parties to prepare an impartial election-law (page 53); he voted *against* instructing the joint committee to confer with the bondholders to make the Riddleberger Bill the basis of any agreement (page 92); he voted *to postpone* the bill to appropriate \$72,000 to disabled ex-Confederates (page 243); he voted to adopt and print the new Code, before its completion, at great cost to the people, without allowing it to be duly examined and discussed (page 249); he voted *for* the bill to give \$38,000 of the people's money to the swindling Kendall Bank Note Co., when the sum actually paid the American Bank Note Co., for engraving and printing the Riddleberger bonds was only \$13,768 (page 255); he voted *against* the bill to require railroad companies chartered by and doing business in this State to establish and maintain their principal offices in this State (page 268), &c., &c.

And now, if Gen. Cardwell-Wickham *alias* Mr. Wickham-Cardwell, can cite a vote of his which was not in favor of corporate power and interest; or if he can show cause why the people of Hanover should not have *two* representatives in the Legislature instead of him alone; or if he can give a reason why Democrats should send him (a so-called Republican) both to the House and Senate;—he will be much smarter than he is supposed to be, and he will demonstrate how a bad record is all that voters require to win and hold their confidence and favor.

THE CROWNING ACT.

It was reserved to the last hour of the last day of the extra session [1887] for Mr. Wickham-Cardwell to show his

INDIFFERENCE TO THE RIGHTS
of his fellow citizens, and

HIS CONTEMPT FOR THE LAW AND THE CONSTITUTION.

It had been announced from the chair by Mr. Speaker Stuart on Monday, 23d October, 1887, that no more legislative business would be transacted after the adjournment of the House on that day, and the House adjourned to Tuesday at 11 o'clock A. M. The effect of this notice was to disperse the members of the House to their homes. The House met at 11 A. M. on Tuesday, Mr. Stuart in chair—and a recess was ordered until a quarter to 12 M. There were *fifteen members only* present, when the chair was resumed by Mr. Wickham-Cardwell, and, as Speaker of the House, permitted Mr. Stuart, the regular speaker to call up a senate bill out of its order on the calendar and pass it in the absence of the delegates, whose constituents were to be affected by the bill and known to be in opposition to it. No man knew better than Mr. Wickham-Cardwell that the constitution forbade any *legislation* without the presence of a quorum—*fifty-one members*—for he was the occupant of the chair very many times in the absence of Mr. Stuart.

No one knew better than Mr. Wickham-Cardwell that the appropriation of money from the State treasury was expressly forbidden by the constitution except by the vote of a quorum [51 members] recorded in the Journal;—and yet he, being the then presiding officer, allowed the appropriation of a large sum, in the absence of such required quorum, and without a recorded vote.

READ FROM THE JOURNAL.

Thereupon, Speaker Stuart, who was still on the floor, offered the following resolution :

“Resolved, that the clerk of the House be directed to issue his warrant on the auditor of public accounts to the assistant clerk, the committee clerks, the enrolling clerks, the sergeant-at-arms, and the door-keepers for fifty dollars each, and to the pages and janitor for twenty-five dollars each, extra compensation for this extra session.”

“Mr. Hay moved to amend by striking out “fifty dollars” and inserting “twenty-five dollars,” which motion was rejected, and *the resolution was agreed to.*”

AND THIS IN FACE OF THE FACT THAT
the resolution giving the clerks, &c., \$50 each, and the pages

and janitor \$25 each, "extra compensation for this extra session," was introduced in a full house by Mr. Figgatt a few days before the end of the session, and after some vigorous speeches against its adoption, the resolution was defeated almost unanimously.— [See Col. Fulkerson's letter to Southwest Examiner.]

What a record has Mr. Wickham-Cardwell.

PEOPLE OF HANOVER,

will you elect such men to the Legislature as

Gen. CARDWELL-WICKHAM,

AND

Mr. WICKHAM-CARDWELL?

LEAVE THEM BOTH AT HOME.

PEOPLE — OF — MADISON AND GREENE.

WILL YOU CHOOSE
HAY, the Lawyer,
To Represent You Again.

Mr. Hay is known to you all for his intense partizanship. There is no need to supply any testimony on this point; but we will give a few specimens of his votes in the last Legislature that you may see how he legislated for the interests of the *people* of his County or State.

READ HIS RECORD

and

LEAVE HIM AT HOME.

This distinguished legislator

DENIES LIGHT TO THE PEOPLE.

He voted *against* the Waddill resolution to print the report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, made by order of the House, which showed that

THE AVERAGE COST TO THE STATE
of *free* books furnished to the indigent children in the Public Free Schools was

ONLY 70.14 CENTS PER SCHOLAR.

Whereas the Democratic committee for Schools and Colleges reported the estimated expense of furnishing *free* books to the free schools at a

COST OF \$2.74 PER SCHOLAR.

Why keep the information from the people? The *Report of the Committee* was printed, why was the Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction suppressed?

There can be only one answer, and that is, to cover, as much as

possible, the failure of the Democratic party to fulfil its pledge to the people of

FREE BOOKS TO THE PUBLIC FREE SCHOOLS
[Journal H. of D. 198].

THE PEOPLE MUST NOT KNOW EVERYTHING.

He voted *against* printing the report of the Democratic committee that investigated the

SCANDALOUS MAL-ADMINISTRATION

of the affairs of the *Eastern Lunatic Asylum* under Democratic management—thereby seeking to keep the information, so damaging to his party, from the people [528].

He voted *against*

INVESTIGATING THE CROOKED AFFAIRS

of the *Agricultural and Mechanical College* under Democratic management [Extra Session 1887, p. 44], although the Committee for Schools and Colleges asked for a special committee to visit the College and “report to the Legislature the condition and management of said College.”

He objected to the

PEOPLE BEING INFORMED

of the daily proceedings of the *Debt Commission* [Extra Session 1887, p. 158]; but he voted [159] for a stenographer, at heavy cost to the State, to the commission.

[Toward the close of this Extra Session fifteen thousand copies of these proceedings were ordered to be printed [333]. Why were they never distributed? Where are they? Rumor says they were divided between the President of the Senate and the speaker of the House—Wherefore?]

The legislator was

UNMINDFUL OF THE POOR TAX-PAYERS,

and voted *against* discharging the finance committee from the further consideration of the bill to

REDUCE TAXES

so that the House might promptly act upon it [Regular Session 571]. The bill was never after heard from.

Mr. Hay is

A PROMISING YOUNG MAN

before election day, but he has proved a

POOR PERFORMER OF HIS PLEDGES.

At the Democratic convention in 1885 that party pleged itself to the furnishing of *free books* to the pupils of the free schools.

Have we FREE BOOKS? Why not?

The record of Mr. Hay is the record of his party—READ IT—AND THEN SAY if Mr. Hay—if his party, of which he is a blind follower—

FULFILLED, OR VIOLATED HIS PLEDGE?

House Bill 275, provided for the introduction of *free* text books in the public free schools in Virginia, the Democratic House by

a party vote [Mr. Hay absent] adopted the Figgatt substitute, which proposed to supply the books '*At Cost*'; and by a like vote, [Mr. Hay still absent] the Democratic House rejected Mr. Franklin's amendment that the books be provided "AT HALF the original price" [476]; on the passage of the bill, as amended by the Figgatt substitute, Mr. Hay—voted no! [501].

Mr. Hay's record is *against* supplying *books* to the free schools upon *any terms*.

WHAT ARE PRE-ELECTION pledges to a *Democrat*?

At Lynchburg, in convention assembled, the Democrats *pledged their faith to stand by the Riddleberger settlement*, and by reason thereof they obtained the Legislature, among whose early acts was to destroy the vitality of the Riddleberger bill, and when an effort was made to recover the lost ground, Mr. Hay with his party voted *against* instructions to the special committee on the State Debt to

RESTORE READJUSTMENT

to the condition in which his party had found it in 1883, when it was a complete success, and had the endorsement of the Supreme Court of the United States [327]. He voted to refer the matter to the Committee for Courts of Justice, of which Mr. Hay was a member, and it was smothered there as was intended.

Such is a *glimpse* at Mr. Hay's record at the regular session of 1885-6; a *glance* at the journal of the extra session, 1887, shows that

A FAIR VOTE AND AN HONEST COUNT

have no charms for your legislator. He voted *against* instructions to the Committee of Privileges and Elections to bring in a bill to secure an honest ballot and a fair count [43].

RECKLESS OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY,

he voted for the adoption and publication of a new code of laws, which was not to go into effect until July, 1888, more than a year thereafter, without allowing it to be discussed or amended and when he knew that it was subject to alteration by a legislature which he also knew was obliged to intervene before the code could go in to effect [289]; he voted for paying the Kendall Bank Note Company \$38,000 [255] in face of the Auditor's report that the work had been done by the American Bank Note Company for \$13,768 [305].

WAGE-EARNERS, LISTEN.

For years you had protested *against* the employment of convicts in the penitentiary on work to be *brought in competition* with the *skilled labor of the honest workmen*. In response to their objections, a bill was introduced in the House, "to prevent the Governor, board of directors, or superintendent of the penitentiary, from hiring convicts to engage in the manufacture of products where machinery is used." The bill was rejected by the vote of Mr. Hay [243]. Yeas 26, nays 27.

THE CROWNING GLORY

in the legislative chaplet of Mr. Hay is yet to come, in which is displayed his

DISREGARD TO THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS
and his contempt for the
LAW AND THE CONSTITUTION.

On the 23d of May, both Houses agreed to adjourn *sine die* on the next day [24th], and the Speaker of the House announced from the chair that no bill after that day [the 23d] could possibly be enrolled and examined and signed by the Governor. Then, on the motion of Mr. Hay, the House adjourned until 11 o'clock A. M. of the 24th.

The *legislative* session was thus *virtually* ended. On the 24th [the last day] the House met at 11 A. M., all of the members of the House had left for their homes save fifteen, ONE OF WHOM was Mr. Hay. The chair was vacated until a quarter to twelve, the hour for *final* adjournment. When the chair was resumed [Mr. Cardwell in the chair] the speaker of the House [Mr. Stuart] moved the other fourteen members to take up, out of its order Senate Bill, No. 373, to legalize certain subscriptions by the town of Goodson to the South Atlantic and Ohio Railroad Company. The motion was agreed to and the bill was passed, *in disregard to the rights of the people of Goodson*, whose representatives were absent, and of the *Constitution* which forbids the ~~transaction~~ of any business by either House, in the absence of a *quorum, save to adjourn*. Fifty-one is a *quorum* in the House.

Immediately upon the passage of this bill, Mr. Speaker Stuart [who was still on the floor and Mr. Cardwell in the Chair] offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the clerk of the House be directed to issue his warrant on the Auditor of Public Accounts to the assistant clerk, the committee clerks, the enrolling clerks, the sergeant-at-arms, and the door-keepers for fifty dollars each, and to the pages and janitors for twenty-five dollars each, extra compensation for this extra session."

Mr. Hay moved to amend by striking out "fifty dollars" and inserting "twenty-five dollars," which motion was rejected, and the *resolution was agreed to*, although such "extra compensation for this extra session" was introduced a few days before, in a full house, by Mr. Figgatt, and after some vigorous speeches against its adoption, the resolution was defeated almost unanimously.

ALL OF WHICH IS IN THE VERY TEETH OF THE
CONSTITUTION,

which requires every appropriation of money from the treasury to be made upon a vote of a majority of the members elected [51] recorded by *yeas and nays* in the Journal.

What do you, MEN OF MADISON AND GREENE, say to returning a man who thus lends his vote to ROB A VIRGINIA CONSTITUENCY OF THEIR RIGHTS, and, by a deliberate act, VIOLATES THE CONSTITUTION of his State, which HE HAD SWORN to maintain?

LEAVE HIM AT HOME.

Alexandria City and County.

WHOM WILL YE CHOOSE?

STUART,
— OR —
CORBETT ?

SPEAK OUT,
YE ALEXANDRIANS,
— AND —

Vote for CORBETT!

Judge Stuart has held a seat in the House of Delegates for several years, and for two terms he was the Speaker.

With an overwhelming party following at his back, with the overshadowing and controlling influence of his position, what has he done to

ADVANCE THE INTERESTS

of his constituents?

READ AND JUDGE.

He was true to his party. In the chair or on the floor—he never omitted a chance to evince a

BITTER PARTIZANSHIP

in the wholesale removal of judges, school and college boards, the ejection of legally elected members of his body, and the substitution of men who had been snowed under by their constituencies, the securement of machinery to suppress the popular voice AT THE POLLS, &c., &c.

EVERYTHING FOR PARTY,
but
HOW MUCH FOR HIS PEOPLE?
READ HIS RECORD—JUDGE HIM BY HIS WORKS,
and
LEAVE HIM AT HOME.

He voted *against* Mr. Franklin's resolution to *instruct* the Committee on Privileges and Elections to report a bill to repeal the Anderson-McCormick bill, and restore free suffrage [H. J., Session 1885-6. p. 105]. He voted for a resolution, the effect of which was, to expose to public obloquy those persons who in the exercise of their legal rights had paid their taxes in coupons [143].

Judge Stuart *denies*

LIGHT TO THE PEOPLE.

He voted *against* the motion to print the communication of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, showing that the

AVERAGE COST FOR FREE BOOKS
furnished to indigent children was only
70.14 CENTS,

whereas the Democratic committee estimated the expense of furnishing free books to the free schools at a cost of \$2.74 per head [page 198], and voted its reference to the Committee of Schools and Colleges to die as it did—committing the lamb to the wolf.

WHY KEEP THIS FROM THE PEOPLE?

The report of the committee was printed. Why not print the report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, if not to cover the failure of a Democratic Legislature to fulfil the pledges of its party for free books to the public free schools?

THE PEOPLE MUST NOT KNOW EVERYTHING.

He voted *against* printing the report of the Democratic committee that investigated the

SCANDALOUS MAL-ADMINISTRATION

of the affairs of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum under Democratic management, thereby seeking to keep that information so damaging to his party from the people [528].

He voted *against* investigating the crooked affairs of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, under Democratic management [Extra Session 1887, p. 44]. This investigation was asked for by the House Committee for Schools and Colleges.

He objected to the people being informed of the daily proceedings of the Debt Commission [Extra Session, 157-8], but he voted to incur the expense of a stenographer to the Commission.

[Where are these proceedings which were subsequently printed? Why did not Mr. Stuart distribute copies among the people?

FIFTEEN THOUSAND

extra copies of the report of the partisan Debt Commission were ordered to be printed [333] by his vote—first ruling, as Speaker, that it did not require a Constitutional vote to make the appropriation, and this in face of the fact that the Senate had voted for an extraordinary number of copies of said report.

Will he explain to the people, why, after the Session adjourned, most of these documents were shipped to him at Alexandria? Can he deny that by his vote and action he deliberately took the people's money to print campaign documents for Mr. Barbour's campaign?

Will he explain to the people, how he, as a conscientious man, failed to appoint a single Republican on the important Committee to confer with the English bondholders, and on the Committee of Courts of Justice and the Committee to revise the Code only one Republican to thirteen Democrats were appointed?

CONVICT LABOR.

The act approved March 6, 1886, commonly known as the *VanDoren Bill*, had for its alleged object the abolition of convict skilled labor. A motion was made and agreed to, that the

Superintendent of the Penitentiary should report how far the said law had proved a success. The Superintendent made his report that this *great Democratic* measure was a FAILURE; and the House refused to print 1000 copies of the report. Mr. Speaker Stuart voted *no* [extra session 110]. *He always objects to light for the people.*

Mr. Stuart's record shows that he is

NO FRIEND TO THE POOR TAX PAYERS.

He voted *against* the amendment of Mr. Mayo to the bill for the sale of lands for delinquent taxes; which provided that "all delinquent taxes and levies due the State or counties down to January 1, 1880, are hereby forever remitted," [session 1885-6 p. 231] but he could vote

BIG FEES TO HIS BROTHER LAWYERS

employed to do what the Attorney General and the Commonwealth's Attorney should have done [session 1885-6 p. 551-2].

He was

OPPOSED TO REDUCTION OF TAXES.

He voted *against* discharging the finance committee from the further consideration of the bill to reduce taxes, so that bill might be acted upon [session 1885-6 p. 571].

HE COULD NOT TRUST THE PEOPLE

and voted *against* a board of railroad commissioners, one of whom was to be selected from each political party [session 1885-6 p. 301-2]; and *against* electing railroad commissioners by the people [session 1885-6 p. 310], he voted *against* the Acker resolution to restore Readjustment to what it was in 1883; when the Democrats acquiesced in it, and promised not to interfere with it [327]; he voted for *ousting* county school superintendents from their lawful terms to put in his own partizans [session 1885-6, p. 440].

NO FREE BOOKS FOR PUBLIC FREE SCHOOLS.

He voted *against* the bill to provide *free books for free schools*, and for the Figgatt substitute, to provide books *at cost* [466-501]. He voted *against* the Waddill amendment to secure honest reg-

istration [session 1885-6 483]; he voted for a costly special Court of Appeals,

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PEOPLE,

to create soft places for five Democratic partizans. [Session 1885-6, 502].

WHAT ARE PARTY PLEDGES TO HIM?

The Democratic party at Lynchburg swore to stand by the Riddleberger settlement. The first Legislature thereafter [Democratic] destroyed its vitality, and when the effort was made to recover the lost ground, he voted against instructions for bills to

RESTORE READJUSTMENT

to the condition in which his party friends found it in 1883, when it was a complete success and had the endorsement of the Supreme Court of the U. S. [327—session 1885-6]. *This was to kill the resolution.*

Our distinguished legislator loves a

FREE RIDE ON THE RAILROAD.

He voted to dismiss the bill prohibiting legislators from using *free* passes and complimentary tickets on railroads [565-6] at the Regular Session, 1885-6.

A FAIR VOTE AND HONEST COUNT

has no charms for our legislator. He voted *against* instructions to the committee of privileges and elections to bring in a bill to secure an honest ballot and fair count [extra session 1887 43] and voted for *reference*, to kill the resolution.

HE VOTES ONE WAY—ACTS ANOTHER.

He voted that it was the unalterable purpose of the House to stand by the Riddleberger settlement [134] and yet as a member of the joint committee to meet the commission of the foreign bond holders, never presented that settlement to the joint commission for their consideration.

He VOTED to stand by, and

THAT'S ALL.

HE VOTED, BUT DID NOT STAND.

RECKLESS OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY.

He voted for the adoption and publication of a new Code, before it was completed, and without allowing it to be discussed, nor an amendment to be offered—and when he knew another legislature would intervene before it could go into effect [289]; for paying to the Kendall Bank Note Company \$38,000 [255] in the face of the Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts, that the work had been done by the American Bank Note Company for \$13,768.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR, HEARKEN.

For years the convicts in the Penitentiary have been hired out to contractors to work in the manufacture of products where machinery is used. The laboring men have always objected to *free* skilled labor being brought in competition with *convict* skilled labor. To meet their wishes House Bill No. 261 was introduced to PREVENT the Governor, Board of Directors, or Superintendent of the Penitentiary from hiring convicts to engage in manufacture of products where machinery is used. This bill was rejected. Mr. Stuart *voting for its rejection* [243, Extra Session 1887].

He exhibits a

CURIOSUS INTEREST

in other people's affairs. He introduced and engineered a bill to declare certain stock issued by the Richmond & West Point Terminal Railway and Warehouse Company to be legal and valid. [Extra Session, 23.] On the 22nd March, Mr. Lovenstein informed the House that the Senate had passed Senate bill to declare certain stock issued by the Richmond and West Point Terminal Railway and Warehouse Company to be legal and valid. Immediately Mr. Stuart moved to postpone the calendar for two minutes, which was agreed to; and the rule having been suspended, on motion of Mr. Stuart, the rule requiring its reference to a committee was suspended, and the bill was read twice and placed on the calendar. The House resumed the business on the calendar. The bill was read a third time and passed [Extra session, 48], and then the House adjourned.

Thus, in the last moments of the day's session, Mr. Stuart left his seat and rushed through a bill to legalize the addition of *forty millions* to the capital stock of a railway stock jobbing

association, of the validity of which the Company itself was doubtful.

Richmond had *four* delegates on the floor. Why Mr. Stuart should so interest himself in a matter which in no wise concerned his constituents, can only be left to the conjecture which inevitably arises upon the most casual glance at his record.

Mr. Stuart, however,

LOVES LAST HOURS OF LAST DAYS
of a session,
IGNORES HIS OATH OF OFFICE
and
VIOLATES THE CONSTITUTION.

The Constitution forbids the transaction of any business without a QUORUM, which in the House is FIFTY-ONE.

On Tuesday, May 24, after Mr. Stuart had given notice on the day before [the 23rd] that no further business after that day would be transacted, and the members of the House had generally dispersed, and only fifteen persons were present, Mr. Stuart left the chair, and upon his motion Senate bill to legalize certain subscriptions of the Town of Goodson, Virginia, to the South Atlantic and Ohio Railroad Company, was taken up out of its order on the calendar, was read a third time and passed, in the absence of the members from Washington county, one of whom, Col. Fulkerson, was a citizen of Goodson and was opposed to the passage of the bill.

INSATIATE ARCHER, WILL NOT ONE SUFFICE?

Mr. Speaker was not satisfied with this *one* outrage upon the Constitution, but he must have

ANOTHER SHOT

at the sacred instrument.

The Constitution provides there shall be no appropriation of money out of the treasury except by the vote of a quorum [51 votes] upon a recorded vote of *yeas* and *nays*.

Mr. Speaker Stuart offered a resolution that the clerk issue his warrant on the auditor of Public Accounts to the assistant clerk, the sergeant at arms and the door keepers, for fifty dollars

each, and to the pages and janitor twenty-five dollars' extra compensation for the extra session ; although 'extra compensation for this extra session,' was introduced in a full house by Mr. Figgatt a few days before the end of the session, and after some vigorous speeches against the adoption, the resolution was defeated almost unanimously."

Mr. Hay moved to strike out "fifty dollars" and insert twenty-five dollars, which motion was rejected.

The resolution was agreed to, and this was the *last legislative* action of the session and *CLOSED*, as it is to be hoped, Mr.

SPEAKER'S LEGISLATIVE CAREER.

The names of these VIOLATORS *against the constitution*, and RAIDERS upon the State Treasury are given by Col. Fulkerson—as follows : "Those present in the House were delegates Carter, Dunlop, Starke, and Patton of Richmond, Cardwell, Hogue, Peters, Fentress, Hay, Taliaferro, Ryan, Chalmers, Porter, Echols, and Speaker Stuart"—All Democrats—*Law Loving—Law Abiding Democrats.* [Eh?]

[See Journal, p. 342 and Col. Fulkerson's letter exposing Mr. Stuart and his fourteen co-adjudors.]

VOTE FOR CORBETT.

AUGUSTA COUNTY CONTEST

LEGISLATIVE RECORD

— OF —

HON. EDWARD ECHOLS.

READ AND SAY,

PEOPLE OF AUGUSTA,

Will you have him to represent you again in the
Legislature?

NO !

Mr. Echols is an old stager in the House of Delegates—for years he has represented Augusta and

WHAT HAS HE DONE

that her people should return him again to the Legislature?

REFLECT, GOOD PEOPLE

and judge for yourselves, of what benefit he has been to his COUNTY or to his STATE. He has undoubtedly exhibited the most bitter partizanship, turning out judges, school, college, asylum and other Elymosynary Boards—for *party purposes alone* ; placing the whole election machinery in the hands of his party

helpers, thus enabling unscrupulous men to *suppress* the voice of the people as *expressed* at the polls, by stuffed ballot boxes and false counts. He was

ALL FOR HIS PARTY
but,

HOW MUCH FOR THE PEOPLE?

Let his RECORD show.

JUDGE HIM BY HIS WORKS

and

LEAVE HIM AT HOME.

He voted *against* Franklin's resolution to repeal the infamous Anderson-McCormick bill, and restore a free suffrage, an honest ballot and a fair count [H. J. 1885-6, p. 105].

HE DENIES LIGHT TO THE PEOPLE.

He voted *against* printing the report of the Democratic committee that investigated the

SCANDALOUS MAL-ADMINISTRATION

of the affairs of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum under Democratic management, thereby seeking to keep that information so damaging to his party from the people [528].

He voted *against* the people being informed of the daily proceedings of the Debt Commission [158], but he voted to incur the expense of a stenographer to the Commission [Extra Session 1887].

[About the close of the Session fifteen thousand copies of these proceedings were ordered to be printed. Why were they not distributed? Where are they? Common report says they were divided between Lieutenant-Governor Massey and Speaker Stuart. Wherefore?]

He voted *against* the people being informed as to the report of the Superintendent of the Penitentiary on the operation of the Van Doren act, the pet Democratic scheme, to remove the competition of

CONVICT LABOR

with skilled labor of honest workmen [110, Extra Session, 1887]. Why?

BECAUSE IT WAS A FAILURE.

Mr. Echol's record does not show

MUCH REGARD FOR THE POOR TAX PAYER.

He voted *against* the amendment of Mr. Mayo to the bill for the sale of lands delinquent for taxes, which provided—"All delinquent taxes and levies due the State or counties down to January 1, 1880, are hereby forever remitted." [Session 1885-6, p. 231].

He was opposed to the reduction of taxes. He voted *against* discharging the Finance Committee from the further consideration of the bill to reduce taxes, so that the bill might be promptly acted on [501].

He voted *against* House joint resolution No. 2, for the relief of the tax-payers of this Commonwealth [157]; but he could vote

BIG FEES TO BROTHER LAWYERS,

employed to do what the Attorney-General and Commonwealth's Attorney should have done [498-551]. He

COULD NOT TRUST THE PEOPLE,

and voted *against* the Waddill amendment to the bill to substitute a board of railroad commissioners for the present railroad commissioner of the State, which provided that one of the commissioners should be elected from each political party [302].

Mr. Echols, with his party, is

A GOOD PROMISER,

but when brought to the test is a

A PROMISER, NOT A DOER.

He *promised* at Lynchburg, in 1883, to stand by and carry out the Riddleberger settlement *intact*, but when he was called on to *vote*, in 1886, for the Acker resolution, which was to instruct the *Special Committee on the State Debt* to report a bill to

RESTORE READJUSTMENT

to the condition in which his party friends found it in 1883, when it was a complete success, and had the endorsement of the Supreme Court of the United States [327]. He, Mr. Echols, and fifty other Democrats, voted to send the resolution to the Committee for *Courts of Justice*, of which he was a member, where it died, as was intended.

WHAT ARE ANTE-ELECTION PLEDGES

to Mr. Echols and his party?

As late down as 1885, the Democrats declared—"We favor the furnishing of *free* books to the pupils of the free schools." From that date down the Legislature has been almost in continuous session, with a preponderating Democratic majority. WHERE ARE THE FREE BOOKS, Mr. Echols? Did you

FULFIL OR FALSIFY

your pledge? The Journal of the House of Delegates records you as voting *against* House Bill No. 275, to provide for the introduction of *free text books* in the public free schools of Virginia, and voting for Figgatt's substitute, to supply the books *at cost* [446-476].

Good, Mr. Echols. Is "AT COST" the fulfilment of your pledge for "FREE books."

Mr. Echols strung himself up to

"AT COST" FOR THE TEXT BOOKS,

but his soul was not filled with

so much love for the poor children

as to let them have the books

AT "HALF COST".

See his vote *against* Franklin's amendment to furnish the books at "half the original contract price!" [pp. 476-7].

THIS IS NOT ALL

of Mr. Echol's *legislative record* on the "free books" question.

FATHERS AND MOTHERS OF AUGUSTA,

turn to the Journal of the House of Delegates, and you will find that your late distinguished legislator voted *against* supplying any text books to the free schools

AT ANY PRICE.

House Bill No. 275, *free books*, was amended by Figgatt's substitute for books *at cost*, and when the question came up on the engrossment and third reading of the bill, Mr. Echols voted NO! [491] and he voted

ON THE PASSAGE OF THE BILL, NO! [p. 501].

THIS IS HIS NO BOOKS record, as against his *party pledges* for "FREE BOOKS."

NO FREE BOOKS FOR THE SCHOOL CHILDREN,

Mr. Echols, but *a free ride on the Railroad* for the legislator.

He voted to *dismiss* the bill prohibiting members of the Legislature from using *railroad passes* and complimentary tickets. [564-5-6]

EXTRA SESSION 1887.

Mr. Echols

SCORNS A FAIR VOTE AND AN HONEST COUNT.

Fair play is no *jewel* with him. He voted *against* instructions to the committee of privileges and elections to bring in a bill to secure an honest ballot and a fair count. [43]

Our legislator is

RUTHLESS OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY.

He voted for the adoption and publication of a New Code, before it was completed, and without allowing it to be discussed, and when he well knew that another Legislature must intervene before it could go into effect [289].

But why pursue the record of Mr. Echols farther?—Let us come to

THE CROWNING ACT

of his Legislative career, in which he

DISREGARDS THE RIGHTS OF A VIRGINIA CONSTITUENCY, AND DEFIES THE CONSTITUTION.

On the *last* day of the *extra session* [1887] *fifteen* members only of the House, [himself included] thirty-six less than a quorum, undertook to pass a bill affecting the rights and interests of a constituency, not of either of them, in the absence of the delegates elected to defend its rights, which were attempted to be invaded by that bill, and in defiance of the command of the constitution that "a majority of the members elected to each house shall constitute a quorum to do business" [342]

WAS NOT THIS ENOUGH?

seems not, but the aforesaid *fifteen* legislators, sworn to maintain and defend the constitution of the State

MUST TAKE ANOTHER SHOT

and they undertook to make appropriations of the public money in the treasury, as an extra allowance, to officers of the house, over and above their legal pay—when the law is that no appropriation of money can be so made save upon a recorded vote of Ayes and Nays, entered in the Journal, fifty-one members voting *yea*. [See page 342 of Journal House Delegates, 1887, and Col. Fulkerson's letter.]

Commenting on these remarkable performances as set for in detail by Col. Fulkerson, the *Valley Virginian*, published in Mr. Echols own city, remarks :

"The evidence of Mr. Echols' participating in this extraordinary legislation, does not rest solely upon the fact that he was reported as present by a newspaper writer. Directly after the extra appropriation of money had been made, Mr. Echols was appointed as one of a committee of three to wait upon the Governor and notify him that the Legislature was ready to adjourn, thus showing that he was present during the day.

Again some of his friends are now trying to say that this extra compensation was nothing more than usual, and that a good deal of fuss is being made about a little thing, as only between \$500 and \$1,000 was thus given away. It was not the amount involved. It was the absence of the right to make the appropriation at all. The Legislature had *voted down* the proposition but a day or two before—voted it down almost unanimously, when a full house was present. And after it had thus been disposed of, fifteen members, in the absence of their colleagues, had no more right to make the donation than they had to put their hands in the public treasury and take out \$1,000 each for their individual uses.

To our mind there can be no justification for such action. The columns of the *Virginian* are open to Mr. Echols for any explanation he may see proper to give. Let him avail himself of the offer, if we have done him the slightest injustice."

LEAVE MR. ECHOLS AT HOME.

The Amherst County Contest.

RECORD

— OF A —

LOVING LEGISLATOR.

VOTE TO

LEAVE HIM AT HOME.

Mr. Wm. A. Loving again presents himself for the suffrage of the people of Amherst—upon what substantial grounds is not discoverable from his legislative record unless it be for the fence law he advocated; and the removal of the dams in James river, which he resisted to his utmost ability—how effectually is illustrated by the fact that upon the passage of the bill he could only muster Miller of Powhatan and Powell of Fluvanna to join him in the call for the yeas and nays [Extra Session].

Let him

TARRY AT JERICHO

until his beard grows.

What is in his record—or the record of his party that so should commend him to the confidence of the people of Amherst? Let the Journals of the House of Delegates speak for him—it tells you in tones notmistakable that you should

LEAVE HIM AT HOME

and vote for a man of the people—a good solid farmer as

WE ARE TIRED OF LAWYERS.

We want a good—settled—substantial *man*—of the farmer class—who knows what the people want—and who will have weight enough, at least in his own party, to gather more than two to his aid in a call for the yeas and nays.

If the Loving legislator was a little

TOO SHORT

to originate and perfect a great measure, he was

SOME ON VOTING

when he was present at the roll call.

Among his votes we record the following as specimen chips.

FAIR PLAY—NOT A JEWEL WITH HIM.

He voted *against* a resolution of instruction to the committee of Privileges and Elections to bring in a bill to repeal the infamous Electoral Bill, commonly known as the Anderson McCormick Bill ; and thus restore the law as it existed aforetime, and save the wasteful expenditure of thousands of dollars of the people's money, and secure a fair and honest count at elections. [Journal 1885-6, p. 105]. The resolution was killed by reference, *without instructions*, by a strict party vote, to the committee.

NO FRIEND TO THE DELINQUENT TAX-PAYER.

Our Loving legislator voted *against* the bill to *release* lands delinquent for non-payment of taxes previous to 1875 [142]. The bill was rejected.

He voted *against* a joint resolution for the *relief* of the *tax payers* of the Commonwealth [157].

He voted *against* releasing all delinquent taxes and levies due the State or counties down to January 1, 1880 [231].

NO POOR TRASH FOR HIM.

He voted *against* the bill to extend and enlarge the property exempt from distress [188].

HE REFUSES LIGHT TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

He voted *against* printing 1000 copies of the Superintendent of Public Instruction's answer to a resolution of the House, calling on him in reference to *free books* for free schools [198], and the resolution was referred to a committee to die, as it did.

☞ [The Committee on Schools and Colleges reported the cost *per capita* for free school books to be \$2.70—equal to \$819,016.10. The Superintendent of Public Instruction reported the cost of the books already supplied at public expense, 70.14 cents per head, or \$251,774.69.]

CAN'T TRUST SUPERVISORS, ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE, BUT
PREFERS A PARTIZAN JUDGE.

House bill No. 8 provided for the appointment of county surveyors and overseers by the county judge every fourth year, upon the recommendation of the Board of Supervisors, "provided that the judge may, if he think proper, reject such recommendation, and fill said offices by his own appointment;" he voted *against* striking out these words, and thereby, practically, he placed the appointing power in the hands of the county judge [147].

Mr. Loving was in for

THE WHOLE HOG OR NOTHING.

He voted *against* the filling of vacancies in the county board of school commissioners by the board of supervisors, and placed the power of appointment in the hands of the county judge [148].

HE DODGES

when called on to fulfil his *party* pledges to provide FREE BOOKS to the children of the public schools. On the vote to instruct the committee on schools and colleges to bring in a bill to provide free books for free schools as pledged by both parties, our Loving legislator was *conspicuously absent* [204],

BUT COMES TO TAW

to vote *against* House Bill, as offered originally, to *provide free books* for free schools, and redeemed his promise by voting for Figgatt's substitute [466] to provide books

AT COST,

and again, at the Extra Session, he voted *against* instructing the committee on schools to report a bill to provide FREE BOOKS [51], and the resolution went to a committee to die.

HE WANTED NO INFORMATION

for himself or his people, as to what appropriations ought to be made to secure the benefits of a free education, and voted *against* a resolution *instructing* the committee on schools and colleges to enquire and report what appropriations would be necessary [204].

HE STANDS BY THE LAWYERS.

He voted *against* an amendment to pay W. R. Meredith \$500, and voted for the payment of \$1000 to him for services rendered the Commonwealth [220-6].

CARELESS OF THE PUBLIC MONEY.

He voted to pay additional compensation to the Revisers of

the Code for work to be yet performed—having agreed by contract to do the work for a stipulated price [214].

HE DODGES.

Our Loving legislator shows little regard for vested privileges and he DODGED the vote on the amendment offered by Mr. Echols to his own substitute for the bill submitting the question of liquor license to the people, to protect “the privilege of any person licensed as a distiller of alcoholic liquors or manufacturer of wine or malt liquors” [279].

HE HAS NO FAITH IN HIS OWN WORK, NOR HIS PEOPLE.

Mr. Loving moved a substitute for the local option bill, which was amended; and upon the passage of the bill as amended by the substitute, as amended, Mr. Loving voted NO [292].

NOTHING FOR AGRICULTURE.

He voted *against* the bill to increase the usefulness of the department of agriculture, mining and manufacturing [399-400].

He voted [466] *against*

FREE BOOKS

for free schools and voted for Figgatt's substitute to provide books

AT COST.

This is the way he FULFILS his PLEDGES to the people.

DENIES LIGHT TO THE PEOPLE.

He voted *against* printing and distributing the report of the committee of his own party, giving the scandalous and iniquitous abuses in the Democratic administration of the Lunatic Asylum at Williamsburg—refusing this important information to the people [528], and the resolution was referred to the committee to die.

Such are specimen votes of Mr. Loving at the regular session of the House. Let us now glance at some of his votes at the Extra Session.

HE VOTED AGAINST

Mr. Franklin's resolution to instruct the report of a bill to supply free books to free schools [p. 51]; *against* pledging the House to stand by the Riddleberger Bill [p. 134]; *against* requiring the committee to confer with the bondholders to report their proceedings daily to the Legislature, to prevent secret and unfair dealings with the subject [p. 158]; these resolutions were also killed by reference to a committee.

He voted for the bill empowering the Governor to remove treasurers of counties and cities, elected by the people, at his discretion [p. 293].

He voted *against* a bill for an extension of time for the payment of taxes to the first day of May, 1888, without the imposition of the five per cent. penalty [321].

The act approved March 6, 1886, commonly known as the Van Doran act, had for its alleged object the abolition of convict labor. A motion was made and agreed to, that the Superintendent of the Penitentiary should report how far the said law has proved a success. The Superintendent made his report that this *great Democratic* measure was a *failure*; and the House refused to print 1000 copies of the Report—Mr. Loving voting with the majority. Mr. Loving objects to light for the people [110], and the resolution was referred to a committee.

He voted against the bill to prevent the Governor and Board of Directors, or Superintendent of the Penitentiary from hiring convicts to engage in the manufacture of products, where machinery is used [243].

LEAVE HIM AT HOME.

If Mr. Loving displayed no particular part before the footlights, he was eminently CONSPICUOUS for his absence without leave from roll-call.

He was absent upon the vote to instruct the Committee on Finance to report a bill to provide some compensation for widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers, who died or were killed in the late war [43]; he voted to kill it by reference to the committee.

He was absent on the vote to instruct Committee on Privileges and Elections to report a bill for a fair election law, that would insure an honest count [43]; the resolution was referred.

When a resolution was offered for a special committee of both parties to frame an impartial election-law [58], he voted no.

HE DODGED THE VOTE

on the passage of S. B. 23, which Judge Waddill characterized as a *bill to defeat the act* of the 14th February, 1882, commonly known as the Riddleberger Bill, and to make fees for Attorneys for the Commonwealth and other officers [231].

On a motion to discharge the Committee on Finance from the further consideration of bill to appropriate \$70,000 to pay the claims of disabled soldiers for prompt action by the House, Mr. Loving was nowhere to be found and the motion was rejected [p. 42].

 Mr. Loving *professes* great concern for the Confederate soldier.

He dodged the vote on the bill to provide for the care of the colored insane of the State and enlarge for that purpose the Central Lunatic Asylum [p. 275].

He dodged the vote authorizing the Governor to provide for the support and maintainance of insane persons in the jails, &c. [p. 288].



THE FOLLOWING LOOKS HOPEFUL!

Mr. BARBOUR

— NEEDS —

Enthusiasm and Money.

[Special Correspondence of the Alexandria Gazette.]

Washington, D. C., October 14, 1887.

Mr. Barbour was up from Alexandria to-day on business connected with the Democratic campaign he is now conducting in Virginia. He says that Mr. Goode, who is now actively engaged in the campaign went to Manchester, opposite Richmond, to-day, and will speak there to-night. Respecting the prospects in his State, Mr. Barbour says he hears from all sections of the State, and that the general tenor of his intelligence is hopeful. He says his two greatest needs are money and enthusiasm, but that he is receiving some of the former by voluntary contributions from the friends of the cause, and that as he intends pushing the campaign vigorously he hopes to revive the latter, and that he already begins to see signs that induce him to believe that his hope in this respect will reach fruition.

WHAT A FALL MY COUNTRYMEN.

DEMOCRATIC SPEAKERS
REFUSE TO
DIVIDE TIME
WITH
REPUBLICAN SPEAKERS.

THEY ARE SO ORDERED TO DO BY
THE CHAIRMAN OF THEIR PARTY,
AND THEY CROUCHINGLY
OBEY.

THEY WANT THE UNDISPUTED OPPOR-
TUNITY TO BAMBOOZLE THE UN-
SUSPECTING PEOPLE BY ANY
AND ALL MANNER OF MIS-
STATEMENT.

THEY ARE AFRAID TO HAVE THE LIGHT
TURNED UPON THEIR CAN-
CEROUS RECORD.

IS THAT THE WAY TO ENLIGHTEN THE
PEOPLE AS TO THE MANAGEMENT
OF THEIR AFFAIRS?

What are the self-respecting people to think of a party whose leaders refuse to discuss before them the questions of State and National concern in which they, the people, are interested?

The Democratic speakers everywhere refuse to divide time with Republican speakers—why is it?—every thoughtful man, desiring to vote intelligently as between the candidates of the two parties may enquire. Should not every voter, whether he be Democratic or Republican, desire to know the views of the two parties upon public questions, and what has been the record of the two parties upon them?

Why should the speakers on either side refuse to have the views of his party upon public questions discussed face to face by the opposing party? Why should the speakers on either side refuse to have the record of their party upon these questions ventilated by the opposing party?

Can there be any other explanation for refusal for such joint discussion than that the party so refusing joint discussion, is unable to defend its record—to render satisfactory apologies for broken promises—and that its leaders are afraid of the unerring judgment of a free people?

Do their leaders refuse joint discussion because they cannot and dare not undertake to defend their record and that of their party, upon their party's mismanagement of State affairs, as set out in the Republican party's address?

Is it because they cannot explain what has become of the one and a half millions of money left in the Treasury when the Republicans went out of power at the State capitol in the winter of '83-'84, and the ten millions of taxes meanwhile collected?

Is it because they cannot tell the people what their party managers have done with this eleven and a half millions of the public funds, while the State debt has been increased four and a half millions, and the State Treasury is now empty?

Is it because they would avoid any explanation to an overburdened people, for the increase of their taxes, which the managers of their party have inflicted by the sneaking process of a higher assessment of property?

Is it because they would avoid being compelled to explain

how it is their managers have run the expenses of the State government up to one and a quarter millions, when the Republicans had brought their expenses down to eight hundred thousand dollars. Is it because Judge Staples and other lawyers do not want the people to know how much money they have drawn from the public treasury for trifling services that ought to have been performed by the Attorney General?

Is it because they do not want to be required to explain how it is that school teachers no longer are paid in warrants that are as good as gold?

Is it because they do not want to be forced to tell the people how it is that our insane can no longer be accommodated in the asylums?

Is it because Major Daniel and his Democratic colleagues would not desire to be brought face to face by Republican speakers, before the people, with his and their record in Congress?

Is it because that Major Daniel would not like to have the people informed that during all his term in Congress, he introduced but eight bills and passed but ONE?

Is it because Mr. O'Ferrall does not want the people to know that during his *two* terms in Congress that he introduced but twenty-seven bills in all and passed NOT ONE?

Is it because they would avoid being compelled, face to face with the people, that while pledging themselves to pass the Blair Educational Bill it was smothered in a Democratic committee of which Major Daniel was a member, and that no Democratic member of the Virginia Delegation made effort to compel the consideration of this benificent measure?

Is it because they would keep from the people, their failure to make any practical or honest effort to repeal the Internal Revenue System?

Is it because they would conceal from the people their record upon the Tariff—voting as they did for every free-trade proposition and against the protection of our mines, our lumber, coal and agricultural products now secured to them under the Republican policy of protection?

Is it because they would avoid the exposure of their deceptive platform, which, while proclaiming for protection, their Record is for free-trade?

Is it because they would avoid being compelled to apologize for their failure to make any effort in Congress where they had

the power, to reduce taxes and stop the monetary congestion which threatens the country with a financial panic, which has made the hard times harder, reduced wages and the prices of production to beggarly figures?

Do these leaders not refuse joint discussion to avoid the light being turned on upon their record of painful short comings?

Do they not avoid joint discussion, that they may deceive an unsuspecting people—as when one of their distinguished speakers undertakes to impose upon an over-confidence, in saying that they—their party in Congress—could not reduce taxes and stop the accumulation in the National Treasury, because their party needed the control of the Senate? What is to be thought of the leader of a party who would make such a statement to any people? How painful is his respect for their intelligence, when it is known of the school boys of the land that the Senate has no power, under the Constitution of the United States, to inaugurate measures touching revenue, or a reduction of taxes. That such measures can only be originated in the House of Representatives.

Do they not avoid joint discussion that the masses may be bamboozled with the idea, as has been stated by one or more of their speakers, that the Democratic party did not pass the Blair Education Bill, because the State was not allowed to control the disbursement of the funds, when the truth is, the funds are virtually placed at the disposal of the Legislature?

Does not refusal to discuss all these matters before the people confess the inability of their leaders to defend their record upon these questions, a desire to keep the people in ignorance of it, and a desire for the opportunity to deceive them by any and all manner of misstatements, which would not be allowed to go unexposed in the presence of a Republican speaker?

No man or party whose record is clean and whose cause is just, should be afraid to face his adversary before the people. Avoidance must and should excite suspicion.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE RICHMOND WHIG.

[Subscription Rates:

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ADDRESS

OF

THE READJUSTER MEMBERS

OF THE

LEGISLATURE

TO

THE PEOPLE!

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, APRIL, 1882.

}

ADDRESS.

We, the Readjuster members of the General Assembly, recently adjourned, offer to the people of Virginia a respectful statement of the manner in which we have executed their will as affirmed by their overwhelming endorsement of our party at the November election. It is germane to the subject to trace the political struggles in our State for a dozen years past, during which the people have on several occasions declared their will, only to have it perverted, as it has just been perverted, by the want of fidelity of a few of their representatives to the trust they had solemnly accepted. As on previous occasions, the faction representing a minority of our people have been prompt to utilize the treason, while they despise the traitors to your cause. Once more—let us hope for the last time—your will has been partially baffled by a combination of the Bourbonism you have condemned with a few individuals in whom you have placed a confidence which they have forfeited.

In the year 1869, in contempt of the Bourbonism which manifested its impracticable temper and incapacity for affairs by nominating a Bourbon ticket upon a Bourbon platform, you wisely and patriotically adopted a liberal policy for the reconstruction of the State and her restoration to her co-ordinate place in the Union. You declared your approval of the constitutional amendments, your adherence to the Federal Government as loyal citizens, and your earnest desire to support the Administration through whose favor you had been enabled to strike certain obnoxious and proscriptive features from the proposed new Constitution of the State. Upon this wise policy you succeeded in electing a Legislature pledged in the most solemn and emphatic manner to Liberalism—defeating both extremes that sought to betray you—the extreme Radicalism no less than the extreme Bourbonism of that period.

The Legislature so elected and so pledged was only true to you and its pledges so far and so long as was necessary for the re-admission of the State into the Union. That result accomplished, it began a course disturbing to the harmonious relations with the Federal Government and with the enlightened thought of the country which you had decreed at the polls. The sequel revealed that Bourbonism, under false pretences of submission to the Federal and popular will, had filled your General Assembly with representatives who readily forgot the Liberal-

ism they had professed, and seized every opportunity, as far as they dared, to re-establish the old reign of the Bourbon leaders from whom you had revolted. Prejudice and proscription reared again their hate heads, and all the passions of sectionalism, of race, and of war, were again invoked and inflamed. Nor was that all: for this Legislature elected by you to carry into effect your earnest desire and sagacious policy to make friends indeed of victorious enemies and to bring back peace and prosperity to our homes, not only proved false to that great trust, but undertook to basely sell you and the State to a ring of brokers upon a pretended settlement of our public obligations about which they were forbidden by the Constitution to take any step until an adjustment had been made, or sought in vain, with West Virginia.

How, or for what purposes, this alarming perversion of the will of the people was accomplished, does not demand discussion here. Sufficient that an enormous and unjust debt was thrust upon you, and upon terms as hard as they were derogatory and dishonoring; and ultimately you found yourselves divorced from that independent position in national politics which you had sought, and made captives to the Bourbonism in the politics of the Nation which you had spurned in the polities of Virginia. You promptly met the attempt to oppress you and to confiscate the revenues of the State, by electing a Legislature which, in 1872 almost unanimously passed an act repealing some of the most oppressive features of the Funding bill of 1871, and intended to practically stay and countervail that disastrous measure. But the Legislature which passed the Funding bill had also elected a Bourbon Court of Appeals and, unfortunately, that tribunal was intrenched in position for a term of twelve years, and thus beyond the immediate reach of your corrective hands; and this Court, so organized (with honorable exceptions) contemned your will and the repealing act of your representatives—coolly putting you under foot and humiliating and degrading the State upon the pretext of deciding a side issue against a tax-collector!

Baffled thus by the course pursued toward you, your rights and interests, by your own supreme tribunal, and unable to have a hearing on the merits of your cause, you bore the yoke so unfairly put upon you with such patience as you could command, until the alarming increase and accumulation of annual deficits, together with the simultaneous robbery and ruin of our free-school system, the crippling of all our charitable institutions, and the paralysis of every enterprise, aroused you to the necessity of decisive action to avert overwhelming and fast-coming insolvency, repudiation and shame. It was then that in 1877 the Conservative party—a generic name for the organization formed in 1869, and designed to embrace all citizens, of all conditions and races, willing to enlist against Bourbonism, Radicalism, proscription and intolerance, and to restore the Commonwealth by healthful policy—met in convention at Richmond.

After framing a platform declaring for an equitable settlement with your creditors upon the basis of your revenues, this convention nominated a candidate for Governor publicly pledged to leave that settlement to you and your legislators as a matter with which he had

nothing to do ; certainly not in opposition to you and your legislative representatives. You elected this candidate, and at the same time you elected a General Assembly of which a large majority were instructed and pledged to a readjustment of the debt upon the basis of the platform you had adopted and which everybody well understood—everybody, from the Governor you elected to the school-boy who could read. That Legislature earnestly entered upon the work before them and began the enactment of a series of measures for the relief and deliverance of the State and people ; but upon the very threshold of their labors they were confronted by veto after veto from him who had pledged himself to abide your will, who had accepted your nomination upon your platform, and who took his office by grace of your suffrage—suffrages which had at the same time elected the legislators whom he now defied. Moreover, he commemorated his faithlessness by every circumstance of insult, even declaring that you and your representatives were disdaining the Commonwealth, and that free education for your children was “a luxury” which they should not enjoy by his consent until you submitted to all the exactions of the brokers and their lobby ! And these vetoes, thus sauced with insolence, were applauded and sustained by the Bourbons. Worse than all, however, treason developed among our representatives, and, at the last, traitors combined with Bourbons to inflict upon you another outrage under the guise of another funding bill known as Hugh McCulloch’s Brokers’ bill.

Undismayed, the rather inflamed and incited to greater and sterner efforts by the folly of some and the treachery of others, you rallied again to the polls with resistless force and enthusiasm in 1879, and reaffirmed the resolve of 1877. Again treason reared its abhorrent front, but your majority was still so strong and steadfast that you elected Readjusters to many of the important offices of State ; filled the benches of most of your county courts with men in sympathy with you ; sent a Readjuster—the leader of your party and the people’s cause—to the United States Senate, and passed the Riddleberger Readjustment bill, which was only defeated by another veto from the occupant of your Executive chair.

Foiled still in this initial and vital measure of deliverance, you for the third time joined battle with the enemy in 1881, with a constancy and determination only equalled by that of your forefathers who fought British power, native Tories and purchased traitors for eight long years before final success crowned their sacrifices and their efforts. Again you triumphed ; for a people resolved for right and arrayed against wrong are always invincible. You succeeded for the third time, and now, at last, you believed that your victory was decisive and conclusive, for you not only elected a working majority in each branch of the General Assembly, but also the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Attorney-General. You had grasped the Executive and Legislative departments of your Government, and it was in your power, through faithful service from your representatives, to place yourselves in full possession of the Judiciary department. But treason—the baleful concomitant of every good cause and every righteous reform—was

again busy among your legislators, fomented not alone by Bourbons, but by one whom you had honored with one of the most responsible offices of the Government ; one theretofore obscure, to whom you had given all the distinction he enjoyed, who now inflated with self-conceit and moved by unrestrained ambition, sore from disappointed aspiration, and rating his personal claims and ends above those of the cause and party, refused to yield to the judgment of the Readjuster legislative caucus, demanded re-nomination and re-election without the conditions imposed upon all other candidates, and, finally, revolted from every party obligation, defied your constituted representatives, and sought to breed dissension and discord in a high emergency where harmony of purpose and unity of action were indispensable to the complete fruition of your hard-won victory. In this he was successful only to an ignominious extent, carrying away from us and over to the Bourbon-Funders (at least, for all practical intents) four men in the Senate whom you had elected as Readjusters. These Senators, who betrayed you in your direst need and who co-operated with your enemies to defeat important measures for the promotion and permanence of your cause and policy, are left to you for judgment. You, their constituents, know by what professions, protestations and promises of fealty to your cause and party they obtained your confidence and your votes, and it is for you to adjudge the enormity of their breach of faith and to inflict the penalty !

By this defection, thus fomented, mustered and directed, your rightful majority in the Senate was lost, and by the delays and obstructions which it aided its Bourbon allies to offer, much of the regular session was wasted. An extra session of the Legislature was thus made necessary to the framing and passage of the Appropriation bill, the Assessment bill, the Congressional Re-apportionment bill—all these measures forming a part of the constitutional duty of the Legislature, and of paramount concern to all the people. Thus desertion helped to its feet the enemy you had beaten thus legislation was hindered, and thus was encompassed the defeat of important measures which a large majority of the Legislature believed would have redounded largely to the material interests and political welfare of the State.

Our party, however, is to be congratulated upon the fidelity and success with which its platform of principles and its pledges to the people have been redeemed. It has, by the passage of the Riddleberger bill and auxiliary measures, settled the public debt upon principles of right, equity and law no longer disputed, and thereby made the rate of taxation the same as before the war, without detriment to any interest or any branch of Government. It has removed the odious poll-tax restriction upon suffrage and appealed to the people to sustain that repeal at the polls in November next. After rescuing the public-school system—always in peril while Bourbonism was in power—the Readjusters have added fifteen per cent. to its allowance, besides restoring to the schools four hundred thousand dollars (to be used in instalments of one hundred thousand dollars an-

ually) of the constitutional appropriation which our political enemies had diverted, besides the twenty-five thousand dollars of quarterly payment until the whole is liquidated ; and we have done much more in behalf of the schools than was either promised or deemed practicable. We have re-organized the charitable institutions of the State ; have paid all (over one hundred thousand dollars) of their floating indebtedness upon which banks had been drawing interest two per cent. in excess of that paid by themselves as depositaries of State funds. Moreover, and for the first time since reconstruction, we have given these charitable institutions all that was asked for or necessary to support the lunatic, the deaf, dumb and blind, to accommodate the unfortunates heretofore in jails, because of the inadequate provisions for the asylums ; we have given the colored people a normal school for the education of their own teachers, and our Appropriation bill, covering every detail of necessary expenditure, is quite one hundred thousand dollars less than the average annual expenses of Government under Bourbon-Funder rule, inclusive of the discharge of the floating obligations before noted.

In re-organizing these institutions we delivered them in some cases from a selfish and remorseless partizan control which consigned lunatics to the cells of felons when they should rightfully share the State's appropriation for her unfortunate children. Thus were our specific promises to you in the canvass faithfully executed. It is not often the good fortune of a political organization to confront the great tribunal of the people with a record so fairly earned. Incidental duties of the Legislature were the election of a United States Senator to fill the vacancy occurring March 4th, 1883 ; and of a Court of Appeals, whose term will begin on the 1st of January, 1883. These duties were performed with credit to the State and to the satisfaction of our party.

As the Legislature considered other important measures, Treason and Desertion, hitherto menacing only, became bold enough for assertion. Treason never wants for ingenious phrases to mitigate the condemnation it invites. So, in this case, the Treason that defeated these measures, seeks forgiveness of the people by the plea that the bills to re-organize the Judicial and Congressional districts and to provide for a Commissioner of Land Sales, were "revolutionary."

When Funderism would save money for appearance sake, it struck at the very root of an independent judiciary by reducing salaries. Their Court Committee reported, and put on record in the Senate Journal, that they had the constitutional right to change circuits. On this last proposition there seems to be no difference of opinion. The Readjusters simply proposed to make twelve instead of eighteen judicial circuits ; to make one circuit, for instance, of two, that had been formed in 1875, of counties that had always before constituted one circuit, and in which there is not business to engage a competent and industrious judge two months in the year. This change would have reduced the actual expenses of Circuit Courts quite \$23,000 per annum, besides the relief it would have given to witnesses and jurors compelled to attend on indolent courts and judges.

The Land Sales bill was designed to effect a saving in the fees and costs attending settlement of estates. The dead leave widows and orphans as the wards of the State. The State assumes by her laws to take care of such interests. Under the present dilatory and expensive, if not fraudulent system, we see widows and children subsisting on pittances meted out by commissioners, when the only duty of such commissioners is to sell, settle and pay over, leaving the widow or child in the same situation as if the living father had divided his property. Not one estate in twenty is settled in twenty years. Bills in chancery are filed, interlocutory decrees are entered *ad infinitum*; at every death, marriage, or change of residence, suggestions are made, petitions filed, the suit is perpetuated, costs continued, commissioners in chancery make out another account at seventy-five cents an hour and a dollar a page, attorneys get another fee; and thus the dead man's estate is made to feed the idlers of the courthouse, while his children are made the wards of the court's officers. Those who question the wisdom and patriotism of this measure are requested to compare the number of final decrees in their respective counties and to note in their several clerks' offices how many estates have been settled within a period of ten or twenty years. Again, how many court commissioners give bond before collections and how many purchasers either surrender property or pay a second time. The Commissioners bill provided that one man, bonded like unto a county treasurer, should attend to all such business, and gave assurance to every industrious working man that what his labor had produced and his economy stored away would be distributed by his State under her laws, or his will, to those who should be the recipients of his accumulations, large or small, and to every person interested in the proceeds of sales that a second suit should not be necessary to realize from the trusted agent of the court.

Other States, more careful of the rights and interests of the helpless, have their "Orphans' Courts" specially provided with jurisdiction confined to the proper administration of estates. The Commissioners' bill was designed to effect some reforms in this behalf without incurring additional cost to the estate. We leave this question for the consideration of men who realize the uncertainties of life, and who know that a court with its unrestrained clique will make their wills and dispense their estates.

The re-districting of the State for Congressmen was an imperative duty of the Legislature.

It had been a subject of long discussion and close calculation in Congress, whether or not there should be an apportionment that would give us one more representative under the new census. Shortly before the close of our regular session such an apportionment was made. It was suggested that we could elect a Congressman "at large;" that this Congress had said so. Experience was our guide. Virginia had twice elected Congressmen "at large" since reconstruction to meet a contingency like the present, and both times they were denied seats. That this Congress had said so, was, and is, met by the Constitution which makes each house of each Congress the sole judge of the qualification

of its members. A Republican Congressman "at large" and a Conservative Congressman "at large," each with unchallenged credentials from his State, were refused admission. The House of Representatives was then the sole judge of the qualifications of its members, as it must be under the Constitution as it is. Moreover, the Constitution of our State provides in section 12 of Article 5, that "The whole number of Representatives to which the State may at any time be entitled in the House of Representatives of the United States, shall be apportioned as nearly as may be amongst the several counties, cities and towns of the State according to their population." And in section 13 of same article, "The State shall be divided into districts corresponding in number with the Representatives to which it may be entitled," &c. Of such importance was this apportionment to States gaining Representatives that Governors convened Legislatures for the single purpose of putting it into effect as to their respective States. Virginia's Legislature was already in session, and remained in session long enough for the discharge of this public duty; subsequently it was convened in extra session, and yet to-day the duty remains unperformed by the Legislature, because of the conspiracy of faithless Readjusters with your enemies.

We had seen our State, once the first by the number of her seats in Congress, retrograde to the fifteenth in this respect, and beheld one of her own daughters casting six more electoral votes than the mother. We knew that capital, enterprise and industry measure the growth or decay of a State by observation of its political status and importance. From every consideration and standpoint, whether of solemn, sworn obligation or interest, material or political, it was a plain duty to re-district the State to conform to the new apportionment. A committee gave to this subject two weeks of laborious investigation, and of a score or more of plans one was ascertained to be acceptable to all the Readjusters but three. When this measure was put on its passage no word of objection was made to it; no competing proposition was offered; no suggestion of change or amendment; the roll was called and *four* Readjusters voted with the Bourbons, including him who had examined the plan and had expressed his approbation of it. The mystery of this performance will be effectually cleared up on a proper occasion. Its discussion does not befit the serious and dignified purpose of this formal address of representatives to their constituents.

There was no gerrymander, to secure a legitimate political advantage, which should respond to the popular majority. None was needed to make good to you and our party the certain power to elect in eight of the ten districts. Fairly formed that lot fell to you and our party. The districts were composed of contiguous counties, compactly grouped, and without regard to any personal considerations. It was in our power to do this; it was our right under law and precedent; and it was our duty to you and to our party to do it. We did our best to accomplish it. We adopted the bill in the House (as we had also adopted there the two other bills that we have discussed), but we found it impossible with any modification to pass the bill in the Senate to which you had elected a clear majority of six Readjusters. We, you, the party and this most vital measure were defeated by an ignominious defection! In every vote concerning it and the bills relating to the Commissioner of Sales and the Judicial Circuits, four Senators elected by you as Readjusters to oppose and defeat Bourbons and

Funders, voted invariably with the Bourbons and Funders to defeat Readjusters; and as a sample of their record on these measures we here present the ayes and noes on the Congressional Reapportionment bill in the Senate:

AYES.—Messrs. Bailey, Barnes, Bliss, Elliott, Eskridge, Jones, Martin, Mayo, Norton, Powell, Rawles, Rue, Stevens, Walker, Webb, and Wood—16.

NOES.—Messrs. Atkinson, Christian, Diggs, Edmunds, Fletcher, Glasgow, [†]Hale, Heaton, Hurt, Koiner, Lovell, Lovenstein, [†]Lybrook, [†]Newberry, Thurman, Twyman, [†]Williams, Wingfield of Hanover, and Wingfield of Albemarle—19.

[Readjusters not voting were paired.]

While these measures were not embodied in our platform, they were of consequence, as much a part of our public and party policy as the reduced tax bill we have given the people, and every candidate for your suffrages committed himself to the support of such fortifying enactments as your legislative party caucus should determine to be wise. Yet these four Senators defying you, contemning you, and giving aid and comfort to the enemy, assumed, or affected, to be wiser, better and more patriotic than the great majority of your representatives, and co-operated with the Bourbons and Funders. All that remains is for us to warn you against this treachery, not doubting that you will rise indignant at the foul attempt to impair your party integrity, and resolutely reassert and maintain your sovereignty in the Commonwealth.

Your course in this emergency is plain. If there is to be no re-districting of the State, as now appears probable, there will be only the nine districts as they now are, for ten Congressmen, and one of them will have to be elected for the State at large. You can easily elect the Congressman at large, and you should do so, trusting to the favorable action of the House of Representatives. It will be the duty of your State Committees to arrange for the designation of this candidate and for conventions for the nomination of candidates in the several districts at an early day. With prompt, wise and united action on our part we can again baffle Bourbonism in its efforts to regain baleful sway in Virginia. We have beaten the enemy when every appliance of Government assistance, State and Federal, was at their disposal. Now almost every office in Virginia is filled by a Readjuster, which should forbid that schools, courts, judges of election and registrars should be used as heretofore for a faction against the people in elections. It is a subject for sincere congratulation that we also have the active sympathy of the Federal Administration. In 1879 we beat the Bourbons disastrously even when they were aided by the support of the then existing Administration; when high Federal officials contributed their part to the vain plea for continued Bourbon rule in Virginia. Then, too, misrepresented and maligned, we had not that enlightened sympathy which now, throughout the land, applauds us as our purposes are revealed, and endorses the Administration for sustaining the only sincere and successful movement yet made to liberalize and nationalize a people who have so long been the unconscious victims and instruments of sectional politics. Let there be no uncertain sound in the conduct of the campaign upon which we are about to enter. It should be proclaimed in every formal declaration of the policy of our party that the Readjusters of Virginia cordially reciprocate the friendship of President Arthur's Administration for themselves, and heartily endorse an Administration which gives no comfort or recognition to sectionalism, and whose every performance is a pledge of peace to the country. The Conservative party of Virginia once formally applauded the Administration of General Grant for a single generous act, and the chairman of its State Committee

telegraphed the thanks and congratulations of his party. Repeatedly that organization disavowed association with National parties, and avowed readiness to co-operate with men of any political organization who were willing and able to promote the welfare of the State. In 1879 it supplicated for and received the help of him whom for two years it had assailed as a "fraudulent President."

President Arthur has not only given his hearty help to our party, the pioneers in the work of real reunion, but he has given ample evidence of his desire that the Southern States shall enjoy something of that material aid which has been so bountifully extended to other portions of the country. We are proud to uphold, and our candidates for Congress should be known to stand openly and cordially for the support of an Administration which is the first in fifty years to shape its policy without regard to sectional divisions, and whose President, in his first message to Congress, makes no reference to the South save one of tender sympathy for its losses and sorrows in the late war.

We respectfully urge upon you the importance of avoiding ambiguous declarations or non-committal candidates. Make your platforms specific and place candidates upon them who will pledge themselves to the platform and then be true to their pledges. Let us have no more mischances or complications based upon the pretext of misunderstanding your will. Let us continue to benefit by the courage and candor with which we deal with grave public questions which become all the more striking by contrast with the indirection and trifling of those whom we beat last November and whom we are to overthrow the coming autumn. Bourbonism made nothing last year when it placed upon its ticket a Funder for Governor, a Repudiator for Lieutenant-Governor, and a Readjuster for Attorney-General. That shallow trick was no more successful in catching votes than the declaration of its platform against the taxation necessary to pay what it also declared to be an honest debt; or than the advocacy of poll-tax qualification in white districts and favoring its repeal where the colored voters predominate; or than advocating public education before the people, and then diverting the school-fund by legislation. Remember that the victorious career of our party can never be checked until it hesitates in the performance of its duties. Ours is essentially a party of progress, and its supremacy will be endangered only when it shall halt in its high resolve and noble endeavor, and imitate the "futile dalliance" of Bourbonism with the practical issues of the living present.

We recommend that our party take an immediate stand for a Protective Tariff. It is the paramount issue of our time. Virginia's interest in protection to domestic industries cannot be over-estimated. It is her hope for the future, and by promoting it she places herself in line with the most powerful and progressive Commonwealths.

If indifferent or unfriendly she may remain in the rut where Bourbonism kept her for decades before and years since the war. Statistics show that more money has been invested in Virginia since '79 than for the nine years next preceding. Bourbonism said none would come and much would depart under the rule of Readjusters. Now we hear from one of their organs outside the State, that "capital has forgotten its timidity, and is advancing boldly into the Old Dominion. Especially is this the case in what is known as the Southwest, where the signs of prosperity manifest themselves on every hand, and each step of progress only reveals yet more distinctly its almost illimitable resources. Its mountains are filled with iron ores of great excellence, and coal of the best quality exists also. Its valleys

furnish lead, zinc, salt, and plaster almost beyond computation." True—and equally true of other sections of our State. What would all this be worth unprotected?

Before our country was shaken with the issues of slavery and secession Virginia was a closely contested State on the question of protection. One party was for a revenue tariff; another for a protective tariff. Much of the distinction of that day has been obliterated. With an immense public debt a tariff for revenue, though not quite, is almost equal to a tariff for protection. In fact, so little attention was paid to this question by three successive Bourbon Congresses that they each time elected a tariff Democrat from the tariff State of Pennsylvania to the Speakership. But again the question has broadened. Not only the capital invested in manufactures, but the artisans and laborers are watching lest they may become the victims of England's "pauper system," which degrades all labor below the plane of respectability, and agriculturists have learned the severe lesson that when capital avoids or abandons a State property depreciates, and that only the local money-lender is advantaged by the increased demand for loans on a larger per cent.

We earnestly invoke the serious attention of the people of Virginia to this great question. Virginia is seeking a front, not a rear, line, and recovering, she craves a diet of living issues. A few years ago we took the aggressive in State affairs. Our record has been made. All Readjusters may be proud of it. The next fight is on a larger field, and the watchword is "*Onward.*"

We exhort you, Readjusters, to begin earnest preparations for the contests before you, in which the trophies of victory will be brilliant and valuable. You cannot give to the world a better pledge of the permanency of your possession of Virginia than by electing, as easily you can elect, to the next Congress, at least seven, and nine if you will, of the State's delegation pledged to the great work of Americanizing our whole country. Three times victorious, step by step driving back the strongly intrenched foe, you have only to exhibit the zeal, constancy and devotion to your cause which have heretofore characterized you, and you will surely drive the Bourbons and Funders to a disastrous rout from which they can never recover. To hesitate now is to have sacrificed and suffered in vain; is to have dared and triumphed to no purpose; is to lose all that you have won and all that you hope for; and is to invite the return of Bourbon-Funderism to power, not only to re-establish the evils you have overthrown, but with vengeance in its soul to be wreaked upon you in all your rights, privileges and interests. We have no fears that you who have so often beaten your adversaries will now fly or shrink before them; and it is in the fullest reliance upon your readiness for the conflict that we thus call you to arms to achieve another victory. Virginia never falters in a good cause, and you will not grow weary in her defence, nor in the effort to repulse, crush and annihilate a faction which, if for nothing else (and its other enormities are legion), has earned your relentless detestation and your undying and unconquerable enmity by its unscrupulous and atrocious conduct toward you and your holy cause.

On motion of Mr. Honaker, of Bland, the following resolution was agreed to :

Resolved, That the Readjuster party, to-night assembled in conference, composed of Readjuster Senators and Members of the House of Delegates, reaffirm our devotion to the principles of the Readjuster party, and endorse

the report of the committee just read by General Mahone, Chairman of the Readjuster Executive Committee, and all of the Readjuster Senators and Delegates subscribe their names to the address just read :

JOHN F. LEWIS, Lieutenant-Governor.

SENATORS.

D. F. BAILEY, First District ;
 ROBERT BARNES, Third District ;
 C. H. BLISS, Thirtieth District ;
 WYATT M. ELLIOTT, Eighteenth District ;
 J. E. ESKRIDGE, Fourth District ;
 J. R. JONES, Twenty-fifth District ;
 G. A. MARTIN, Thirty-first District ;
 WM. MAYO, Thirty-sixth District ;
 D. M. NORTON, Thirty-eighth District ;
 J. L. POWELL, Thirteenth District ;
 R. H. RAWLES, Thirty-second District ;
 H. H. RIDDLEBERGER, Tenth District ;
 M. P. RUE, Thirty-third District ;
 W. N. STEVENS, Twenty-seventh District ;
 JOS. WALKER, Sixteenth District ;
 J. B. WEBB, Eighth District ;
 R. B. WILLCOX, Thirty-ninth District ;
 H. C. WOOD, Second District ;
 WADDY T. JAMES, Twenty-sixth District.

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

I. C. FOWLER, Speaker ;
 HANSFORD ANDERSON, King William ;
 R. A. BALDWIN, Buckingham ;
 E. D. BLAND, Prince George and Surry ;
 JOHN P. CHASE, Buchanan, Wise and Dickenson ;
 N. H. CHAMPLIN, Prince Edward ;
 JOHN LEWIS COLEMAN, Lunenburg ;
 THOS. H. CROSS, Nansemond ;
 JNO. J. DEYER, Southampton ;
 AMOS DICKERSON, Floyd ;
 I. W. DUCK, Isle of Wight ;
 SHED. DUNGEY, Cumberland ;
 J. S. EGBORN, Culpeper ;
 R. R. FARR, Fairfax ;
 JAS. A. FRAZIER, Rockbridge ;
 THOS. V. FRY, Madison ;
 WM. F. GIDDINGS, Chesterfield ;
 GEORGE J. GRANDSTAFF, Shenandoah ;
 DUFF GREEN, Stafford ;
 ARMISTEAD GREEN, Petersburg ;
 S. J. GRIGGS, Henry ;
 A. K. GRIM, Page ;
 W. E. HADEN, Fluvanna ;
 ROSS HAMILTON, Mecklenburg ;
 H. B. HARNISBERGER, Rockingham ;
 A. W. HARRIS, Dinwiddie ;
 SAM'L G. HARRISON, Sussex and Greensville ;

PHILANDER HERRING, Rockingham;
 M. W. HAZLEWOOD, Henrico;
 JAS. D. HONAKER, Bland and Smyth;
 JOHN B. LADY, Rockbridge;
 NEVERSON LEWIS, Powhatan;
 DAVID F. MAY, Petersburg;
 ROBT. M. MAYO, Westmoreland;
 ROBERT NORTON, York, James City, Elizabeth City
 and Warwick;
 LITTLETON OWENS, Princess Anne;
 R. G. L. PAIGE, Norfolk county;
 EDMUND PARR, Patrik;
 E. S. PHILIPS, Richmond and Lancaster;
 GUY POWELL, Brunswick;
 JOHN RICHARDSON, Louisa;
 E. M. SANDY, Essex;
 ARCHER SCOTT, Nottoway and Amelia;
 C. SLEMP, Lee;
 DABNEY SMITH, Charlotte;
 J. L. STRATION, JR., Goochland;
 J. A. TAYLOR, Scott;
 JAS. C. TAYLOB, Montgomery;
 WM. H. TURNER, Norfolk;
 W. N. TINSLEY, Charles City and New Kent;
 JAMES A. WATKINS, Appomattox;
 LEWIS WASHINGTON WEBB, Norfolk;
 JAMES R. WITTEN, Tazewell.

We, the undersigned State and legislative officers, subscribe to the foregoing address:

F. S. BLAIR, Attorney General;
 WM. C. ELAM, Secretary of the Commonwealth;
 JAS. S. BROWNING, Private Secretary of the Governor;
 ASA ROGERS, JR., Railroad Commissioner;
 RICHARD F. WALKER, Supt. Public Printing;
 J. M. BLANTON, Commissioner of Agriculture;
 H. H. DYSON, Second Auditor;
 D. R. REVELEY, Treasurer;
 J. M. BROCKENBROUGH, Register of Land Office;
 S. BROWN ALLEN, Auditor Public Accounts;
 SAM'L C. WILLIAMS, Supt. Penitentiary;
 WINFIELD SCOTT, Penitentiary Storekeeper;
 C. H. CAUSEY, Clerk of Senate;
 JOHN J. CAMPBELL, Assistant Clerk Senate;
 G. W. WILLIAMS, Second Assistant Clerk Senate;
 JAS. H. ROBINSON, Committee Clerk;
 GEORGE W. KENNEDY, Committee Clerk;
 JOHN M. DAVIS, Committee Clerk;
 J. G. CANNON, Committee Clerk;
 N. F. McCANN, Committee Clerk;
 W. A. FRENCH, Sergeant-at-Arms of Senate;
 PETER J. CARTER, Doorkeeper Senate;
 P. H. McCaul, Clerk House of Delegates;
 A. M. BROWNELL, Ass't Clerk House of Delegates.
 W. F. PUMPHREY, Sergt.-at-Arms House of Delegates.





ADDRESS

OF THE

READJUSTER STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PETERSBURG, V.A., *September 25th, 1883.*

TO THE VOTERS OF VIRGINIA.

On the 6th of November next (now near at hand), you are to determine, by your ballots, which of the contending parties in this State shall administer your public affairs. One is a party of your own immediate creation—formed from your own ranks—consisting of the very body of the people, who had been exhausted, fatigued and outraged by the rule of a self-assumed leadership and controlling oligarchy, that had illustrated no higher ambition than to perpetuate their dynasty of extravagance, plunder and oppression even upon the ruins of the Commonwealth and the wreck of popular liberty.

The intolerance; the manifest lack of capacity for affairs; the insolent dictation as to men and measures; the supercilious indifference to the interests of the people; the contempt for the popular will; the cruel carelessness with which burden was superadded to burden

upon the masses ; the studied purpose to circumscribe the rights of manhood,—all of which so signally characterized the Bourbon-Funder faction ;—these awoke you to indignation and aroused you to resistance. The efforts of this faction to shackle suffrage ; to suppress general public education ; to saddle you with a fraudulent and intolerable debt, and to drain your very substance by taxation,—while at the same time it maintained a sectional attitude toward the National Government which at once forbade the growth of the Commonwealth and the welfare of the citizen, by repelling the inflow of capital and immigrants,—all these inflictions and impositions inflamed your just displeasure to the ultimate point where you revolted and resumed the mastery and direction of your own governmental affairs. For over three years you have held the political fortifications which you stormed in 1879, and on every hand you behold the blessed fruits of your patriotism and valor.

Yet to-day you are confronted by the reorganized enemies of the public weal whom you so righteously overthrew and hurled from place and power. Their inspiration and purpose is, if possible, to regain their lost dominion, and subject you, your fortunes and your liberties anew to their greed and tyranny. Assuming an *alias*, and volatile of false pretences, their gross insincerity is only approached in degree by the insult they thus offer to your intelligence.

You, the sovereigns of the State, are to decide between this audacious faction and the party which is bone of your bone and flesh of your flesh—a party which has administered your affairs with scrupulous fidelity to your wishes, and which has inaugurated great reforms in public policy that already aggrandize the Commonwealth and give renewed life, liberty, prosperity and happiness

to all her population. Amicable relations have been restored between Virginia and the Federal Government, and once more we rejoin the common brotherhood of American Citizens, with no sectional animosities to be cherished and perpetuated, but with a love of country that knows no South, no North, no East, no West—only the Union, one and inseparable!

This party of State reform and National restoration is the Readjuster party. You behold its works—works to be defended! You behold its unfinished designs—yet to be completed! It is for you to say who shall defend and complete this great political and material redemption so auspiciously and successfully initiated by the party sprung from your own loins! We, who speak to you in behalf of this great party and its policy, declare to you most solemnly that only in its faithful guardianship are you safe, and only by its strong and willing hands can you be placed beyond the reach of the evils from which you have been so recently delivered. To go back to Bourbon-Funder rule is not only the revocation of all that is now so happily established, but is slavery and ruin! Will you—can you—again trust those who have heretofore so shamefully abused your confidence? Are you to be deceived by the shallow arts of pretence that would only lure your misguided feet into the old bog of misfortune and misery? Citizens of Virginia, you cannot afford to risk the invaluable blessings you have won to the tender mercies of the crew whose mock friendship for you but covers implacable malice and revenge. They stoop to conquer; they “acquiesce” only because they hope to mount the throne of power through a fatal popular credulity! You dare not commit your measures, nor yourselves, to these political pretenders; and it requires no prophet to foretell, that, if you could do so,

you would bitterly rue the day in which folly gone mad led you into fresh bondage.

In confirmation and attestation of what we have said, we beg to call to your most serious attention the following summary of facts, figures and reasonable conclusions. Hear us for our cause—the cause that is yours and Virginia's:

THE STATE DEBT.

The Bourbon-Funder faction as early as 1871 had contrived to fully fasten itself upon your shoulders. I thad cajoled the Governor and had foisted upon the Judiciary men mostly from its own body, or bound to it by the strongest ties of interest. Although a minority of your General Assembly, it won to its side the aid of other factionists; and, without your consent—without even consulting you—it enacted the measure known as the Funding Bill, to take effect July 1st, 1871. You remember the years of strife that ensued; but it is our only purpose here to remind you that by that Funding Bill, under a scheme which purported to relieve you and to set apart a third of the public debt to West Virginia (yet which really exceeded your just obligations), it was sought to bind you and your posterity to a principal of over \$31,000,000, with interest at the rate of six per cent. *per annum*, in tax-receivable coupons.

Eight years after (in 1879), having vainly endeavored to carry on the Government under their reckless financial policy, which exhibited a deficit of nearly a million dollars a year, the Bourbon-Funders were forced to a new adjustment, devised by Hugh McCulloch and known as the Brokers' Bill. It is enough to say here that you at once voted down that bill and its faction by a majority of over 20,000 votes, and called to power the party of Readjustment, whose plan of relief had won your ap-

proval as not only necessary, but as just and equitable. Yet it was not until 1882 (with a Readjuster Governor,) that this plan was put into form and force as the Riddleberger Bill, to take effect July 1st, 1882. And it is the contrast between Funderism and Readjustment at that date to which now we wish particularly to call your attention. We refer to the official reports as our authority for the statements we make.

Upon a stated official account (which prefaces the Riddleberger Bill) between the Commonwealth and her creditors—an account which remains wholly uncontested and unchallenged—your just indebtedness, after deducting one-third as the fair amount for which West Virginia is liable, was found to be, on the 1st of July, 1882, principal and interest, including the Literary Fund, \$21,035,377.15; and this is the sum which our settlement (the Riddleberger Bill) assumes and obligates you to pay. To the same date, under the old Funding Bill and the Brokers' Bill (as far as the latter had taken effect), the principal and accrued interest, including the Literary Fund (which Readjusters regard as the most sacred portion of the debt), amounted to \$35,874,869.97. But if, under the scheme of the Brokers' Bill, the whole Funder debt had been funded to July 1, 1882, that debt would still have been \$33,508,497.85—*one-half the accrued interest which they recognized as due being flatly repudiated!* And now we behold the difference as to the debt between Funderism and Readjustment at the date when the Riddleberger Bill took effect: the Funder debt exceeding the Readjuster debt (as fixed by official and incontestable figures) by \$12,473,120.70. That is the saving in principal by Readjustment, without repudiation of a dollar of just obligation. And if since July 1st, 1882, there has been an accumulation of interest, that interest itself is greater

or less, in the same proportion (as indicated above), according to the account, Funder or Readjuster, upon which it is to be estimated and settled.

Not only have we thus saved \$12,473,120.70 in principal to July 1, 1882, as between the Brokers' Bill and the Riddleberger Bill, but we have scotched, if we have not killed, the tax-coupons; and we have fixed the interest at a uniform rate of three per cent. a year. Without estimating the worth of the exemption from taxation accorded the bonds and coupons (which has been estimated as worth 2 per cent.,) under the Brokers' Bill, we find that the average rate of interest which it provided for is 4 per cent. Upon the Brokers' Bill debt of \$33,508,497.85, therefore, the average annual interest would be \$1,340,339.91, while the interest on the Riddleberger debt of \$21,035,377.15 is only \$631,061.31—the *annual* saving in interest thus being \$709,278.60. But the debt under the Riddleberger Bill is to run 50 years unless sooner redeemed. We may be sure (judging from the past) that at the expiration of that period, under the Funder scheme, the debt, instead of being paid or diminished, would be increased; but assuming that under the Readjuster settlement we shall pay off the debt at the end of 50 years, then the saving in interest under the Riddleberger Bill for the whole period is \$35,463,930, which, added to the principal of \$12,473,120.70 saved, makes a total saved under Readjustment of \$47,937,050.70.

It will be observed that in all these figures and calculations we make as favorable an exhibit for the Funders as possible, making no allowance against them for their exemption of bonds and coupons from taxation, and considering the Funder debt as under the Brokers' Bill at 4 per cent., instead of under the Funding Bill at 6 per

cent. Yet the saving, as we see, is \$47,937,050.70—*with not a dollar of interest repudiated or put in a tax-coupon!* The annual interest saved is \$709,278.60; and the saving annually for 50 years, including the principal saved, is \$958,741.07.

FLOATING DEBT.

When the State Government was restored in 1870 there was *no floating debt at all*. After ten years' mismanagement (with \$1,816,000 in the Treasury when payment of interest under the Funding Bill began), the Funders surrendered the administration to the Readjusters on the 1st of January, 1880, with \$163,894.80 due upon outstanding warrants, \$200,000 due and unpaid to the Lunatic Asylums, \$40,520 due and unpaid in fines to the Literary Fund, \$60,482.89 due to interest on college endowments, and \$1,504,245 due the public free schools—making a total floating debt of \$1,969,142.69, *with only \$22,494.09 in the Treasury!* Besides, at that date, the Funder administration was in arrears of interest to the Sinking Fund \$1,877,712, and in arrears of interest on the State Debt \$3,889,679. *There is now no Floating Debt at all*, except a remainder of \$715,000 of the \$1,500,000 diverted from the schools by the Funders.

ANNUAL EXPENSES OF GOVERNMENT.

For the eight years beginning with 1871-'72 and concluding with 1878-'79, the annual average of regular expenses of government under the Bourbon-Funder rule was \$1,084,664.74. For the four years of Readjuster rule, beginning with 1879-'80 and ending with 1882-'83, the annual average of regular expenses of government was \$802,234.14. The annual average of saving in expenses of government under Readjuster rule, as com-

pared with the expenses under Funder rule, is thus \$282,430.60.

THE STATE REVENUES.

The following statement shows the assessments of taxes on the principal subjects of taxation for the years named:

	1879.	1882.
Real Estate	\$1,242,502 98	\$923,724 32
Personalty	340,117 17	328,271 26
Poll-Tax	294,748 00	305,602 00
Licenses	671,687 41	729,115 21
Railroads	40,559 04	138,454 92
Income	29,431 50	36,927 75

The total assessments on these six principal subjects were, therefore, \$2,599,046.10 for 1879, and \$2,462,095.46 for 1882. It is to be remarked that there is an increase on every item in 1882, as compared with 1879, except on lands and personal property, where considerable reductions have been made by the reassessment of lands (in 1880) and the lowering of the rate of taxation from 50 cents to 40 cents. The decrease in the assessment of lands made in 1880 was over \$12,000,000 in valuation and over \$61,000 in taxes. The increase for 1882 is \$854 in assessed taxes on polls over 1879; \$57,427.80 on licenses, notwithstanding the repeal of the onerous Moffett law; \$97,895.88 on railroads; \$7,496.25 on incomes; total increase, \$163,673.93.

The revenue received from miscellaneous sources, not included in the table of assessments given, was \$133,469.48 in 1879, and \$218,336.74 in 1882—the increase being here \$84,867.26, which added to the increase on polls, licenses, railroads and incomes (as above) makes \$248,541.19—or only \$82,083.38 less than the sum of

the decrease in the assessment of taxes in 1882 (as compared with 1879) on real and personal property, the assessment in 1879 being made before the reduced re-assessment of lands made in 1880 and at the 50 cents rate, while the assessment of 1882 is upon the reduced re-assessment of lands and at the reduced rate of 40 cents. But, on reference to the Reports of the State Treasury, we see that its receipts in 1879 (including \$61,000 tax on coupons,) were only \$2,649,899.07, while for 1882 (*excluding* all incidental revenue,) the receipts were \$2,718,454.55.

The decrease in the taxes on lands was \$318,778.66; on personal property, \$11,845.91—making a total of \$330,624.57 in reduction of those general taxes which bear most heavily on the people.

To-day your taxes are lower by 20 cents in the dollar; your lands are at a greatly reduced assessment for taxation; your expenses of government are largely reduced; your debt and its interest are equitably adjusted within your easy and certain means of payment, and you have an accumulation in your Treasury of \$1,543,712.21. What a difference from the bankrupt and woful condition to which Funderism had brought you by financial mismanagement and corruption! Surely the great changes your ballots have wrought, your ballots will maintain!

THE FREE SCHOOLS.

The public free schools of the State were established by a mandate of the Constitution of 1869, that at the first session of the General Assembly held under its provisions a uniform system of public free schools should be provided for, the full introduction of the system to be accomplished by the year 1876, or earlier.

Accordingly the Legislature in 1870 passed the Free School Bill, and the system had its first year of practical operation in 1871. That year there were 3,047 schools, of which 769 were colored; 131,088 pupils, of whom 38,976 were colored; 3,084 teachers, of whom 504 were colored, and the expenditures amounted to \$587,472.39. In 1879, under the rule of the Funders, with their tax-coupons and other results of unwise, if not wicked legislation, the schools had decreased to 2,491—a falling off of 556 schools, of which 89 were colored; the pupils had been reduced to 108,074, a falling off of 23,014, of whom 3,208 were colored; the teachers had diminished to 2,504, a falling off of 580, of whom 94 were colored; and the expenditures had shrunk to \$511,902.53—a falling off of \$75,569.86.

So much for the friendship of the Funders for free popular education as shown by the results for nine years.

In 1879 the Readjusters gained their first great victory, and they came into power on the 1st of January, 1880, as the Funders went out. Under Readjustment, the schools last year were 5,587—an increase of 3,096 over 1879, of which 850 were colored; the pupils, 257,362—an increase of 149,288, of whom 49,560 were colored; the teachers, 4,538—an increase of 3,093, of whom 644 were colored; and the expenditures had grown to \$1,157,142.05—an increase of \$645,239.52.

In the meantime the school term has been lengthened and the average of teachers' salaries increased. Nor is it to be forgotten that whereas in many parts of the State school warrants were unmarketable at 50 cents in the dollar, they are to-day as current as greenbacks, except where some Funder Treasurer holds to the old practice, in defiance of all laws, of shaving the warrants and certificates with school-money in his hands!

Of the arrears to the schools, amounting to over \$1,500,000 on the 1st of January, 1880, *not a dollar was ever paid by the Funders*; and now the Readjusters have already paid \$785,000 of these arrearages—\$400,000 of this sum being derived from the sale of the State's interest in the Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio Railroad. And here let it be remembered that this interest of the State in that railroad had been utterly neglected by the Funder administration, unless we except an unwise and ill-directed proceeding by the late Attorney-General Field, which resulted in nothing. Even Gov. Holliday wholly ignored the interests of the State, direct and indirect, in the greatest of our lines of transportation; at no time did he call legislative attention to the jeopardy in which the road stood, or suggest any action of rescue or defence; and when the Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio Railroad Company had made a contract with the purchasers of the road that they should pay the State \$500,000 for her interest in it, he, as a member of the Board of Public Works, refused to ratify the bargain and sought to deprive the Commonwealth of the money which had been secured to her by the foresight and diligence of others. Of the \$500,000 thus saved to the State (all clear gain), \$400,000 was afterwards voted to the schools by the Readjusters (as we have said), and by the same authority the remaining \$100,000 was appropriated to the construction of a Colored Normal School, with an annuity of \$25,000.

Thus, through Readjustment, the free schools have been delivered from Funderism and wonderfully increased and improved; they have been redeemed from the coupons; their arrearages are being rapidly liquidated; and every man, woman and child in the Commonwealth is sure that not only are our public free schools safe in the hands of the Readjusters, but that the Readjuster party

will never fail in anything that will promote and extend them. We need not ask any father, mother or child of the people which policy toward the schools should be maintained and perpetuated—that of Funderism or that of Readjustment. The contrast presented in this important matter by the facts and figures is startling; and no citizen of Virginia who desires our school system to prosper will vote to commit it again to the care of Funderism. Never!

OUR PROSPERITY.

Many striking contrasts to the condemnation of Bourbon-Funderism, and to the credit of Readjustment, have been called to your attention in our public affairs; but while these, in a general way, attest the private relief which always accompanies the deliverance of public affairs from distress and disaster, there are yet other evidences to which we invite your serious consideration.

Since 1879 there have been constructed in Virginia 726 miles of railroad, (equal to a permanent investment here of full \$21,000,000)—an increase of 43 per cent. for the period, and the greatest number of miles of railroad built in Virginia during any like period since the war; the increase in freight carried has been 2,048,618 tons, or 82 per cent.; the increase of the number of passengers carried has been 1,127,995, or 78 per cent.; and the gross earnings of the roads have increased \$6,500,000, or 88 per cent. No better gauge of progress, development and betterment can be found than in the railroads of a State; and when we see by their statistics that they are not only wonderfully increasing in mileage, but in tonnage, passengers and income, we know that our people are in easy circumstances that enable them to travel, and that it is their surplus productions of mine,

field, forest, furnace, factory, &c., which make the increased railroad tonnage, both in going out to market and in returning by exchange in increased comforts and luxuries for the homes of the people.

A signal instance of growth since 1879 is shown in the cotton statistics of our port of Norfolk, which has become the second cotton port of the whole country. In 1879 the total shipment of cotton from Norfolk was 442,694 bales, of which only 203,536 bales, valued at \$9,143,015, were exported direct by Norfolk merchants. In 1882 we see that the total shipment was 787,362 bales, of which 372,529 bales, valued at \$17,869,682, *were shipped direct on account of her own merchants.* This is an increase of local expansion in a leading trade of the world, in four years, of 83 per cent. upon the article handled.

An emphatic proof of popular ease and general thrift is established by the willingness and capacity of the people to pay their taxes, and thus we find that whereas in 1878 the collectors of State taxes had to distrain for or otherwise collect \$1,207,682.32, with *five per cent.* added, in 1882 the sum thus collected was only \$959,319.38. Another item of significance in the same direction is the increase of *9 per cent.* in license taxes over those for 1879. That enterprise, capital and labor among us are aroused to a greater activity than ever, is further demonstrated by the number of charters granted by our courts and filed in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth. In 1879 there were only 31 charters thus granted and filed; in 1882 the number was 89, or nearly three times the number of 1879. Besides, individual enterprise is no less busy, as all of us can see in the rise of new industries on every hand. The aggregate productive values and the aggregate values of all productions in the State have increased vastly since 1879, and that, too, in

every section of the Commonwealth; while every citizen can attest for himself that he is receiving higher wages for his labor, better prices for his products, of whatever nature, and that the very air is filled with the hum of awakened energy and the light of cheerful content and satisfaction. With her face to the sunset in 1879, Virginia has now turned her face to the morning, and all her population is rejoicing at the new and happy direction her eyes and her feet have taken. The path she has entered upon has already led us out of the wilderness; and if she remain in it and pursue it, all our waste places will blossom as the rose and all hearts will be made glad. Who is ready to leave this path, so strewn with good fruits, and blooming with assured promises? Follow-citizens, we may look back wisely for warning and instruction; but to turn back would be madness and destruction. Readjustment cries "*Forward!*" Funderism, far in the rear of progress, says "*Come back!*" Your fate and the fate of Virginia depend on your ballots.

THE FREE BALLOT.

Yes, voters of Virginia, it is upon your ballots—*your free ballots*—that it now wholly depends whether the evil you have escaped shall return, or whether the good that has been accomplished shall be confirmed, perpetuated and multiplied. All of you now have your suffrage free and unbought; and even you who were able to pay for it, and did pay for it, should be grateful for deliverance from a qualification which put your dearest right at the mercy of partisan assessors and collectors, and conditioned that right upon stipulations that were derogatory to your manhood. But the repeal of the qualification by the Readjuster party absolutely enfranchised thousands

of white and colored citizens; and these, to whom the ballot-box and the path to it were *closed* by Funderism and now *re-opened* by Readjustment, should consider it the proudest privilege of their lives to cast their ballots for the Readjuster party. All of us, indeed, should desire free ballots for ourselves and free schools for our children; for even though we may not use the free ballots ourselves, and although our children may not require a free education, yet the ballot and the education should be ours and our children's as the best arms and equipments in time of need. Now is rapidly approaching a time of need for your ballots,—and for your own sake, as well as for your children, let your ballots on the 6th of November bury Bourbonism and Funderism forever! As long as these menace you and Virginia, there can be neither security nor peace among us. You see it—know it—and so let your votes be cast that Readjustment shall be put beyond all peril and intrenched impregnably.

WILLIAM MAHONE,

Chairman.

PLATFORM AND ADDRESS
OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY OF VIRGINIA,

ADOPTED JULY 15, 1885.

PLATFORM AND ADDRESS.

We, the Republican Party of Virginia, faithfully adhere to the National Republican Party, its principles and platform, as the best political sanctions and sureties of an equality of States, people and votes, in all rights, privileges and interests, under the sacred and inviolable supremacy of the Union, the Constitution, the Law and the Ballot-Box ; and expressly do we reaffirm our fidelity to the policy of protection for American labor, capital, materials and productions, and our opposition to any tampering with the present tariff that shall tend to defeat or lessen its protective purposes.

We maintain a resolute antagonism to the National Democracy as a conspiracy for spoils, without any wise or definite convictions of its own on any Federal issue ; as an organization of fraud and force to oppose and obstruct by usurped power the fundamental policies that assure National peace, progress and prosperity ; and as a party so profligate, perfidious, dissolute and discordant, as proved by its past record and present attitude, that all the enterprises, interests and aspirations of the people are thrown into a paralysis of suspense and apprehension under its domination.

We declare our resolute opposition to the present Federal administration as the fit creature of the immoral and faithless relations of apostate Republicans with the National Democracy, and as the natural product of folly, fraud, force and perfidy, which has already displayed all the traits of its origin by proclaiming a test for office that at once finds its most flagrant violation in the offensive partizanry of the President and his Cabinet ; by parading the mean hypocrisy of reform that awards premiums to false witness and calumny ; by servile obsequiousness at the North to the men whose treachery betrayed Republicanism and stole the crown of power and victory for barter ; and by insolent venality and brutality in the

South, and especially in this Commonwealth, that have conspicuously identified it with the worst elements of rapine and corruption, and made it the accomplice of that Bourbonism whose effective strength consists of organized Repudiators, Ballot-box Stuffers and Assassins,—to the grief and indignation of good men of all parties.

Holding these attitudes toward the National parties and their politics, and sure that these are both right and expedient for the civil, political and material welfare of this State and her citizens, we reaffirm our past declarations, and promise a persistent continuance of our past efforts, in behalf of a government of the people, by the people, for the people, in this Commonwealth. To this end we proclaim :

For the Free Ballot, against the Bourbon Ballot-Killer.

For Free Schools and increased appropriations for the enlargement and extension of the system, against the Bourbon hostility to free education, as manifested in the diversion of the State school funds (there now being a fresh diversion of \$300,000 due teachers for the year 1884-'5), and in the denial of Federal school aid by the defeat of the Blair Education bill.

For the enforcement of the Readjuster settlement of the State Debt as covering every dollar of Virginia's equitable share of the debt of the undivided State, and the highest rate of interest that can be borne, against the open opposition of Bourbon-Funderism, and the more treacherous and insidious tampering of Bourbon "acquiescence" which has betrayed us again to our broker enemies.

For economical government, against Bourbon waste, improvidence and crippled finances.

For a liberal support and extension of all our asylums, against the Bourbon system of incarcerating our insane of both sexes in the common jails.

For Free Labor and its just share in its contributions to the power and wealth of the Nation, against the Bourbon policy which subjects honest labor not only to Capital, but to unjust and humiliating competition with convict labor.

For Free Books for free schools, as a proper and necessary completion of our system of public education, against the present Bourbon policy which forces many children to plead pauperism or stay from the schools, and robs the parents of others by frequent changes of books.

For due compensation for all labor impressed for public service, whether on public roads or otherwise (as in the case of private property taken for public uses), against this Bourbon robbery of labor to relieve capital of its just burdens.

For good public county roads, under some efficient system, to be supported by an equal and uniform rate of taxation on property and by an employment of convict labor under proper regulations, against the present unjust conscription by which Bourbonism forces the poor, uncompensated, to do this work.

For Biennial Elections, so that our State, county, city, and other elections may all occur together, with great economy and to the great repose and relief of the people, against the present system of frequent and costly elections that keep the people in continual agitation, excitement and trouble, only to subserve the fraudulent and inflammatory devices by which Bourbonism maintains its factious and hateful domination.

For the protection of our oyster-beds and fisheries from non-resident invaders, and the due regulation of these great interests in accordance with the rights and views of the people directly concerned, against the Bourbon mismanagement which invites invasion and spoliation, while it injuriously burdens and hampers our own citizens of the Tidewater and Eastern Shore counties.

For the execution of all public work by the direct employment and payment of labor, against the system by contracts, under which both Government and workmen are fleeced by speculative and unnecessary middle-men.

For every possible encouragement and aid to promote the construction of railroads and other facilities to open up the immense mineral and other resources

of the Western, Southwestern, and other portions of the State, and place these in easy connection with our East and West lines of transportation, in accordance with the Virginia policy of home growth and development, against the suicidal Bourbon policy which sacrifices all our internal advantages and materials for self-advancement to outside interests and makes our ports and cities mere way-stations and our territory a mere tributary and road-bed of convenient transit to the traffic of other States and their cities.

For an enforcement of the paramount obligation of the various works of internal improvement to the people of the State, by whose authority they were created, by whose money they were constructed, and by whose grace they live; and it is enjoined upon our representative and executive officers to enforce the discharge of that duty, to insure to the people of Virginia such rates, facilities, and connections as will protect every industry and interest against discrimination, tend to the development of their agricultural and mineral resources, encourage the investment of active capital in manufactures, and the profitable employment of labor in industrial enterprises; grasp for our cities those advantages to which, by reason of their geographical position, they are entitled, and fulfill all the great public ends for which they were designed.

For money-wages for labor, against the Bourbon store-and-order system, whereby corporate and other employers control the expenditures of their employes, and under which great extortions and oppressions are imposed.

For eight hours as a day for all labor employed on public works and in mines and manufactories, and by corporations, with weekly payments.

For a State Bureau of Labor Statistics, to reach a fuller knowledge of the condition of the laboring people, with a view to their welfare and elevation.

For a legal provision securing to all mechanics, laborers and other workmen employed by corporations, firms and individuals the first lien on the assets of these where they are forced into liquidation, to be first satisfied as that of preferred creditors by reason of their share in creating such assets.

For that civil service in which character and capability shall be regarded as paramount tests for public employment.

For such annual appropriations as may be adequate to provide for the proper care and support of disabled Virginia soldiers who need such provision.

For a general law providing that any county, city, town and district in this Commonwealth may determine for itself, by a majority of its votes cast at a special election held for the purpose under due regulations, whether or not the sale of spirituous liquors shall be allowed within its limits.

Pledging ourselves to these, and appealing to our unvarying fidelity heretofore to popular rights and interests as a full earnest of our honest purpose, we arraign the self-styled Democratic Party of Virginia as the same old criminal which, under various former aliases, has been found guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, of which the following is only a partial and incomplete summary:

Recognizing and assuming the whole debt of West Virginia and Virginia in 1866-'7 and capitalizing its accrued interest. *Funderism!*

Exhibiting a spirit of re-action, obstruction and revolt which incurred the abolition of our civil government and brought upon us the Military government of District No. 1. *Bourbonism!* *Last ditch!*

Opposing foolishly and impotently the Amendments to the Federal Constitution and the best State Constitution we have ever had (our present one)—all of which, nevertheless, were accepted and ratified by the overwhelming vote of our people in 1869—thanks to the Liberal Movement led by William Mahone. *Anti-MAHONEISM!*

Passing the Funding bill of 1871 by bribery and corruption, and entailing the accursed tax-coupons upon us—a very plague of Egypt. *"Honor and honesty!"*

Upholding the Funding bill and its coupons as superior in dignity to the Constitution and the State, and prior in obligation to the schools and our charitable asylums. *Sacred Contract!*

Diverting our school-taxes to the pockets of coupon-scalpers, and otherwise embarrassing and injuring our free schools until they were closed by thousands. *Friends of popular education!*

Placing a tax on the ballot, and so manipulating its assessment and collection as to disfranchise tens of thousands

of white and colored voters. *Friends of Free Suffrage!*

Endeavoring in 1878-'9 to repeal the State school-tax by constitutional amendment and to remand our State schools to their former status as county pauper institutions. *"Education is a Luxury!"*

Defeating the act exempting the school-taxes from the coupons. *"Torch to the school-houses first!"*

Passing the monstrous Brokers' bill, with its infamous Allen Amendment. *"We are all Readjusters!"* that being the first legislative enactment in alleged "acquiescence" in Readjustment!

Defaming Virginia and her people to the world as Repudiators and thieves, and denouncing Readjustment as the work of ignorant negroes and mean whites. *"We are the real people!"*

Encouraging coupon-scalping and defending all the miserable decisions and practices in and out of the Funder courts against the State. *"Virtue, patriotism and intelligence!"*

Fighting the Riddleberger bill and all its auxiliaries and applauding Governor Holliday's perfidious and insolent vetoes.

Squandering the \$1,800,000 in the Treasury when the Bourbons came to power in 1870-'1, and accumulating debt at the rate of a million a year to 1879.

Filling our jails with lunatics, and intercepting appropriations made to enlarge our asylums.

Bringing and fomenting suits to stay Readjustment and its rescue of the schools.

Opposing with vigor and venom the restoration of free suffrage.

Regaining power in 1883 by fraud, violence and terrorism, under concurrent false pretences of heartily "acquiescing" in all the great measures they, as Bourbons and Funders, had so long denounced and opposed. *"Anything to beat Mahone!"*

Usurping in the Legislature an absolute and unconstitutional power, which invaded the jurisdictions and prerogatives of all the departments of government, and truculently threatened our Judges and the Governor of the State with its unscrupulous wrath.

Unseating ruthlessly, without law or precedent, seventeen members of the General Assembly, upon frivolous grounds or false pretexts, and seating their own partizans, in defiance of all

law, right and decency, and in contempt of the votes of the people.

In three cases refusing to seat Senators until after the people had returned them three times, with ever-growing majorities; and in one case seating a Senator who had not even claimed an election and who had no grounds upon which to base a claim.

Violating Constitution, law, and all the courtesies of life with unhesitating hand, whenever these interfered with their nefarious ends.

Stripping the Executive of the ancient powers and functions of his office, and manufacturing a bogus and fraudulent majority in each House to annul his vetoes.

Failing to submit to the Governor measures which the Constitution directs should go to him for consideration before they become laws.

Wresting all our institutions, with scarcely an exception, from the lawful and competent hands to which they were entrusted, and placing them under the partisan control of the creatures of their illegitimate exercise of power.

Passing more than seventy acts relieving collecting officers and their sureties from defaults, and thereby defrauding the Treasury of over \$96,000 of taxes collected in cash from the people—much of which was doubtlessly employed for Bourbon campaign purposes.

Releasing from liability to the State all delinquent and defaulting officers and their sureties, who had given bonds previous to July 1, 1870.

At one swoop repealing the collateral inheritance tax, imposed as a most easy, just and equitable exaction by all civilized Governments, and releasing all the accrued and delinquent taxes that had accumulated under it—all for the behoof of known favorites, partisans and associates of the usurpers.

Betraying Readjustment by an ignorant or wicked course of legislation, which invited and forced a conflict with the Federal Judiciary, and renewed all our debt troubles—troubles which would never have come again except through this unnecessary conflict which they precipitated.

Passing thirty-eight acts, which were so unwise, or ill-conceived, that they themselves were compelled by very shame to repeal or amend them.

Filling our statute-books with blunders that could only arise from criminal

negligence, or from an ignorance never before exhibited by any legislative body.

Squandering the revenues of the State by an extended and an extra session; by partisan, malicious and unwarranted investigations; by fees for unnecessary counsel employed in cases where the Attorney-General was well equal to the occasion; and by every wasteful means common to profligate and unprincipled graspers of public power and plunder.

Twice passing acts attacking the freedom of the ballot and placing it under the absolute control of partisan boards chosen by themselves; and one of these acts, attacking the fundamental safeguard of our liberties, is now in actual force, executed with every circumstance of ruthless fraud.—as glaringly revealed in the case of Norfolk county.

Seeking to restore the abolished and unconstitutional freehold qualification among us, and which they would have imposed upon us, but for the interpolation of the Supreme Court of Appeals.

Introducing in this Commonwealth the lawless and shameful methods and practices of Mississippi Bourbonism, and hesitating at no step to secure power and baffle the popular will—suppressing free speech and free politics by every possible appliance.

Identifying themselves with the so-called National Democratic party, and, by their co-operation with that party in Congress and in the general political arena, twice aiding in the defeat of the Blair Education bill, which had passed the Republican Senate, and which would have appropriated over \$5,000,000 to the free schools of this State.

Having thus, also, aided in defeating measures to restore the Protective duties on our wools, to remove the taxes on our tobacco, and to abolish the Internal Revenue System.

Thus, also, arraying themselves against the tariff policy which Protects all our material interests, particularly by their support of the Morrison Reduction bill and their endorsement of the Democratic platform in its declaration against all duties on the foreign raw materials that, admitted free, would come in ruinous competition with our labor and all our natural resources of field, mine and forest.

Raising the race and color-line in all elections, and subordinating every public right and interest to inflammatory appeals to passion and prejudice;

and at all times and in every way endeavoring to crush every National impulse of patriotism and every important question of Federal policy beneath the heel of arrogant class and sectional pretensions as insufferable to all other portions of the Union as they are insulting and degrading to the masses of the South.

We charge that this Bourbon leadership, under whatever name it has paraded or still parades, and in every recent era of our history, whether with respect to our National, State, city or county affairs, has always exhibited the haughty spirit which invites destruction; the folly which precipitates disaster; the blind ignorance that finds its ready ditch; the obstinacy that rushes to ruin; the extravagance and improvidence which beget want and impose fresh oppressions and exactions upon the people; the cruel ambition which would wade through fraud, corruption and blood to gain or retain dominion; the insolence that disdains rights, laws, constitutions, ballots and people, when these offer to obstruct their unscrupulous usurpations of might; the profligacy which mocks at principle and good faith and adopts perfidy as a policy; and a treason to every muniment of human freedom consecrated for over a century by so much American devotion and sacrifice.

And we charge that the proofs of all we allege against this leadership are heaped mountain high on every hand, confronting the people at every turn, and demanding speedy and final judgment upon the culprits.

But, beyond the offences of Bourbonism, which call for its condemnation and overthrow, we exhort all *anti-Bourbons* and all good citizens in whom generosity, liberality, independence and manliness are not yet extinct, to rally to our cause, our movement and our party, for reasons which abound in our past record, and which are here partially enumerated:

Because we restored free suffrage.

Established Readjustment.

Rescued the free schools from the coupons and ruin.

Ascertained the just sum of our debt as \$13,000,000 less than claimed and demanded, and fixed its equitable interest at 3 per cent.

Redeemed and enlarged our charitable and other institutions.

Reduced the assessment of lands for taxation over \$12,000,000.

Lowered taxation from 50 cents on the \$100 to 40 cents.

Remitted \$350,000 a year to tax-payers on their real and personal property.

More than doubled the free schools.

Paid the school-teachers in cash, and saved them from shaving their school-warrants at heavy discounts.

Constructed a commodious asylum for the colored insane.

Established a Normal School for the colored people.

Took the insane from our jails and provided for them in our asylums.

Because by the decrease of taxation, the promotion of free education and the encouragement of liberalism in all things, we successfully invited capital, enterprise and labor to come among us, with consequent development, progress and prosperity.

Because we have secured liberal appropriations to construct or repair Federal buildings at Richmond, Danville, Lynchburg, Abingdon, Harrisonburg, &c., and for the improvement of our rivers and harbors.

Because we have procured the reduction of the tax on tobacco to 8 cents a pound—resulting in a saving of at least \$2,500,000 a year to our Virginia producers.

Decreased the annual ordinary expenses of our State Government \$250,000.

Applied all public revenue to public purposes and benefit.

Made the penitentiary a self-sustaining institution, whereas it had formerly cost the State \$50,000 or more a year.

Restored our educational, charitable, and other public institutions to their original purposes, instead of allowing them to be continued as the adjuncts of class and special privilege.

And because all our record is one of active devotion to the State and full of practical good results.

Representing this cause, movement and party of all the people, for all the people, we appeal to them to support our men and measures at the ballot-box, and to see to it that their will prevail; we particularly and urgently invoke the co-operation of those good citizens, who, holding economical, healthy and right government above all partisan considerations, desire that the Debt question shall be put at rest, on the basis of our

settlement, which deals equitably with all classes of the outstanding obligations of the State, and which prefers none but vitalizes all ; and we cordially invite the return to our ranks, in this grave contest, of every man who formerly contributed to the success of Re-adjustment and its related issues of Free

Schools, Free Suffrage, and other reforms in the interests of peace, progress, prosperity and liberalism, that they may participate in the rescue of our great measures from unfriendly and incompetent hands and carry them in triumph to complete enforcement and permanent establishment.

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PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLICAN
PARTY OF VIRGINIA.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. There shall be a State Executive Committee composed of a chairman and two other members of the organization, resident at or near the city of Richmond, to be appointed by the President of the convention, subject to the ratification of the body.

2. There shall be a State Committee, composed of three members of the organization from each Congressional district, to be elected by the delegates to the Convention from the respective districts, and their names given to the President of the Convention, to be formally announced by him, when he shall announce the names of the State Executive Committee.

3. There shall be a committee for each Congressional District to be composed of the three members of the State Committee for the district, whose duty it shall be to look after the interests and affairs of the organization in their respective districts, and it shall be the prerogative of one of these to call to order all Congressional Conventions and to designate a temporary chairman for the same.

4. There shall be a committee for each city and county of the State, to be composed of a chairman and three members for each voting precinct of the county or city.

5. The representation for all nominating or other Conventions of the organization shall be upon the basis of the vote cast by the party in the preceding election for Governor,

provided that no county or city shall be allowed less than one delegate.

ARTICLE II.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SECTION 1. The duty of this Committee shall be to carry out the acts of the State Convention, and to put in operation such plans as the State Committee may provide; to effect and promote the same.

2. It shall decide all questions at issue in any election district, and all variances in the party as to conventions, candidates and nominees, or otherwise, which may arise—calculated to affect the cause and the efficiency of the organization, or the success of the party.

3. It shall have power to convene the State Committee whenever it may deem necessary.

4. It shall have power and authority to designate and appoint canvassers for the State for Congressional districts and counties, whenever they may deem it expedient or desirable to do so.

5. It shall appoint its own secretary, who shall be ex-officio secretary of the State Committee, and of all State Conventions; and who shall provide a roll of the delegates and alternates as the same are certified to him, and the number of votes entitled to be cast by each separate delegation, according to the schedule on which such convention shall have been called, and the same shall govern in any vote which may be taken preceding the permanent organization of the Convention, and until changed by the action of the Convention on credentials. It shall also appoint its own treasurer.

6. Its chairman shall be ex-officio chairman of the State committee, and it shall be his prerogative—and in his absence that of some other member of the State Executive Committee—to call to order all State conventions and to designate to preside over the same a temporary president.

ARTICLE III.

STATE COMMITTEE.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of this committee to concert

such measures as may seem to it proper to promote the policy, and effect the purposes of the party.

2. It shall fix the time and place of all State and Congressional conventions of the party, and prescribe the number of delegates and alternates for each county and city of the State and the mode of electing the same to such conventions.

3. It shall fill any vacancy which may occur in the State Executive Committee

4. The three members representing each Congressional district shall be entitled to three votes in the committee, to be cast by the members or member present.

5. Vacancies in the committee shall be filled on the nomination of the remaining members of the particular Congressional district in which the same shall occur; such nominations to be made to the State Executive Committee, provided, that in the case of the nomination of more than one person, the Executive Committee shall elect as between the persons so nominated, or, in default of any such nomination, or nominations, may fill the vacancy or vacancies.

6. The committee shall meet at such times and places as it may please, and at such other times and places as the State Executive Committee may call it to meet. The presence of four districts shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE IV.

CITY AND COUNTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES.

SECTION 1. The chairmen for the Committees of the Cities and Counties composing each Congressional district will be nominated to the State Executive Committee by the district committees for their respective districts; or in default of the prompt action of such district committees, the State Executive Committee may appoint the chairmen and fill vacancies in that office, and the chairmen so appointed shall be commissioned by the chairman of the State Executive Committee and the said committee may appoint, and likewise commission, other chairmen whenever and wherever the interests of the party may, in its judgment demand such action.

2. The three members from each ward or voting precinct composing such committees shall be promptly nominated by the city or county chairman to the State Executive Committee, designating the sub-chairman of the three members for

each sub-district, giving the postoffice address of each, and, accordingly, the chairman of the State Executive Committee shall commission the committeemen so appointed. The county or city chairman shall nominate to the State Executive Committee the persons to fill vacancies occurring in such county or city committees, and shall, whenever and wherever the interests of the party demands, recommend the appointment of other committeemen. He shall designate four or more, as he may elect, of the sub-district chairmen to constitute an Executive Committee, of which he shall be ex-officio chairman.

3. It shall be the duty of these committees to look after the proper care and interests of the organization in their respective districts.

4. It shall be their duty to provide for all nominating or other conventions of the party within their respective districts, and, by conference and agreement, for all nominating conventions to select candidates for the General Assembly in cases where the city and county, or counties, form a legislative election district; in all cases forming such conventions on the basis prescribed in section 5, Article 1; and it will be the prerogative of the county or city chairman to call all such conventions to order, and to designate a temporary chairman for the same.

5. It will be their duty, by every legitimate means, to nurture the cause and to promote the efficiency and coherent action of the organization.

VIRGINIA AND HER DEBT.

General Mahone and the Coupon Decision.

A LETTER TO SENATOR MILLER.

The following letter from General Mahone, of Virginia, to the Hon. Warner Miller, United States Senator from New York, has been furnished by the latter for publication :

PETERSBURG, VA., April 24th, 1885.

Hon. Warner Miller:

My Dear Sir—In response to your personal request that I should make a statement concerning our Virginia debt, which would clear up some of the honest misapprehension on the subject entertained at the North, I have prepared the following, which you are at liberty to use as you may see fit. As the main body of it was written before the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, I have added to it some comments on that decision.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM MAHONE.

STATEMENT.

At the beginning of the year 1861, the public debt of Virginia was \$31,800,712.90. On the first of July, 1863, eleven days after

the admission of West Virginia as a State in the Union, the indebtedness of the former State of Virginia is ascertained to have been :

Principal .....	.....	.....	\$33,141,212.92
And arrearages of interest.....	.....	.....	5,954,716.08
Total.....	.....	.....	\$39,095,929.00

DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATION ON THE DEBT.

The Legislature which came into power with the readmission of Virginia into the Union was controlled by what was then called the Conservative, and now the Democratic party. On the 30th of March, 1871, it passed an act by which the debt of the undivided State of Virginia, was, without account, assumed to be \$45,718,-112.23.

It arbitrarily assumed two-thirds of that sum to be the share owned by that portion of the old State, which is now the State of Virginia, and that the remaining one-third was owned by that portion comprising the new State of West Virginia. Under the provisions of this funding act (1871) the payment of any interest on any then existing bond of the former State of Virginia was precluded, and the creditor only admitting to claim interest upon the new bonds authorized by that act, which were to be given in exchange for the old in the ratio of two for three, with a certificate of claim against West Virginia for the remaining one-third.

Here was an open act of repudiation, by the Democratic party of the State, of all interests on outstanding bonds, and the creditors' sole remedy was to accept two new bonds in lieu of three old ones. The bonds to be issued under this act were to bear 6 per cent. interest, the coupons for which were declared to be "receivable for taxes, debts, and demands due the State."

About thirty millions of the bonds of the former State had been hurriedly refunded under this act of 1871 by the issue of about twenty millions of the new bonds, when a new Legislature, also Democratic, repealed so much of the act as made the coupons of the new bonds receivable for taxes. This left some ten millions

of the assumed share of the debt of the former State in *statu quo*—unadjusted and proscribed, fundable, however, as the others had been, three for two—but in bonds the interest on which could only be paid after the twenty millions bearing tax-receivable coupons had been satisfied, and then only at the pleasure of the State.

Here was a second act of repudiation, and one involving cruel and distressing discrimination between creditors having equal claims, and all the work of the Democratic party.

The same Legislature subsequently passed an act nullifying the receivability for taxes of the coupons which had been issued and made tax-receivable by law. This was done by forbidding collectors of revenue from receiving for taxes anything but gold, silver or United States notes. Here was a third and more direct attempt by the Democratic party at repudiation.

Following this legislation the tax-receivability of the coupons, by law made so receivable, was tested in the courts, and the constitutionality of that feature was affirmed, and the act nullifying it was declared unconstitutional.

DEMOCRATIC FAILURE TO PROVIDE NECESSARY REVENUE TO MEET OBLIGATIONS TO CREDITORS.

The revenues of the State, under a rate of taxation felt everywhere to be oppressive, amounts to \$2,430,000. By constitutional provision, made irrevocable by the fundamental conditions of the act of Congress readmitting Virginia into the Union, one-fifth of that revenue derived annually from certain sources, together with the head tax and fines and escheats (in this case amounting to \$600,000), is dedicated to free schools. The cost of administering the State government amounted to over one million per annum. Annual interest upon the proscribed portion (ten millions) of the assumed debt of the former State, amounted to \$600,000; and that upon the tax-receivable self-executing coupon debt of twenty millions, amounted to \$1,200,000.

Thus it will be seen the self-styled debt-paying party were confronted with an aggregate of liabilities as follows:

Free schools.....	\$ 600,000
Expense of Government.....	1,000,000
Interest.....	1,400,000
	\$3,800,000

With resources to meet the same amounting to but \$2,400,000.

The tax-receivable coupons was inexorable and unavoidable. It seized the revenues on their way to the Treasury and paid itself. The State Government had to go on. These two sums—viz., the \$1,200,000, which never was allowed to reach the Treasury, being absorbed on its way there by the self-executing coupons, and the \$1,000,000 for current expenses of the State Government, exhausted all the net revenue save the beggarly sum of about \$200,000. This left the proscribed creditor to wait and live upon the honorable promises of the Democratic party, while the system of public free schools went rapidly to decay.

If that party believed in the correctness of the amount assumed by the Funding act of 1871 to be the State debt, and that the honor and honesty of the State were bound to the full and proper discharge of the liability it imposed, rectitude of purpose and a high sense of duty left no alternative but an increase of the rate of taxation. They had the power. They were in absolute authority in and over every department of the State, city, and county governments. Yet from that time to the end of their domination as a party, in 1879, they failed to move in the only direction which could render possible an honest compliance with the debt-paying sentiment they would have the world believe they were contending and intending to enforce—namely, in the direction of an increase of taxes. On the contrary, while posing as debt-payers, they were constantly planning and scheming for some new measure for refunding the share of the debt of the old State which they had recognized by the acts of 1871. They were always ready to enter upon fresh promises, and ever failing to make any effort to comply with the engagements imposed by any.

Under this condition of things a state of unrest had come to pervade the masses of the people. Aggravated by a period of

hard times, their burdens oppressed hope and paralyzed energies ; the opportunity for educating their children was rapidly passing away ; the asylums were closed to the admission of afflicted people, and had to look to the indulgence and charity of surrounding communities for maintenance on the limited scale of accommodation to which they had been reduced ; the proscribed creditor must sacrifice his long neglected securities, or perish upon the sentiment of debt-paying promises ; the preferred creditor, by the expensive aid and instrumentality of the broker, was getting as much for his tax-receivable coupons as competition and demand permitted, intercepting here and there, as opportunity was presented, the revenues of the State. The credit of the Commonwealth had been destroyed ; the school fund had now been diverted to the extent of a million and a half ; revenue enough was not collected to meet the current expenses of Government ; the State was falling behind in arrearages of interest at the rate of a million a year, and her delinquencies in this alone had reached five millions of dollars ; a floating debt had accumulated of over two million (including the diverted school fund) ; warrants were outstanding against the Treasury for \$163,894.80, when there was but \$22,494.09 cash on hand.

This was the appalling condition of affairs to which the Democratic party had reduced the State whose people had never evaded a duty nor refused compliance with honorable or just obligation, when, as by common consent, in 1879, the masses arose and hurled the despoilers from place and power.

THE NEW ERA OF READJUSTER AND REPUBLICAN RULE.

It was at this juncture that the Readjuster-Republican party of the State first had access to the books. In pursuit of an honest purpose in respect to the debt, their first effort was to ascertain by a thorough examination of the record the true state of the account between the State and its creditors. Previous to that time every presentation had been hap-hazard, presumptive and speculative, and no two of them had ever agreed. The governing idea had been to pile up the figures, promise payment, and refuse perform-

ancee. To renew the note as it became due, and to resent as an insult to honor and honesty any demand for payment--this was the theory and the practice of the Democratic party of the State.

A careful, thorough and conclusive examination of the record resulted in the following statement of the account, the methods of which are submitted with confidence to the criticism of every commissioner, chancellor, financial or other expert, who may compare them with the books of the State or any other possible sources of information.

VIRGINIA'S ACCOUNT WITH HER CREDITORS.

A STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT OF VIRGINIA.

Principal outstanding at this date.

	Principal.
1861.	
Jan. 1st. Sterling debt bearing 5 per cent. interest.....	\$ 1,973,000 00
Dollar debt bearing 6 per cent. interest.....	29,533,582 90
Debt guaranteed bearing 6 per cent. interest.	294,130 00
Total principal.....	\$31,800,712 90

Interest.

Past-due and uncalled for at this date.....	\$ 101,023 63
Maturing at this date, January 1st,	
1861	944,156 38
Total interest.....	\$1,045,183 01

1863.

July 1st. (The State of West Virginia was formally admitted into the Union June 20, 1863. The property and resources of Virginia, upon which the above debt has been founded, were, by this partition of the old State, reduced, one-third of her territory and one-fifth of her population going to form West Virginia. This and the consequences of war to her and her people made a loss of full \$500,000,000 of property, and her taxable values were reduced from \$723,000,000 to \$336,000,000, and her annual revenues from over \$4,000,000 to \$2,500,000.)

Principal.

1863.

July 1st. Sterling debt bearing 5 per cent.	
interest.....	\$1,973,000 00
Dollar debt bearing 6 per cent. interest.....	29,827,712 93
Bonds issued since January 1, 1861, in discharge of debts contracted, and appropriations made prior to that date	1,340,500 02
 Total principal July 1, 1863.....	\$33,141,212 92

Interest.

1863.

July 1st. Past due January 1st, 1861, and uncalled for.....	\$1,045,183 01
Accrued between January 1st, 1861, and July 1st, 1863, inclusive.....	4,909,533 07
 Total interest to July 1st, 1863, inclusive.....	\$5,954,716 08

1863.

July 1st. Two-thirds of the above debt, principal and interest, to this date is assumed as Virginia's equitable portion in consideration of the partition of her territory, population and resources, upon the well established principle that debt in such cases follows territory. Upon that basis Virginia's portion of the debt of the entire State is—

Principal.

Two-thirds of \$1,973,000 sterling debt.....	\$ 1,315,333 34
Two-thirds of \$31,141,212.92 dollar debt.....	20,778,808 62
 Total principal, two-thirds, to July, 1863, inclusive.....	\$22,094,141 96

Interest.

Two-thirds of \$5,954,716.08, amount in arrears at that date, inclusive...	\$ 3,969,810 72
Less amount of interest paid by Virginia since January 1st, 1861, exclusively out of revenues of the present State of Virginia, the ter- ritory and resources of West Vir- ginia being inaccessible during that period and contributing noth- ing thereto.....	3,662,434 55
Balance of interest due and unpaid July 1st, 1863, inclusive.....	\$ 307,376 17
1871.	
July 1st. Principal July 1st, 1863, in sterling bonds as above.....	\$ 1,315,333 34
Principal July 1st, 1863, in dollar bonds as above, \$20,778,808.62 ; less amount of dollar bonds re- deemed between July 1st, 1863, and this date, \$3,710,449.67.— Total dollar bonds.....	17,068,358 95
Total principal.....	\$18,383,692 29
<i>Interest from July 1st, 1863, to July 1st, 1871 inclusive.</i>	
On \$1,315,333,34 sterling bonds at 5 per cent.....	\$ 526,133 28
On \$20,778,808.62 dollar bonds at 6 per cent.....	9,973,828 14
	\$10,499,961 42
Less amount covering average time of the redemption of the \$3,710,449,- 67 dollar bonds redeemed, \$445,- 257,58 ; less amount paid in money during that period—July 1st, 1863, to July 1st, 1871, inclusive, \$3,594,- 289,11	4,039,546 99
	\$6,460,414 73
To which add balance on account of interest to July 1st, 1863, as above.....	307,376 17
Total interest to July 1st, 1871.....	6,767,790 90

Principal.

1879.

July 1st.	Sterling bonds as above.....	\$1,315,333 34
	Less bonds redeemed between July 1st, 1871, and this date.....	42.175 77
	Total.....	\$1,273,157 57
*	Dollar bonds as above.....	\$17,068,358 95
	Less bonds redeemed between July 1st, 1871, and this date.....	1,498,482 35
	Total.....	\$15,569,876 60
	Total of both classes of bonds.....	16,843,034 17

Interest from July 1st, 1871, to July 1st, 1879, inclusive—Eight Years.

On \$1,315,333.34 sterling bonds at 5 per cent.....	\$ 526,133 34
On \$17,068,358.95 dollar bonds at 6 per cent.....	7,763,804 28
Total to July 1st.....	\$8,289,937 62

Three Years.

1882.

July 1st.	Interest on \$1,273,157.57 sterling bonds at 5 per cent.....	\$ 180,981 62
	Interest on \$15,569,876.60 dollar bonds at 6 per cent	2,802,578 79
	Total from July 1st, 1879, to July 1st, 1882.....	\$2,983,560 41
		\$11,273,498 03
	Add interest accrued to July 1st, 1871, as above.....	\$6,767,790 90
	Total.....	\$18,041,288 93

Less amount paid be-
tween July 1, 1871,
and Oct. 1, 1881—

In money.....	\$ 2,415,973 56
In coupons.....	8,707,615 50

* Cancelled by Sinking Fund Commissioners in December, 1879.

Less amount covering average time of the redemption of the \$1,540,658.12 bonds redeemed.....	331,800 00
Less tax-receivable coupons out stand- ing Oct. 1st, 1881, and to be paid as a part of the floating debt.....	895,722 00
Less tax-receivable coupons maturing in Jan. and July, 1882.....	1,117,724 87

Amount of Interest (special.)

Redeemed and can- celled.....	380,110 02
Total deductions	\$13,848,945.95
Balance of interest to July 1st, 1882	\$ 4,192,342 98

Total Debt.

1882.

July 1st. Principal as above.....	\$16,843,034 17
Interest, as above.....	4,192,342 98
Total	\$21,035,377 15

Including bonds held by the Literary fund to the amount of \$1,428,245.25, and interest on the same—in arrears July 1st, 1881, \$516,322.19—and interest added from that date to July 1st, 1882, \$85,694 71, making \$602,016.90 included in the above sum of \$4,192,342.98.

Total debt

**DIVISION OF THE DEBT BETWEEN THE NEW STATES OF VIRGINIA
AND WEST VIRGINIA.**

In reaching this result, admitting the correctness of the items and of the method of the account—and they have never been seriously disputed—there is a single feature about which the judg-

ment of men may divide or vary. It is as to the apportionment of the debt of the old undivided Commonwealth between the two States subsequently formed.

Not forgetting that Virginia was never consulted and never did consent to the partition, she and the creditors and all the political parties into which her people had been and are now divided have agreed to and steadfastly adhered to the ratio and the judgment by them made and repeatedly reaffirmed—that two-thirds of the debt of the former State was and is the equitable share of Virginia—**NEW VIRGINIA, in fact.**

It is no answer to the assertion that Virginia was neither consulted nor consented to the partition of her territory and the formation of West Virginia, to say that the Alexandria Government represented the old State, and by it the act was recognized, since the Alexandria Government was subsequently repudiated by the Government of the United States in the substitution therefor of Military District Number One.

Forbearing discussion of the general principles on which such ratio of division rests, it may not be amiss to say that the rule is that debt follows territory, and that wherever any partition is made by agreement, cession or concession, indebtedness is apportioned, and, where other considerations are not influential, those of territory and population govern the ratio. This is illustrated in the act of our National Government in refunding to the State of Massachusetts the advances made by her in the revolutionary period. In that act it is provided and required that such proportion of the sum—principal and interest—thus refunded shall be paid over to the State of Maine as her territory bore to the whole—the unpartitioned State of Massachusetts. The failure of the Congress of the United States, when it in fact partitioned the Mother of Commonwealths, to provide for the just apportionment of the debt of the undivided State, should not debar the Virginia that was left of the right to the equities of the case. The omission argues and implies that the apportionment was left to be adjusted on the basis of the principles we have announced as well

established by the unwritten law—the universal practice of organized governments.

It will not be held that the division of any estate lifts or removes the mortgage of the whole, much less that it frees one part and saddles all of the common burden upon the other. Nor does the immunity asserted by the new State of West Virginia, by neglect to provide for any share of the common debt of the former Commonwealth, equitably impose upon the remainder of the dismembered State any moral obligation to pay all. If so much of the old State of Virginia as remained in the Federal lines during the civil war had continued to be recognized by the Federal Government as the State of Virginia (as for a time it was), and if a new State of *East* Virginia had been formed, after the war, from the Confederate portion and admitted into the Union, would any one have contended that the State having the new name would be any less bound for her just share of the debt than the State having the old name?

It is not the case of a copartnership. The act of creation and liability involved none of the elements of voluntary association. It was the act of the sovereign, which bound alike all the territory and energies of the sovereign estate.

It should not be a charge to the discredit of Virginia, that, West Virginia refusing to arbitrate the question, she has presumed to proceed to the payment of what she honestly believes to be her just and equitable share of the debt of the former State. Whatever the variance of opinion in respect to the ratio, the creditor and all political parties in Virginia have been agreed on the one adopted (two-thirds and one-third) ever since 1871—a period embracing eight years of uninterrupted Democratic sway.

West Virginia has done nothing. But the Republican party of Virginia, backed by a people who earnestly desire that the creditor of the original and undivided State of Virginia shall receive his just dues, mean, and have always intended, with the power in their hands, by such judicial process as the Constitution of the United States provides, to compel that State to do her duty in this respect.

THE RIDDLEBERGER FUNDING ACT OF 1882.

Returning to the account heretofore stated as the basis of the Readjuster-Republican party's settlement, it was on the result thus ascertained that our party formulated the law commonly called the Riddleberger bill, which proposes to fund Virginia's share of the debt of the former State into bonds of her own issue, bearing 3 per centum. Unlike the Democratic party's Funding bill of 1871, there is no compulsion in the Riddleberger bill, no repudiation of that portion of the debt which shall not accept the settlement proposed in it.

In respect to the rate of interest fixed by the terms of this bill objection may be taken on the ground that the debt to be refunded bore six per cent. Our answer is that the aim and purpose was to prescribe such rate—3 per centum—as the certain resources of the State would enable her to meet with promptness and regularity. This would give hope and spirit to the drooping energies of her people, inspire the development of her industrial resources, enhance the growth and power of the Commonwealth, and make her securities valuable.

After all, the creditor was invited, and not compelled, to accept the settlement upon these terms.

An exact parallel to this is the case of the District of Columbia when Congress changed the form of its local government, and then refunded its outstanding indebtedness at an equally severe reduction of the rate of interest.

That is to say, Congress, which has exclusive jurisdiction over the District of Columbia, and cannot divest itself thereof, caused a debt bearing a high rate of interest, created by its agents, to be refunded by another set of its agents at a much lower rate of interest, to-wit: 3.65 per cent.

It was to enable the people to labor and to live, and the State to keep house and send her children to school, that the rate was fixed at three per centum. The existing taxation was admitted by all political parties, and by the creditor (through his agents) as

well, to be as high as could be borne, and the yield safely admitted of no larger rate of interest. The great body of the people were rejoiced at and agreed on this settlement, and in their willing assent the creditor must at last find his safest and surest—indeed, his only—guarantee of payment. This Riddleberger settlement had composed public sentiment, so long and so largely vexed, and had happily dissipated the lurking and growing sentiment for repudiation, which agitation and misleading treatment of the question had generated and fed.

The co-operative measures, derisively called by our opponents “Coupon-Killers” numbers one and two, were, as no one has ever pretended to deny, designed by what were believed to be adjudicated but not compulsory methods to induce the refunding—a consummation of the settlement—and, as well, to protect the State and her creditors against spurious coupons. Neither deprives the creditor of a straightforward legal remedy for the enforcement of his rights, and so, it is sufficient to say, the Supreme Court of the United States has decided, in the case of *Antoni vs. Greenhow*.

The measures we have enacted were and are believed to promise the most favorable solution of the question for the creditor himself, and the settlement is believed to be honorable and just.

The enforcement of this settlement has been and will continue to be the earnest endeavor of the Republican party of the State. If the creditor is looking to the Democratic party here for better terms, he will find it difficult to discover anything in the record of that party’s treatment of the question to justify him in indulging such a hope.

THE BOURBON RESTORATION.

The Democratic party of Virginia had opposed the Readjustment measure obstinately in and out of the Legislature, not because it was possible to refute the correctness of the items; or the methods of the account—this they never undertook—but merely as if to uphold that kind of debt-paying sentiment which was ever ready to engage in any scheme or make any promise that extolled the magnitude of the debt, and equally ready at all times to avoid the legislation necessary to payment.

The whole question was thought now to be composed. The Supreme Court of the United States had affirmed the principles of the auxiliary measures on which the success of the Riddleberger refunding act largely depended—one in the case of *Antoni vs. Greenhow*, and the other in the case of *Tennessee vs. Snead*. The refunding had quickly begun and was progressing at a rate promising full and final fruition.

Meanwhile the Democratic party, which had been repeatedly condemned at the polls, and expelled from place and power, met in State Convention at Lynchburg in July, 1883. It then and there formally proclaimed, not only its approval of our Republican debt, settlement, and of all the leading measures to which we had given effect, but promised to uphold and promote that settlement. That which they had but a little while before characterized as dishonest and dishonorable in that respect, they now accepted and pledged themselves to foster, if only the people would restore them to office and to power. There was no sacrifice of sentiment, and no surrender of long pretended debt-paying conviction—no compromise of their pretended views of the rights of the creditor, which they were not ready to make, if only they could deceive the people and regain control of their affairs.

By means and methods heretofore exposed, to the everlasting shame of its leaders, and the outrage of a great State and its honest and law-abiding people, that party effected its purpose in the election of 1883. It secured a majority of both branches of the General Assembly, and not content with the legislative power it quickly neutralized the Executive Department, and audaciously threatened the Judiciary by arbitrarily seizing the seats of seventeen members of the General Assembly and giving them to their candidates who had just been defeated by the people.

Thus entrenched by the boldest usurpations which disgrace the record of any State, and which forms the blackest page in Virginia's noble history, they commenced their work. Without referring at this time to the vicious acts with which they crowded our statute-books, to the great wrong and at the price of the liberties

of the people, I will review the more conspicuous of their intermeddling act in respect to the public debt, and show how far their public pledges had been respected, and their much vaunted debt-paying sentiment observed.

DEMOCRATIC ENDORSEMENT OF THE RIDDLERBERGER ACT.

At this time the funding under the Riddleberger law was going on well. The self-executing tax-receivable coupon no longer embarrassed the collection of our revenues.

There was \$1,537,204.88 in the treasury on the 1st of October, 1883. The schools and teachers were receiving their constitutional share of the revenue. Our institutions of higher learning were receiving their dues, and our asylums were well organized, supported and conducted.

On the 1st of October, 1884, the end of the first year's administration under the Bourbon restoration, there remained only \$942,886.70 in the treasury, when meanwhile full one year's revenue, say \$2,700,000, had been collectible.

What was the first act of the Democratic party in respect to the debt? It was to formally declare, by joint resolution, approved the 21st of December, 1883:

"1st. That the people have accepted the act of February fourteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, known as the 'Riddleberger bill,' as the ultimate settlement of the debt of this State; that it is their unalterable purpose that that settlement shall be final, and that any expectation that any settlement of the debt of this State upon any other basis will ever be tolerated by the people of Virginia, is absolutely illusory and hopeless.

"2d. That the interests of the public creditors, as well as the safety and welfare of the State, require that this settlement shall be accepted by the creditors as well as by the State, and therefore the General Assembly of Virginia, on behalf of all the people of the State, hereby advise and call upon the holders of all the bonds and claims against the Commonwealth, to come forward with promptness and fund the same under the provisions of the act of February fourteenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-two."

Here we have the gushing approval by the Democratic party of a settlement, which, but a short time before, was repugnant to their pretended sense of honor and their lofty standard of honesty.

It will be seen to have been a hollow and perfunctory compliance with the insincere promise on which they deceive the people and stole into power. They then thought to perpetuate the control they had gained, and to reach other and higher public trusts by out-Heroding Herod in any raid that had, as they charged, been made upon the rights and interests of the creditors.

DEMOCRATIC DEBT-PAYING DISGUISES THROWN OFF AND
REPUDIATION AVOWED.

What was their next step? It was by the acts approved February 7, 1884, and the 15th of March, 1884, to require the pre-payment of all license taxes in United States currency, so that, in violation of the judgment of both the highest State and Federal courts, the tax-receivable coupon might not any longer be used according to the express tenor thereof, in payment of such "taxes, dues, and demands." It was to destroy a vested right by excluding every remedy, and in this to unhinge and upset the fundamental principle upon which the Riddleberger settlement rested for success. This, when the refunding was proceeding well, when for the preceding twenty-four months only \$185,000 of the tax-receivable coupons had been employed in the payment of "taxes, dues, and demands," and when there was in the Treasury fully \$1,537,204.88, as of October 1st, 1883.

Further, in pursuit of this policy, by the act approved the 25th of February, 1884, it is provided that no corporation, foreign or domestic, shall be chartered, or, if already chartered, shall have any amendment, renewal or extension, except on condition that it shall pay its taxes in money; by the act approved the 7th March, the acceptance of the tax-receivable coupon is forbidden for the hire of convicts; by the act approved the 10th March, 1884, the same is forbidden in payment of the purchase of certain lands; by the act approved the 15th of March, 1884, an additional license-tax of \$250 is imposed on attorneys for prosecuting the collection of the coupon under the remedies provided for its enforcement; by the same act bankers and

brokers who buy or sell coupons, in addition to the ordinary license tax imposed of \$250, are subjected to a tax of one thousand dollars and twenty per cent. of the face value of the coupon; by the act approved the 25th of February, 1884, the officers and records of the Government are forbidden to be used to establish the validity of the coupon; by the act of March the 15th, 1884, an additional attorney is retained in each county and city of the State to resist the collection of the tax-receivable coupon, by the remedies provided for the creditors in connection with the Riddleberger settlement.

What was their next step in the direction of repudiation?

By the act of March 15th, 1884, the Board of Sinking Fund Commissioners are authorized and directed to apply every month any surplus in the Treasury which may not be needed to carry on the Government, not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, to the purchase of the bonds issued under the Riddleberger act of 1882. Under this extraordinary provision there had been paid out of the Treasury, up to the 1st of January, 1885, \$948,886.00 in redemption of a loan having thirty-four years to run and bearing but three per cent. interest.

By acts approved August 27, and November 29, 1884, all recognition of tax-receivable coupons, or other interest accruing upon any of the previously issued obligations representing the debt of the original State of Virginia, excepting upon the bonds issued in pursuance of the Riddleberger settlement, is forbidden after January 1, 1885. If this is not open, defiant, and violent repudiation, will some debt-paying Democrat tell us what constitutes repudiation? It is to say to the creditor, whatever his claims, whatever the nature of the obligation: "Accept our terms and conditions of settlement, or we repudiate the obligation to account for the interest we have agreed to pay."

One more step in the direction of Democratic dishonesty—a step plainly suggested by the one just stated—and the debt is paid (by repudiation), and the honor of Virginia fully vindicated in accordance with the debt-paying sentiment of the Democratic party of the State!

But the final and culminating act of this party of Repudiation is to be found in the act approved November 18, 1884, which imposes on the creditor a tax of fifty cents for every bond, no matter what may be the denomination, issued to him under the Riddleberger act.

It will be difficult to realize that the aim of the measures above recited was to promote settlement and final repose of the question. The interpretation must be that it was, as the result is, to incite distrust and hostility where confidence and friendship ought to be strong and cordial.

The policy can no longer be disguised. Misjudging the character of this people, the local leaders of the Democratic party give tongue everywhere throughout the State to the covert scheme. A new issue must be raised by which they hope to reach coveted place and absolute power over our public affairs.

The scheme is so to harass the creditor as to induce him to stand away from the Riddleberger settlement, and, by initiating proceedings, contend for other terms, while the prejudices of the people are to be aroused at the failure of the settlement, and the consequences that would follow in a return to the funding law of 1871. This the people know would saddle upon them a debt largely in excess of the two-thirds of the correctly ascertained debt of the original State, and an annual demand for interest which no rate of taxation they can bear would suffice to meet.

It is that alternative which would bring ruin and repudiation at last, or a constitutional convention and the extinguishment of the debt at once and forever.

REPUBLICAN AIMS.

The Republicans of Virginia understand the scheme, and will resolutely resist both of the alternatives it presents.

They mean to uphold the Riddleberger settlement as it was before its mutilation by the Democratic party, believing that it fills the measure of justice and equity.

To attempt in this paper a full presentation of the acts by which the debt-paying sentiment of the Bourbon party of Virginia might

fairly be measured, would extend it beyond readable endurance. It is enough to say that they had, at a heavy extra expense to the State, two regular and two extended sessions of the General Assembly, when one in every two years is by the Constitution contemplated, and has usually afforded all the time needed for legislation.

Their expenses of government were \$1,269,910, when our Republican administration had reduced them to \$800,000 annually.

In all that time no measure of public importance engaged their attention. Partisan investigations at a cost of \$80,000, resulting in neither discoveries nor reforms; partisan prosecution of judicial officers; the formation of political machinery for controlling the electoral power of the people; the passage of pocket charters and of over one hundred relief bills, whereby defaulting Bourbon collectors of revenue and their sureties were released from the payment of fully \$100,000 of taxes paid them by the people, and which had doubtless been expended in promoting their political campaigns; these exploits mainly circumscribe their legislative work.

Not content with the release of so much of the public revenues as had been misappropriated in these certain cases, the self-constituted guardians of the public faith and the rights of the bond-holders—the Democratic party of Virginia—in one sweeping act, approved the 7th of March, 1884, cancel the claims of the Commonwealth, covered by every official bond executed prior to the 1st of July, 1870, for any default in returns of revenues collected, State or county; and what sum of money this blanket relief bill withholds from the Treasury of the State let the man tell who can.

Between the two records above set forth, the people of Virginia are to choose at the polls in November. In that struggle the Republicans of this State hope for the earnest co-operation and moral support of their political brethren throughout the country.

ADDENDUM.

THE RECENT SUPREME COURT DECISION.

The divided opinions delivered by the Supreme Court of the United States since the preparation of the foregoing paper make this addendum necessary to a proper understanding of the present status of the debt question in Virginia.

The Riddleberger law, as originally enacted, is merely a refunding measure. It ascertains the true indebtedness and fixes the proportion of the share of each class of obligation theretofore assumed to represent the debt of the unpartitioned State, for which new bonds of the Virginia that now is are proposed to be given. *In no sense or relation was this law before the court, nor does the court deal with it.*

It was with the prerogative of the tax-receivable coupon, and the legislative and official acts that are alleged to invade the sanctity of the contract which it imports, that the court dealt.

These several acts, the more conspicuous of which are referred to in the foregoing paper, forbidding peremptorily the receivability of the coupon, which were passed by the Democratic party in the late Legislature, we believed at the time were unconstitutional. They could not fail to result in irritating public sentiment, exciting false hopes, inspiring a more aggressive attitude, and arresting the progress of our debt settlement.

But the act of Assembly commonly called by its opponents "Coupon-Killer No. 2" was believed to be within the decision of the court in an analogous case. The effort was to conform all our legislation to the law as established by the highest court in the country. The language of this act is substantially the same as an act of the State of Tennessee to prevent the interception of her revenues by the notes of the bank of Tennessee. These were by law receivable for taxes as are the coupons here. The Supreme Court of the United States unanimously sustained the validity of that act in the case of Tennessee *vs.* Snead, decided at the October term, 1877, (96 U. S. Rep., p. 69).

More recently (October term, 1882), in the case of *Antoni vs. Greenhow*, in which the validity of the act of Virginia of January 14, 1882, is sustained (the act called by our enemies Coupon-Killer No. 1), the court, through the Chief Justice, refers to the decision in the Tennessee case, and says :

“ We might have satisfied ourselves by a reference to the case of *Tennessee vs. Snead* *ubi supra*, where *the same general question was before us*; but as we were asked to reconsider that case, we have done so, with the same result, and, as we think, without in any manner departing from the long line of cases in which the principle involved has been recognized and applied.

The decision, in conclusion, says of our Virginia act of January 14, 1882 :

“ Inasmuch as we are satisfied that a remedy is given by the act of 1882, substantially equivalent to that in force when the coupons were issued, we have not deemed it necessary to consider what would be the effect of a statute taking away all remedies.” This was a positive reaffirmance of the right of a State to change or prescribe the adequate process by which claims against her may be enforced.

It is in this act only of ours (to which objection now appears by the late decision, as being at variance with the decision in *Tennessee vs. Snead*), in connection with the subsequent legislation of the Democratic party, that the Supreme Court, in its recent decision, touches our Readjuster-Republican debt settlement. The act called by our opponents “Coupon-Killer No. 1” stood the ordeal of a constitutional trial before this court in the case of *Antoni vs. Greenhow*, and was, as before stated, declared valid (only two justices dissenting), as it had been by the Supreme Court of Virginia. The subsequent legislation of the Democratic party affecting it has fortunately been pronounced unconstitutional by the late decision. This act (January 14, 1882) and the Riddleberger debt law remain in force, unhinged by the late decision, the one making a square proposition for the settlement of the actual debt, and the other requiring no more than that the genuineness of the tax-receivable

coupon tendered in payment of taxes, debts, dues, and demands of the State shall be established as may be lawfully required of any such claim against a creditor.

Our debt settlement will proceed by constitutional methods, if the Republicans have the power, and we do not doubt our ability to conform the act of January 26, 1882, to the present opinion of the Supreme Court, without impairing its efficacy for the purpose it was designed to accomplish.

It has been the idle, inconsiderate, and vindictive meddling through petty, ill-considered, ill-conceived, and petulant measures of the Democratic party in the late Legislature that has arrested the quiet and orderly settlement of the whole matter of the debt on the basis of the Riddleberger law, to the great detriment of the peace of the people, and against the ultimate interest of the creditor.

The confusion and misapprehension, the fears and false hopes, and the prejudices which have thus been created, profit only attorneys, brokers and speculators. The *bona fide* holder of Virginia bonds outside of the Riddleberger law will sooner or later realize that he is no better off, and that, after all, his best interests are to be subserved by refunding under that law.

The people of Virginia, and likewise the creditor, have abundant cause to fear the custody and treatment of this question by the Democratic party of the State. They have only to adhere to the Riddleberger settlement, and elect men to administer their public affairs who honestly believe in it, and have the sense to carry it out, and all will be well, for both State and creditor.

WILLIAM MAHONE.

44
DEMOCRATIC HOSTILITY

TO

Popular Education.

A DONATION

OF

\$76,681,904.00

DEFEATED BY

A DEMOCRATIC HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

VIRGINIA'S SHARE

WOULD HAVE BEEN

\$5,310,469.08.

WASHINGTON, D. C.:
R. O. POLKINHORN & SON, PRINTERS.
1884.

1928 10 4 69.25
1928 05.15

DEMOCRATIC HOSTILITY

TO

POPULAR EDUCATION.

January 31st, 1884, Hon. Henry W. Blair, a Republican Senator from New Hampshire, reported to the United States Senate, from the Committee on Education and Labor, a Bill entitled, "An Act to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools."

This bill, with some amendments, was passed by a Republican Senate, in the month of April last, and appropriated \$76,681,904.00 to be distributed to the various States and Territories, in accordance with their educational necessities.

Of this amount the Southern States would have received \$58,187,157.25, being nearly four-fifths of the entire amount appropriated.

The share of the State of Virginia would have been

\$5,310,469.08.

The tabular statements given below have been prepared carefully, from the census of 1880, and show the amount of money each Congressional District, and the counties comprising the Districts in Virginia, would have received, under this magnificent offer of the Neneral Government, to the people of the South.

The amount of money Virginia would have received for School purposes, had not Senator Blair's Educational Bill been defeated by the Democracy at the last Session of Congress.

FIRST DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

Counties.		Population.		No. of Schools in 1879 Bourbon rule.		No. of Schools in 1883 Republican rule.		No. of Scholars in 1879.		No. of Scholars in 1883.		The amount of money each county would have received for schools had the Bill passed.		No. of voters in each county.	
1	Accomac	24,408	32	67	1,354	2,085	\$85,672 08	5,48							
2	Caroline.	17,243	5	62	129	1,492	60,522 93	3,42							
3	Gloucester.....	11,876	....	39	.....	983	37,409 40	2,64					
4	Essex.....	11,032	16	30	343	658	38,722 32	2,16							
5	King and Queen	10,502	....	33	....	688	36,862 02	2,09					
6	Lancaster	6,160	8	21	104	431	21,621 60	1,32							
7	Mathews.....	7,501	5	25	128	657	24,749 01	1,71							
8	Middlesex	6,252	8	20	265	438	21,944 52	1,33							
9	Northampton...	9,152	17	25	197	536	32,123 52	2,12							
10	Northumb'land.	7,929	7	32	237	617	27,830 79	1,77							
11	Richmond	7,195	6	23	178	446	25,254 45	1,54							
12	Spotsylvania ..	14,828	25	28	392	675	52,046 28	3,24							
13	Westmoreland .	8,846	1	29	32	552	31,049 46	1,84							
Total....		142,924	130	434	3,359	10,258	\$495,808 38	30,71							

SECOND DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

1	Charles City...	5,512	4	18	67	355	\$19,347 12	1,22
2	Elizabeth City..	10,682	....	26	....	1,056	37,493 82	3,28
3	James City	5,422	11	20	214	315	19,031 22	1,35
4	Norfolk City..	58,657	40	101	1,666	3,335	205,949 25	15,14
5	Norfolk Co..	58,657	40	101	1,666	3,335	205,949 25	15,14
6	Portsm'th city	15,903	4	52	135	1,260	55,819 53	3,80
7	Nansemond....	9,394	18	31	471	715	32,972 94	2,30
8	Princess Anne..	10,572	17	36	375	825	37,107 72	2,51
10	Southampton...	18,012	33	76	824	1,479	63,222 12	3,91
11	Surry.....	7,391	11	25	224	538	25,942 41	2,04
12	Warwick.....	2,258	6	11	94	193	7,925 58	58
13	York.....	7,349	8	23	182	598	25,794 99	1,65
Total ...		151,152	153	419	4,252	10,669	\$530,606 70	37,829

THIRD DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

Counties.	Population.	No. of Schools in '79. Bourbon Rule.	No. of Schools in '83. Republican Rule.	Number of Scholars in 1879.	Number of Scholars in 1883.	Amt. of money each county would have received for schools had the bill passed.	No. of voters in each county.
Chesterfield	25,085	29	78	371	2,157	\$80,048 35	5,754
Goochland	10,292	14	45	304	833	36,124 92	2,192
Hanover	18,588	22	62	532	1,288	65,243 88	4,028
Henrico & Rich'd	82,703	163	209	6,295	7,268	250,514 45	20,820
King William .	8,751	14	29	332	593	30,616 01	1,920
New Kent....	5,515	8	19	186	370	17,372 25	1,295
Total.	150,934	250	442	8,020	12,509	\$479,919 86	36,009

FOURTH DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

Amelia.....	10,377	25	28	552	665	\$36,422 27	2,210
Brunswick.....	16,707	23	64	435	1,203	58,641 57	3,320
Dinwiddie.....	11,214	16	53	284	994	39,361 14	2,240
Greenville.....	8,407	8	40	134	638	29,518 57	1,857
Lunenburg.....	11,535	26	50	479	1,047	40,487 85	2,307
Mecklenburg...	24,610	37	75	1,094	1,867	86,381 10	4,834
Nottaway.....	11,156	4	31	309	947	39,156 45	2,230
Powhattan.....	7,817	20	28	466	593	27,487 67	1,714
Petersburg City.	21,656	35	38	1,494	1,838	76,012 56	4,331
Prince George..	10,054	12	35	245	707	35,289 54	2,431
Prince Edward.	14,668	26	54	636	1,268	52,384 68	3,152
Sussex.....	10,062	21	41	408	709	35,317 62	2,323
Total....	158,253	253	537	6,536	12,476	\$556,412 13	32,949

FIFTH DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

Carroll.....	13,323	...	77	...	1,796	\$46,763 73	2,584
Danville.....	8,726	14	53	654	1,564	30,648 26	1,746
Floyd.....	13,255	19	78	477	1,938	46,525 05	2,645
Franklin.	25,084	28	102	661	2,642	79,014 60	5,155
Grayson.....	13,068	1	72	37	2,056	47,868 68	2,596
Henry.....	16,009	11	76	200	1,424	50,428 35	3,247
Patrick.....	12,833	.	61	...	1,434	45,043 83	2,458
Pittsylvania..	33,853	13	97	906	2,227	118,824 03	6,770
Total ...	136,151	86	616	2,935	15,081	\$465,116 53	27,201

SIXTH DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

Counties.		Population.	No. of Schools in '79 Bourbon rule.	No. of Schools in '83 Republican rule.	Number of scholars in 1879.	Number of scholars in 1883.	Amt. of money each county would have received for schools had the bill passed.	No. of voters in each County.
1	Botetourt	14,809	45	94	889	1,874	\$51,979 59	3,623
2	Bedford.....	31,205	67	120	1,596	3,052	109,529 55	6,672
3	Campbell and. }	36,250	41	111	1,256	3,755	127,237 50	8,286
4	Lynchb'g City }							
5	Charlotte.	16,653	17	54	515	1,612	58,452 03	3,453
6	Halifax	33,588	54	111	1,350	2,782	117,893 88	6,868
7	Montgomery	16,693	48	91	1,053	1,900	57,592 43	3,432
8	Roanoke.....	13,105	54	68	1,263	1,675	45,998 55	2,809
	Total.	162,303	326	649	7,922	16,650	\$568,683 53	35,143

SEVENTH DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

1	Albemarle.	32,618	75	116	1,003	2,736	\$102,746 70	6,897
2	Clarke.....	7,682	23	28	508	699	26,963 82	1,793
3	Fred'rk & City } of Winchester }	17,533	15	88	430	2,465	61,611 03	4,195
4	Greene.	5,830	4	27	101	623	20,463 30	1,150
5	Madison.....	10,562	24	53	513	1,211	37,072 62	2,154
6	Page.	9,965	26	62	697	1,502	34,977 15	2,197
7	Rappahannock..	9,291	19	43	380	1,004	32,611 41	1,980
8	Shenandoah	18,204	27	101	930	3,747	53,342 60	4,245
9	Rockingham ...	29,567	135	184	3,388	4,608	103,780 17	6,515
10	Warren.....	25,970	25	35	662	911	25,970 49	1,729
	Total.	167,222	373	737	8,612	19,506	\$499,539 29	32,855

EIGHTH DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

1	Alexandria City	13,659	20	28	821	1,136	\$47,953 09	{ 4218
2	Alexandria Co..	3,877	9	9	348	474	13,608 27	
3	Culpepper.....	13,408	33	59	630	1,332	47,062 08	2,886
4	Fauquier.....	22,993	49	90	1,303	2,061	80,705 43	5,028
5	Fairfax	16,025	58	70	1,430	1,785	56,247 75	3,963
6	Loudoun	23,634	61	100	1,884	2,425	82,955 34	5,625
7	Louisa	18,942	52	83	1,364	1,800	66,486 42	3,812
8	King George...	6,397	....	25	....	511	22,453 47	1,371
9	Orange	13,052	35	52	838	1,223	45,812 52	2,717
10	Prince William.	9,180	37	42	863	905	32,218 81	2,136
11	Stafford	7,211	9	29	365	559	25,310 61	1,674
	Total.	148,378	363	587	9,846	14,411	\$520,813 79	33,430

NINTH DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

Counties.		Population.		No. of Schools in '79. Bourbon Rule.		No. of Schools in '83. Republican Rule.		Number of Scholars in 1879.		Number of Scholars in 1883.		Amt. of money each county would have received for schools had the bill passed.		No. of voters in each county.	
1	Bland	5,004	15	32	317	755	\$17,564	04	1,077	1,077	1,077	1,077	1,077	1,077	1,077
2	Buchanan.....	5,694	2	18	32	1,566	18,985	94	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041
3	Craig	3,794	9	26	183	570	13,416	94	831	831	831	831	831	831	831
4	Dickenson* .....	.....	17	.....	288	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5	Giles	8,794	..	54	.....	1,758	29,866	94	1,821	1,821	1,821	1,821	1,821	1,821	1,821
6	Lee	15,116	..	88	.....	4,000	52,057	16	2,966	2,966	2,966	2,966	2,966	2,966	2,966
7	Pulaski	8,755	9	38	235	976	30,730	05	1,914	1,914	1,914	1,914	1,914	1,914	1,914
8	Russell	13,906	3	76	111	1,802	43,803	90	2,824	2,824	2,824	2,824	2,824	2,824	2,824
9	Scott	17,233	16	91	380	2,404	60,487	83	3,360	3,360	3,360	3,360	3,360	3,360	3,360
0	Smythe	12,160	42	57	954	1,491	42,681	60	2,555	2,555	2,555	2,555	2,555	2,555	2,555
1	Tazewell	12,861	19	60	575	1,596	45,142	11	2,590	2,590	2,590	2,590	2,590	2,590	2,590
2	Washington....	25,203	8	120	224	3,163	87,462	53	5,432	5,432	5,432	5,432	5,432	5,432	5,432
3	Wise	7,772	11	24	275	700	27,279	72	1,513	1,513	1,513	1,513	1,513	1,513	1,513
4	Wythe	14,318	38	81	950	1,685	46,101	70	3,077	3,077	3,077	3,077	3,077	3,077	3,077
	Total....	150,610	172	782	4,236	22,754	\$515,580	46	31,004	31,004	31,004	31,004	31,004	31,004	31,004

*Dickenson County, created since census of 1880.

TENTH DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA.

1	Alleghany.....	5,586	15	32	318	675	\$19,606	86	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405
2	Amherst.....	18,709	16	64	430	1,619	65,668	59	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000
3	Augusta and City of Staun- ton	35,710	97	190	2,397	4,243	125,342	10	8.9 ..	8.9 ..	8.9 ..	8.9 ..	8.9 ..	8.9 ..	8.9 ..
4	Appomatox	10,080	14	41	288	931	35,380	80	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064
5	Buckingham....	15,540	7	75	124	1,475	54,545	40	3,208	3,208	3,208	3,208	3,208	3,208	3,208
6	Bath	4,482	10	29	202	545	14,431	82	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008	1,008
7	Cumberland....	10,540	19	38	376	804	36,995	41	2,182	2,182	2,182	2,182	2,182	2,182	2,182
8	Fluvanna.....	10,802	6	44	120	969	34,026	30	2,301	2,301	2,301	2,301	2,301	2,301	2,301
9	Highland	5,164	17	36	359	774	18,125	64	1,130	1,130	1,130	1,130	1,130	1,130	1,130
0	Nelson	16,536	37	77	793	1,652	58,041	36	3,464	3,464	3,464	3,464	3,464	3,464	3,464
1	Rockbridge....	20,003	50	108	1,218	2,512	70,210	53	4,344	4,344	4,344	4,344	4,344	4,344	4,344
	Total....	157,152	288	784	6,625	16,199	\$532,376	11	33,321	33,321	33,321	33,321	33,321	33,321	33,321

Total
No. of voters

This measure was opposed by nearly all the leading Democratic Senators, and the House of Representatives with a Democratic majority of 77, refused even to consider it, but smothered the Bill under a mass of others on the Speaker's table, from which it was never lifted, although Congress was in session for three months, after the bill had been sent from the Senate.

To every friend of education in the State this plain statement of facts is submitted for calm, unprejudiced consideration,

True in every representation, we do not think it necessary to recite the blessings it would have carried to the youth of the country.

Enough, for reflecting minds to recur to the impoverished condition of our Southern Country, and the inability of many of her people to offer educational advantages to their children. Enough, that this Bill would have given, free and, without price, such advantages to all.

It should cause men to consider if it be wise longer to obey the behests of the Democratic Party, whose whole system of political action is made up of appeal to passion and prejudice and a rekindling of sectional strife.

By thwarting the wise purposes of the Republican Party in this respect, they have arrayed themselves as enemies of popular education, and no more practical evidence could be had than in opposing this Bill which would have donated the sum of \$3.50 for every man, woman and child in the State of Virginia, to be applied to the education of our youth.

Surely it is time to shake off the fetters which passion and prejudice have forged, and with untrammelled footsteps join in the march of State and National progress.

A glance at the number of schools in the State under bourbon rule in 1879, and the large increase under Republican rule in 1883, evinces that this march of progress is begun; it is with the voters of Virginia to say if it shall continue—or shall the car be turned back into the old rut of apathy, and indifference to popular education?

Let the answer be given in no uncertain way at the polls in November next.

AN ASSASSIN-LIKE BLOW

— AT THE —

Public Schools,

— BY —

BOURBON MANAGERS.

The law requires the Auditor of Public Accounts to apportion the amount of money due to be paid over to the free schools in every county and city of the State out of the taxes assessed in such county or city.

This apportionment is due to be made in time for the *reservation* of such money due the schools by the treasurers of cities and counties *before* they are required by law to settle with the Auditor.

Before such settlements are required and due, to be made by such treasurers, the Auditor of Public Accounts is required by law to issue his warrants upon the Treasurer of the State for the money so ascertained to be due the Free Schools—drawn in favor of the Superintendent of Schools for each county and city of the State.

This warrant for the School money is to be paid by the city and county treasurers, and so, it is provided by law, the Schools are to get, without let or hindrance, the money collected of the people for their support.

The State Treasurer is required to take as cash all such warrants, in the settlement of city and county treasurers with him.

Now it will be seen that unless these warrants are issued before the treasurers of cities and counties are required to settle with the Auditor—and pay over all the money collected by them—and in time to have them presented to such treasurers before they have paid over all the money collected to the State Treasurer, there will be no money available for the Schools—and they must stop or School warrants are to be sold to Bourbon Shylocks at any rate of discount they may combine to prescribe.

The trick has been played—and Bourbon hostility to Free Schools is further illustrated.

What think you mothers and fathers who have children to educate? What think you friends to education, when it appears that the Bourbon Auditor of Public Accounts only made his apportionment of the money due to the Free Schools of each county and city of the State—on the 17th day of December—precisely two days after he had compelled county and city treasurers to pay over to the State Treasurer all the money they had collected. So it is there are three hundred thousand dollars of the taxes paid by the people for the support of the Schools now due them and diverted into the Treasury. Nor is this all; one hundred thousand dollars due to go to the schools from the money gained to the State from the wreck of the late Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio Railroad, and dedicated to the schools by the Readjuster—Republican party, is withheld.

For what purpose are these diversions of the school money made? Manifestly—

- I. To impair the efficiency—to starve out—the Schools.
- II. To enable Bourbon Shylocks to shave School warrants at the expense of the children and teachers of the State.
- III. To enable Bourbon managers to purchase and

take in the bonds issued in refunding the State debt—under our Readjuster-Republican Debt Settlement—to carry on the marvelous financial policy of Bourbonism—which pays off a debt not due for forty years to come, and which carries the low rate of three per cent. interest, with the money derived from a severely taxed people.

IV. It is to give Brokers opportunity to gamble and fatten at the expense of the children of the State by speculating in such bonds.

V. It is to swell the cash in the State treasury by robbing the children and teachers of the State, and *boust* the Bourbon ticket.

Such is Bourbon leadership, its methods, and its hidden and undying hostility to Free Schools.

WM. MAHONE,
Chairman.

Petersburg, Va., 21st August, '85.

WHICH IS THE WHITE MAN'S PARTY?

The most usual way in which the Bourbons seek to keep the average white man from thinking for himself and to keep him in their party, is by appealing to the unhappy race prejudice.

"By G—d, I am a white man, and don't belong to the nigger party!" is the language of the Bourbon statesman.

"This way white men!" "The Anglo-Saxon race shall rule!" "The Radicals are nothing but poor white trash and thieving *niggers*."

These are but a few of the elegant expressions with which every Bourbon speaker interlards his harangue.

They tell you the Republicans are for mixed schools and for mixed marriages, and yet at their Lynchburg State Convention in July, 1883, the Bourbon party formally agreed to give the colored people absolute control of the schools, by the appointment of colored school trustees.

These statements, as to the Republican party, are false, and they know it. On every stump, and in every newspaper, the Republicans have solemnly denied the charge that they favor mixed schools or mixed marriages. But the Bourbons, knowing they must keep you excited and prejudiced; knowing they must keep you from *thinking*, in order to retain you in their party; knowing that if you think upon their false pretences and hideous record you will leave them, are busy all the time screaming nigger—nigger—nigger.

But see what they are doing at the same time.

CLEVELAND AND THE COLORED MAN.

On May 5, 1884, Grover Cleveland, Democratic Governor of New York, signed the following bill:

CHAPTER 248.

An Act in relation to public education in the city of New York.

Passed May 5, 1884, three-fifths being present.

The people of the State of New York, represented in the Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. The colored schools in the city of New York, now existing and in operation, shall hereafter be classed and known and be continued as ward schools and primaries, with their present teachers, unless such teachers are removed in the manner provided by law; and such schools shall be under the control and management of the school officers of the respective wards in which they are located in the same manner and to the same extent as other ward schools, *and shall be open for the education of pupils for whom admission is sought, without regard to race or color.*

Section 2. All Acts, or parts of Acts, inconsistent with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed.

Section 3. This Act shall take effect immediately.

[Signed] GROVER CLEVELAND, Governor.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE, }
ss.

I have compared the preceding with the original law on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of said original law. JOSEPH B. CARR, Secretary of State.

Does the Democracy here in Virginia repudiate Cleveland? He favors *mixed* schools. The colored people in Virginia, of the Republican party here, are *opposed* to *mixed* schools.

OHIO DEMOCRACY ON THE COLORED MAN.

Governor Hoadley, of Ohio, is a rampant Democrat. He appointed a colored man to West Point as a cadet. In his message to the Democratic Legislature of Ohio on January 1st, 1884, he recommended the *abolition of all distinctions between the races*, both as to *schools* and *marriages*.

The Democratic Legislature of Ohio has abolished all such distinctions. Under Democratic rule in Ohio *blacks* and *whites* may *intermarry*. Under Democratic rule in Ohio *black* and *white* *children go to school together*.

The Democratic Governor of Ohio, Hoadley, has appointed a colored man a member of the Board of the State University. He has also appointed between twenty and thirty black men constables and magistrates.

The Ohio Democracy is now fighting Foraker, the Republican candidate for Governor, because he is opposed to mixed schools and marriages.

Does the Virginia Democracy repudiate Hoadley—Cleveland's candidate for Governor?

The colored people in Virginia, of the Republican party here, are opposed to mixed schools and mixed marriages.

THE COLORED VOTE SECURES THE SUCCESS OF DEMOCRACY.

Look! The population of Mississippi is 1,131,597. The white population is 479,398. The black population is 652,199. Yet Mississippi gave her 9 electoral votes for the Democrats, as follows: Cleveland, 76,510; Blaine, 43,509.

The population of South Carolina is 695,577—of which the blacks have 604,472 and the whites but 391,105. Yet South Carolina gave her 9 electoral votes for the Democrats, as follows: Cleveland, 69,890; Blaine, 21,773.

The population of Louisiana is 939,946. Whites, 454,954; blacks, 484,992. Yet Louisiana gave her 8 electoral votes for the Democrats, as follows: Cleveland, 62,540; Blaine, 46,347.

These are the only three States in the Union having colored majorities, and they all voted for Cleveland. If they had cast their electoral votes for Blaine, amounting to 26 electoral votes he would have been elected.

Whether these votes are obtained by fair means or by fraud, the Democrats are emphatically the "nigger" party. By colored votes they obtain power, and yet denounce the Republican party as the *nigro party*.

blacks of voting age. It gave Cleveland in 1884, 1,614 or 216 more votes than all the white voters in the county. It gave Blaine but 1,073, about one-half the black vote of the county.

Halifax county has 3,054 white voters, and 3,814 blacks. It gave Cleveland 3,393 votes, or 339 more votes than all the white voters in the county, and it gave Blaine but 2,954 votes, or nearly 1,000 less than the black vote. A Democratic majority of 439, in a county having a black majority of 800. Either the blacks vote the Democratic ticket or the Democrats cheat them out of it.

Pittsylvania county has a population of 5,861 whites of voting age and 5,812 blacks. Yet it gave Cleveland 5,709 votes and Blaine 4,519—a Democratic majority of 1,190 where the blacks and whites are equal. How is this great majority obtained? Either the blacks vote the Democratic ticket or are cheated by the Democrats in these counties.

In either case the Democrats get the benefit of the black vote and are the negro party.

Southampton county: voting population—blacks, 2,147; whites, 1,745. Represented by a Democrat in the shot-gun Legislature.

Goochland county: voting population, blacks, 1,339; whites, 993. Yet Goochland, with its 350 black majority, is represented in the Legislature by a Bourbon.

The above figures are all from the United States census of 1880, and the above facts are not denied. The pretence of the Bourbons that they fear the negro, is a mere bug-a-boo. Whenever they can buy, or coax, or cheat, or intimidate the colored man they are delighted.

Remember how John W. Daniel courted the colored man in 1879, when he was trying to make them vote for the McCulloch bill. He appeared at a colored meeting in Lynchburg, at Moorman's warehouse, and leading forward a colored lawyer in one hand and a colored preacher in the other he exclaimed dramatically: "Oh! my countrymen! when the people thus behold the best men of both races standing with clasped hands we are bound to win."

Remember also how, when he wanted the colored man's vote he spoke, saying: "*My countrymen! the science of politics now in Virginia is to legislate for both the blacks and whites. They have a common interest in the State, and he is a patriot who instead of setting the races to jawing and discord shall, like a skilled performer on the piano bring out music from both the white and black keys.*"

Remember how the Democrats coddle and praise the colored men when they can get their votes.

Remember how they brought a large club of colored men down to their Richmond juiilee from Charlotte county in 1883, because they had voted the Democratic ticket, and what praise and applause they lavished upon them in their procession.

Do you not see that the Democrats would go to any length

to secure the colored vote? They cajole and caress the colored man in the black counties, and in the white counties it is the d—d nigger.

Do you not see how they are benefitted by them? Do you not see how charmed and delighted they are when the colored men are with *them*, calling them "our esteemed colored friends?"

Do you not see that it is only when the colored man votes his principles and votes against them that he ceases to be an "esteemed colored friend," and becomes a "d—d woolly-headed nigger?"

What folly it is to be frightened away from Republicanism, because we have the support of a large number of colored men. If the colored people were Democrats, would that alter the principles of that party for better or worse? The colored men are an element of strength to whichever party has them. The Democrats know this and want them. Why should we give them up, or want to give up those we have, when we know their going to the Democrats would weaken us and strengthen them? If our principles are good and strong, as they are, let us be thankful that they are fortified and strengthened by every colored vote we get. Let us not be scared by a silly race cry. They are entitled to vote and all honest men will agree, are entitled to have their votes honestly counted. We so honorably ordained by our constitution, and in seeking and accepting re-admission in the union.

As citizens—as voters—we are given—we accept, and we enjoy four seats in the Congress of the United States, and four votes in the Electoral College for President and Vice-President, on the basis of the colored man as a citizen and voter, that we would not otherwise enjoy. Should we accept, should we enjoy, this additional power in the administration of the Federal Government, and yet deny the colored man an honest count of his ballot?

Would we think it fair treatment, that the white man at the North should have two votes to our one? And yet the Bourbon policy of refusing to count the ballot of the colored man here as it is cast, is to give the white man here two votes to the one of the white man North. Can we expect the white man North and West, will longer submit to this injustice? Does it not forbode a sectional strife to our great injury? Who can desire another contention between the sections? Virginia wants peace.

What would be the productive power of the State, if we drive the colored man from our borders? It is the labor, in large measure, on which our every industry is dependent. We can substitute no other labor in its place. It is an immense labor in our borders power to be used, and the part of wisdom to education and kindness, to increase its productive power and thus enlarge the power of the development and

New Virginia.

1.

When it was said of old that all things have become new, the declaration was not more true then than it is to-day in Virginia. It was not true then, as it is not now, except in the sense that a new order of things had begun and that the time had arrived for old things to pass away. It was important then for the announcement to be made, comprehended and confirmed to; and it is no less important here and now. We must awake to the new situation; we must accept it; and we must adapt ourselves to the changed demands that press upon us from all sides; for of all evils, perhaps, that is greatest where individuals cannot or will not accommodate themselves to fresh conditions and circumstances—refuse to take advantage of them,—and foolishly attempt to put the new wine into the old bottles.

The Virginia we have now is not the Virginia our fathers knew. It has been divided, and a new State has been created upon the ravished soil. Slavery, with all its concomitants, has passed away. The colored people have been made citizens. A great war has devastated and subdued us; and many moot questions that were once alive among us have been slain in battle or are mortally wounded. A great public system of free education for all the people has been instituted. A nearer approach to personal equality, not only in civil and political affairs, but in our material concerns, has been suddenly made. Suffrage is free, and government by the people has superseded the old system of rule by county families and their dependents. Taxation is equal and uniform. The old patriarchal agriculture has disappeared. The former system of

large farms and great land-holders is rapidly yielding to a wide division of our territory into small independent holdings. Our immense and varied resources and our many advantages of position have attracted attention, capital, and enterprise. Hundreds of new channels have been opened for industry; railroads traverse the State in all directions; our ports are growing with a fast expanding commerce; mining and manufactures are building new cities; and on every hand we hear and see evidence of a diversified employment, development and progress that assure us that the dawn of a new day is here, and that this is no time for any of us to sleep, or idle, or obstruct.

We cannot and should not live in the past, nor for the past. We must live and act in the present, for the magnificent future that is to arise upon the ruins of what was. Yet it is not forbidden to any Virginian to remember the past, its pleasures, virtues, glories. Even in the ashes of much that was evil, we are still allowed to see with a pride not unmixed with regret the glow of the wonted fires that once illuminated the Old Dominion with a light like

"To the glory that was Greece,
To the grandeur that was Rome."

Neither Greece nor Rome had more devoted patriots, abler statesmen, more skillful generals, braver heroes, or more noble, refined and virtuous men and women. And over all was the glamour of the graces, hospitalities, generosities and sweet courtesies of a life that was hardly ever known before, and which the world will never see again. But these are memories to solace, cheer and spur us,—not to lull us into a dream of things that were, but which have gone glimmering forever.

2.

Above all we must not quarrel and fight among the grave of our heroic age. It is the curse of controversy—of controversy, no matter how sacred—that it almost invariably leads to personal crimination and recrimination. The Scriptures themselves are full of the sad evidences of this. Is there no remedy? Must brethren ever fall to aspersing each other whenever they differ? Must shipwrecked men become savage cannibals and devour each other? Our case in New Virginia (the Old Dominion no more forever!) imperatively calls for remedy, if one can be found. We *were* as men in the same

boat. We *are* as the same men cast away upon a strange shore. Surely it is only necessary to fully realize our situation and its exigencies for us to reach friendly co-operation, if not complete harmony. The curse becomes a shame when mutual strife and reciprocal abuse still continue after it is manifest that the common safety depends upon the wisest counsels, the best direction, the bravest energy, and not upon passion and prejudice. Nay, it is the madness of the moon, when, in such emergencies, the calm and honest discussion of ways and means for deliverance is forgotten in fierce personal denunciation, whether arising out of jealousy and hate, or other cause.

Who are the men in New Virginia who have persistently ignored present facts and clung only to past memories? Who are they who have consulted passion and prejudice, instead of right and reason? Admit that all of us are patriots, with the best intentions,—who are the misguided citizens among us who, from the first catastrophe to this hour, have dealt with our condition as if it were practically unchanged; who have closed their eyes to the most manifest truths; who have shut their ears to the most momentous occurrences; who have subordinated accomplished events to exploded opinions; who would have their way and their will by any means and at all costs; who have grasped power as an end and not as a means; who have finally succeeded, by ancient devices, in pursuing a circle which brings us again between Scylla and Charybdis, where wreck once more confronts us; and who, through it all, have met argument with vituperation, reason with wrath, and right with might and wrong? Who are these honorable men?

We shall appeal to a candid world on the facts; and we shall show that these honorable men, no matter by what motives impelled, have made vast mistakes and have perpetrated the most grievous injustices. In doing this we shall let one man's career alone testify against them and their course,—for, although scarcely less wrong has been done others by the honorable men whom we arraign; he represents conspicuously a great cause attacked in his person; and his case will best illustrate how personal abuse has sought at once to destroy a beneficent movement and its most eminent exponent,—selected for this sacrifice *because* he was and is the able chieftain of the people. Yet we should not condescend to do this, if it were not an attested fact of history that the best causes have suffered at least temporary defeat or damage through the unmerited obloquy poured upon their leaders, who themselves too unwisely treated with silent scorn the

wretched calumnies directed at them,—conscious of integrity and over-confident of final vindication. But with whatever propriety and wisdom the private man can silently and nobly bear these assaults upon his personal record, it is a mistake in any great public leader—a mistake for him, his cause, his party, and his country. Woe to all these when their enemies write their histories! Woe to the people whose Tribunes are thus allowed to be slaughtered!

3.

We are not writing either a history or a biography, but simply a series of sketches; yet we shall be throughout sure of our facts and defiant of contradiction. We shall present together in rapid outline the career of the greatest living Virginian and the development of the grand Liberal movement in this State of which this Virginian is the most prominent representative.

In other men it has always been a theme of applause that they were superior to circumstances and were able to rise to the highest positions from the humblest beginning; but in the case of William Mahone, his enemies have sought to make it a reproach against him that he rose from the ranks of the people and was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Nay, they have even sought to degrade his parentage,—aspersing the dead to bes foul the living! Yet these attempts have only aroused indignant contempt in all honorable minds,—especially when it is well known that William Mahone's family, on both sides, was as respectable as any in the State, and far superior in character, standing, and circumstances to the families of many of the very men who thus attack him. On both sides his family came from sterling stocks, and his ancestors held various military and civic posts with honor, in both war and peace. The Mahone family itself is of Irish extraction; but its first representatives settled in Virginia at an early date, and its members were always known for force of character and high integrity. William Mahone himself was born near Monroe, Southampton county, where, and at other places in the county, his father was engaged in the mercantile business, and where his excellent mother was much esteemed for her many virtues. It is true that they were not wealthy.

Young Mahone soon exhibited qualities that attracted attention to him as a boy of great promise. Gentlemen of the town and county and guests at the hotel which his father

subsequently kept at Jerusalem, in Southampton, were struck by his talents. He had only ordinary school advantages, supplemented by the home instructions of his parents, both persons of no common capacity. His own aspirations for a higher education were seconded by the gentlemen who had observed and admired his precocious development, and his father's consent was obtained for a course at the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, provided he could be appointed a State student there. At that period it was no easy thing to secure such an appointment. It was almost as difficult as to be appointed to West Point. The fact that William Mahone succeeded in his hopes, proves that his father had no little political influence to engage in his son's behalf the potent recommendations that brought the scholarship within reach.

At Lexington, notwithstanding much foolish invention to the contrary, young Mahone was diligent in his studies, obedient to regulations, and made rapid advances in that training which taught him to lead and command. No better proof can be given of his excellent conduct at the Institute and the fine abilities he evinced there than the constant respect and admiration always entertained for him by the officers, professors, visitors, and students who knew him during his student life, and who have maintained the warmest personal friendship with him to this day, no matter how much they may have differed, or may still differ, in politics.

Yet his detractors even pervert his attendance at the Institute, as a State student, as something to his discredit. What think their relatives and friends? It is even urged that by accepting this scholarship he assumed some personal and political obligation to serve for life certain men and their party! It was a monstrous thing when something like this was said of Lee and other gallant Confederates who had been educated at West Point at Federal charge; but this suggestion against Mahone is still more monstrous, for never man served Virginia better than he has done in war and in peace. More than that,—the only obligation he assumed to the State as her student was to teach school for a term of years after his graduation; and this he fulfilled with scrupulous fidelity and success, at Rappahannock Academy and elsewhere. Besides, whatever charge his education was to the State has been since fully requited by his direct contributions to the Institute.

4.

But it was upon the conclusion of his schoolmaster's career that he entered upon the chief pursuit of his life as a civi

engineer and railroad man ; and long before the war began, he had repaid many fold to the State all that he had cost her, by locating, surveying and constructing new lines of railroad upon her soil. Hon. John S. Barbour claims much for his connection with the Orange and Alexandria railroad ; but Mahone helped to survey that line and superintended much of its construction, with his usual ability and energy. His fertility of resource and his indefatigable resolution, however, were first tested in his survey, location, and construction of the line of railroad connecting Norfolk and Petersburg. The story has been often told, and we refer to it here only to say that the swampy, boggy, quick-sandy, tangled, and otherwise difficult nature of much of the region to be traversed, made it so almost impassable that many declared that no firm road-bed could be secured. But the man equal to the occasion was there, and he triumphed over all obstacles with a pluck that never wavered, and an ingenuity that never failed. In spite of everything he constructed the road with remarkable dispatch and skill, and where it was said that no line could be established without wide *detours*, he built the firmest and straightest railroad in the State, making a schedule time theretofore unknown in the South. Not only was this so, but he made his road, its equipments, accommodations, and administration so complete and admirable in all particulars, that he was at once recognized by all competent railroad men as a prodigy in all the qualities desirable in railroad construction and management. He was soon made president of the company ; and then he conceived the great project of a continuous line of Southern roads from Norfolk to the Mississippi river and on to the Pacific ocean.

Here let us pause a moment to look at Norfolk as she was at that date, notwithstanding her many natural advantages. Henry A. Wise it was, we believe, who said that her commerce was confined to a few market carts, with a wharfage hardly sufficient to accommodate a half-dozen fishing boats. She was a decayed and decaying town, her property depreciating in value, grass in her streets, and her population fast decreasing. But Mahone had already saved her ! He breathed into her nostrils a new life, and she sprang to activity and vigor again. Now glance at her crowded and extensive wharves ; her hurrying trains ; her thronging streets ; her expanding limits ; her growing enterprise ; her vast exports, especially of cotton, most of which is handled by Norfolk capital and shipped directly to Europe ; her cotton compress ; her increasing manufactures ; her thrift on every

hand; and her people strong, happy, and proud of a prosperous present and a glorious future!

Of course all this marvelous transformation did not come at once from the new line to Petersburg; but it was the result of the great work thus begun and continued by Mahone—work and results to be mentioned more in detail later on. Here we see the beneficent genius of New Virginia in its first wonderful benefactions, to be extended to the whole State and people, and only to be stayed or marred by Virginia's evil genius—BOURBONISM!

[Whig, January 26th, '85.]

5.

New Virginia was to be born, but made; and long and hard were to be the pangs of the parturition—a parturition only to be accomplished in the death of Old Virginia.

Bourbonism arose in the path of progress with a drawn sword! The people of Virginia cried "Peace!" but the voice of Bourbonism was for war—and war it was, with Virginia the principal arena of the terrible and protracted strife. Educated at a military institution, already a Major of State militia, and full of the soldierly instinct, William Mahone—although he had so fully identified himself with the march of progress and development, and foresaw his greatest victories on the fields of peace—did not hesitate to be among the first to offer his services to the State when the fatal die was cast; for to Virginia he had dedicated himself for life, no matter to what duty she should call him. He was made Colonel of the Sixth Virginia Regiment, and he soon had it well armed, well equipped, well drilled, and full of confidence in a commander whose sleepless vigilance and strict discipline, attempered always with justice and kindness, inspired his men with no less affection than respect. He was soon made a Brigadier-General by the Confederate Government, and "Mahone's Brigade" became as famous in the army, as it will remain in history, as "Stonewall Jackson's Brigade." Indeed, there was great similarity in the military characteristics of the men—the difference being that in Jackson's temperament was a Puritanic element which is lacking in Mahone, while Mahone possesses an administrative genius, to which Jackson had no claims. But they were both equally the idols of their men, and each inspired a confidence and begat an

elan that rushed with enthusiasm to death or victory. Serving at Norfolk and then at Drewry's Bluff, in command of the defences of James River, Mahone was with Lee everywhere except at Sharpsburg, being at that time absent in consequence of the wound he received at the Second Battle of Manassas. From Seven Pines to Appomattox Court-house, he was one of Lee's most trusted Generals, and, when Jackson fell at Chancellorsville, he at once took the fallen hero's place in Lee's regard—as was shown at the Battle of the Wilderness, where Mahone was chosen to lead the flank movement which broke Grant's lines. Hill had recommended him for promotion before that, and now Longstreet united his voice to that of Hill's. But West Pointism and redtapeism kept him down as long as they could. How he was regarded and spoken of by those with whom he served, may be judged from the following extract from an official communication of Major-General R. H. Anderson to General Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector-General, at Richmond, dated at camp near Fredericksburg, March 30, 1863:

"I have the honor to recommend Brigadier-General William Mahone for promotion to the grade of Major-General. During the past eight months, except for a short period, when he was insapacitated by a wound, he has commanded a brigade of my division, and in that position has shown great skill and untiring activity, quick perception, energetic execution, and other qualities of a superior general officer. He has had the advantage of a military education, and is a thorough disciplinarian. He conducted his brigade into action at the Second Manassas with conspicuous gallantry, and was wounded in that battle. His activity and skill were noticed in my report of the part taken by my division in the Battle of Fredericksburg."

The truth of this graphic sketch of Mahone is striking, and is recognized by every one who knows him now, or ever did know him.

He was made Major-General, at last.

6.

It was on the demand of Lee that he was commissioned a Major-General at the conclusion of the world famous "Battle of the Crater" at Petersburg, July 30, 1864, where he commanded the attacking force,—and malice has sought to deprive him even of the laurels he won there "in the jaws of

hell." Upon the mine which exploded that fateful day General Grant and the Federal Government had based great hopes. It was known throughout the North that some tremendous stroke was soon to be made that was expected to shatter Lee's army and blow the Confederacy to the moon. There was a tremor of anxious suspense throughout the Federal hosts at home and in the field. The volcanic explosion came, and the Federal troops, ready for it, rushed forward to take every advantage of the confusion, ruin and death they had wrought. But Mahone was promptly on the scene, cool and self-possessed,—the man who never failed to be equal to the occasion, whether in the Senate, or on the field of carnage. His eye at a glance took in the situation, and that unerring and instantaneous faculty of knowing what needs to be done and how to do it, showed him how to turn back even this disaster in heavy recoil upon those who had wrought it. Promptly and decisively he gave his orders, and his men sprang forward with the cheers of assured victory at his voice and presence. We need not tell the story further, except to say that he saved Petersburg, Lee's army and the Confederacy itself,—at least for a time; and so foiled and stunned the enemy that it was not until the next year that Federal hope and courage revived. It made Mahone the hero of both armies and sent his name illustrious through the world. Historians have exhausted their eloquence on the theme; Elder has painted the scene grandly; and Hope has fixed its glory in immortal verse.

And yet, as we have said, detraction has attempted even here to assail him! His indignant old brigade, who led the repulsing column under his eye, marshalled again, through all its grades, to repel this attack upon him; and in terms as strong as testimony can fix facts and crush falsehoods, it has forever placed Mahone above the reach of *post-bellum* rivalry, jealousy and calumny in his Confederate record;—a record bright with victory, and never darkened by defeat, where the event depended on him and the forces he controlled. He always triumphed where he fought, no matter how dastards and incompetents elsewhere threw away the day.

Says Colonel W. H. Stuart, who commanded the Sixty-first Virginia regiment, of Mahone's old brigade in the Crater fight:

"The whole movement was under his (Mahone's) immediate and personal direction, and to him above all, save the brave men who bore the muskets, belongs the honor and credit of recapturing the Confederate lines in front of Petersburg, on the 30th of July, 1864."

We all know Colonel Stuart as a gallant soldier and chivalric gentleman, and nobody can doubt his honor or veracity : and to the same effect have testified the members of "the Mahone Brigade Association"—the surviving heroes of a dauntless band who have steadfastly disdained, in peace as well as in war, to be known as other than "Mahone's Brigade" no matter what other officer may have afterwards been their Brigadier. And Hope, of Norfolk, *sans reproche, sans peur*, he has more than once attuned his harp to vaunt the praises of Mahone and his men. We wish that we could lay our hands on others of his tributes, but we are glad to reproduce the following, which appears in his fine Memorial Poem, read before the Board of Visitors, faculty and cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, on the 4th of July, 1870 :

The city's clocks are on the stroke of five,
Cocks crow in distant farm-yards. All is well !

None dream that presently two hosts shall strive
Upon that spot, as though some dev'lish spell
Had called up demons from the depths of hell.
A sudden flame ! A muffled roar, and—then
An awful silence for one moment comes again.

Oh ! there is wreck of bastion and redoubt !
And sudden death for soldiers in their sleep !
Then hid in smoke, with wild, triumphant shout,
The storming columns through the sulphur sweep,
To take the lines it is not theirs to keep.
But would you see that wild, impetuous rush ?
Go, mark the canvass lit by Elder's magic brush !

Apollo shoots his blazing arrows down !

Two Armies now are struggling for the prize ;
Each fights as a brave king would for his crown.
Red in his blood full many a hero lies ;
White faces stare up blindly at the skies.
In Jackson's stirrups, through the war-cloud dun,
Here comes Mahone ! Thank God ! the Crater fight is won !

Write down his name in letters of red gold !
Sing it in ballads, which shall never cease !
Till time shall end the story will be told ;
How he took fame in fee, and not by lease,—
How great he was in war, how great in peace !
But poor the picture of this humble line
Beside the marble cut by gifted Valentine !

7.

To the last Mahone *was there*. He was the Ney of the retreat from Petersburg ; and at Appomattox Court-house he and Field alone had unbroken commands, well in hand, ready

at any moment, on command, to rush against all odds, with the same cheerful faith they felt when they began their career in 1861. The rest of the army, with the exception named, was a broken mob of stragglers, or a mass of demoralized fugitives. But if Jackson's brigade stood like a stone wall at the First Manassas, Mahone's division stood like a stone wall at Appomattox—*to the end*; and then fell only at the command of Lee and Mahone! In the final conference before surrendering, Mahone was one of the only two general officers consulted by Lee or called to the solemn council. *It was finished!* But Mahone only sheathed the sword he had drawn for Virginia when hope had fled and when Lee set him the example. In that awful hour, where were these honorable men who now attack Mahone so fiercely? May we, without offence, inquire where were—

But, no! Let it pass. Enough that Mahone was present and accounted for—first in the field and the last to quit it.

It is a proud record for Virginia; and shame on the unhallowed hand that would dare profane it with his envious touch!

Lee afterwards, at Lexington, at his own table, on a public occasion, when asked whom he would have recommended as his successor, had he resigned, as he had confessed he had thought of doing on account of the growing infirmities of age,—replied:

“Mahone!”

The Great Captain's certificate is worth more than all that political spite and personal hate can invent, or distort, or destroy. The Bourbonism that brought on the war, true to its evil nature, would now strike down the man who was all the truer to Virginia because he was *always* the foe of Bourbonism.

[Whig, January 29th, '85.]

8.

General Mahone surrendered in good faith at Appomattox. He accepted the situation, and at once resolutely set about to make the best of it for Virginia and the whole country. During the latter part of the war he had been elected to the State Senate as a public spirited citizen, and he had represented his constituents in that body when active operations against the enemy did not call him to the field; but he had never been a politician, nor an office-seeker. As before the war he had devoted himself to forwarding the material pros-

perity of his State, so now, when the war was ended, he resumed his original career with unabated vigor.

His own road and its western connecting links to Bristol, Tennessee, were almost reduced to mere road-beds. The rails were broken and worn-out; the ties were rotten; the rolling stock was a wreck; and at many points war had utterly destroyed depots, engines, cars, workshops, rails and ties—leaving nothing but the bare earth. But Mahone was not a man to be dismayed or baffled by difficulties; and, obtaining military consent, he took possession of his line and quickly refitted it. He was shortly made president of the three different roads which then connected Norfolk and Bristol; and with his usual energy and dispatch he soon had them all in such working condition as circumstances allowed.

But there were great difficulties in restoring the line and operating it successfully, divided as it was into three portions, owned and controlled by three different companies; and, as a necessary condition of complete success, and to make it a firm link in the Southern transcontinental line which he projected, he directed his efforts to a consolidation of his companies and roads when reconstruction had rehabilitated the State. Rival railroad interests in and out of the State combined against him; the personal enemies that so decided and resolute a character is sure to make arose to confront him on every hand; but he had also made many strong friends, and his cause was Virginia's. It was a long and hard fight; but he won against all odds; and he then made his consolidated line, under the title of the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio railroad, the finest one in all points south of the Potomac. Nay, even before he had accomplished consolidation, he had introduced many improvements theretofore unknown anywhere in railroad management, and in the accurate keeping of the separate accounts of connecting, but distinct roads. His acute, active and original mind never saw a defect or a difficulty that it was not prompt to adequately supply a remedy. He infused his own spirit into all his subordinates. He recognized the fact that railroads were public works for the benefit of the State and people, and all his assistants and employes zealously seconded his efforts to supply every accommodation and facility that could promote comfort, ease, certainty and dispatch, as well as moderate rates for freight and passengers. The people were not slow to respond to his inducements; and, especially after consolidation had given his plans full sway, they poured their products into his depots for transportation—assured of quick deliveries and profitable returns, where before delays, losses, costs and charges had

detarded the producer from shipping, or had swallowed up his shipments.

9.

It is to General Mahone that we are indebted for the introduction into New Virginia and the South of the policy of actual consolidation, which he first carried to full success with the East and West lines running between Norfolk and Bristol—thus uniting and unifying the control and management, the interests and designs, of the several lines, and promoting the cheapness, convenience and dispatch of all transportation and travel between Norfolk and Bristol and from any point between either terminus. He thus fixed, as far as he could, the policy of the State in aiding to build those roads—a policy endorsed by George Washington—to establish lines of communication for traffic and travel, connecting the Mississippi Valley and the Great West with the Virginia Seaboard,—and thus utilize our magnificent harbors and promote the growth of great cities upon them. In doing this, General Mahone did not sacrifice the people of Virginia along the line to the demands of through business; but he actually reduced the local rates of freight and transportation; provided full facilities at all depots for the receipt and delivery of all products, and the reception, care, comfort and landing of all passengers; improved the road from end to end in all its parts, and furnished it fully with the best equipments; reformed its service throughout, insomuch that from the highest official to the humblest servant of the company, all were intent to give the largest and most agreeable accommodations at the smallest cost and trouble to the public; and he introduced and established the system, theretofore unknown in Virginia and the South, of through bills of lading, with *pro rata* charges, from any depot on his consolidated line to any market in America, or in Europe (for he had made connections with an Ocean steamship line at Norfolk), the company assuming all responsibility for safe and prompt delivery, without costs of commissions for reshipping through agents at Lynchburg, Norfolk, &c., and without any greater trouble to the shipper for the longest distance than for the shorter. Never before consolidation was it possible for a cattleman in the Southwest to ship a train-load of cattle at his home depot on a through bill of lading to Liverpool, without further cost or trouble to him between the point of shipment and that of delivery. And so with coal, iron, &c., and so was it with chickens, eggs, butter, fruit, &c.,

which never before had been able to reach a market without more charges, trouble and loss of time than the returns would cover. But consolidation made even the old woman's dried fruit a source of reliable income, and her poultry-yard a mine of wealth; for at any depot along the line, at a fixed and reasonable charge, she could ship direct to any accessible market in America or Europe and realize the highest prices prevailing anywhere.

10.

Thus he was the author of the Southern consolidation of railroads, whereby the costs and complications of maintaining and running them are vastly reduced, with corresponding great gains to the public in greater convenience, greater dispatch, better responsibility and smaller charges. And in doing this he also made his whole consolidated line the best, not only in Virginia, but South of the Potomac, in every particular. This was confessed. And his example led to the consolidation of other roads in Virginia and throughout the South. General Mahone's system of through shipments, too, soon forced all the lines in Virginia to follow suit, to the great accommodation and saving for the people. Further, the great and manifold improvements which he made everywhere so visible in the equipment and conduct of his road stimulated imitation, where it did not force full emulation; thus in every way promoting and advancing the development of railroads as public institutions dedicated to the service and benefit of the people. He instituted, too, a system and bureau of liabilities and losses between his road and connecting lines, by land and water, which enabled shippers at once to receive pay for all lost and damaged or miscarried goods, without suit or trouble—the loss and liability to be properly fixed or apportioned by the bureau afterwards, as between the corporations concerned,—an institution which has since been adopted by the railways of the whole country. In this and in many other particulars he advanced the whole art and science of transportation, to the advantage of the world, as well as to Virginia.

And what is now the condition of his consolidated line, newly dubbed the Norfolk and Western railroad, compared with what it was when, as the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio railroad, it passed out of the hands of General Mahone? What do experts say? What do shippers along the line say? What do the passengers say? What are the way charges for freight now as compared with what they were as fixed by

General Mahone? But, above all, we ask what do all concerned say as to all these things when comparison is made between what they were when General Mahone took charge of the several roads and consolidated them, and what they were when General Mahone surrendered the line to the Receivers?

But it is strangely accounted an offence on the part of General Mahone that he was offered and accepted a salary of \$25,000 a year for his services as president of the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio railroad. In General Mahone's case the salary was voted him by the company, and it came out of the pockets of the stockholders, who appreciated General Mahone's great services and took this way to indicate their recognition of his capacity and fidelity. Not only had he done great things for the company, but for the State and people; and to-day, with all the misfortunes that have befallen it, and all the mismanagement that has come over it, it is acknowledged to be the best and most important line of railroad possessed by Virginia. General Mahone got big pay, perhaps; but he did big things that entitled him to it; and when his company fell into embarrassments he voluntarily relinquished \$5,000 a year of his salary.

11.

General Mahone had had a bitter fight to achieve consolidation, and he administered his road, from first to last, with special fidelity to Virginia and the East and West policy which the most sagacious Virginians have concurred in advocating as the only proper one to develop our resources and the advantages of our position. The cities, companies and individuals most interested in diverting his line from this policy had been his fiercest opponents in consolidation; and now they eagerly sought an opportunity to thwart him, or to drive him from his position. Even Richmond joined in this conspiracy, although under his management this city received greatly better service from his line than ever before or since. Fairly connecting and prorating with all Northern lines and cities, he resolutely declined to make his road a mere feeder for other lines, or to allow its freights, by unjust discriminations against Virginia cities, to be dumped into Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. He repudiated the system which sought to make Virginia a mere convenient road-bed, as it were, for foreign transportation, and her cities mere way-stations for the commerce of *termini* outside our borders.

Steadily pushing and defending his patriotic policy, he extended his Western and Southern connections until a flood-tide of freights poured along his line to all our cities, and especially Norfolk, its Atlantic terminus. At first there was neither capital nor enterprise in our borders to take advantage of the golden opportunities thus afforded by Mahone's untiring diligence and dauntless resolution; but Norfolk soon aroused; and whereas at first the cotton, &c., brought to the port were only reshipped to ports further North, there to be sent to Europe, Norfolk capital and enterprise gradually grew equal to the occasion, until now, when Norfolk is the second or third cotton shipping port in America, local hands control three-fourths of the immense shipment,—shipping it direct to Europe, with great profit to the city and the Commonwealth. The impetus thus given to the revival and growth of our principal port is sure to create a great city by the sea, where but lately there was only a fishing-harbor, rapidly decaying, and sustained almost altogether by the proximity of a navy-yard and naval station.

Yet Norfolk is only one of the many striking evidences of the beneficent workings of Mahone's railroad policy. All the State, from Bristol to Norfolk, and for long distances on both sides of the road, has been awakened and encouraged to an activity and a thrift unknown before; and all the cities, towns, and stations along the line have flourished and expanded prosperously under the benign influences which had their origin at the hand of the man, who, not pausing to weep or rave at the grave of old Virginia, manfully welcomed New Virginia and cheerfully responded to her demands upon him. New cities even to-day are rising in our former wildernesses—evoked by the spirit and policy of which Mahone is the conspicuous prophet and exponent.

12.

The enemies of Mahone and Virginia at last found their opportunity. His consolidated company had been obliged to borrow money in England to repair the ravages of war and to put the road into first-class working order. One Collinson had been employed as the English financial agent of the company. During the monetary crisis of 1873 the receipts of the line fell off, and, in common with other railroad companies and the whole business of the country, the Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio Railroad Company found itself confronted by

unexpected difficulties and unable to meet the accruing interest on its bonds. Collinson visited Virginia and fully investigated the road and its affairs,—professing to be fully satisfied that the embarrassment was only temporary and could be easily tided over. Indeed, he had in his hands bonds of the company which he was under promise to negotiate, and whose negotiation would have rescued Mahone and his road from all trouble. But Collinson fell into the hands of the enemies of Mahone and the Virginia policy, and he was persuaded to betray his trust. He at once pretended that he was the agent of the foreign bondholders and not of the company; he declined to fulfill his engagements to the company; and soon he, backed by the bondholders whom he had alarmed, was instituting suits to foreclose the mortgage, given to secure the bonds, and to take the line out of the hands of General Mahone. At once all the personal enemies of the great apostle of New Virginia—all the opponents of the Virginia policy he so stoutly represented—all the cities and corporations interested in diverting the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio railroad from its natural and proper purposes—all rallied eagerly to Collinson and his Northern allies to destroy at once a man and a policy which they alike feared and hated.

Menaced by difficulties common to the whole country, arising out of circumstances over which he had no control, Mahone could have easily mastered the situation and secured his road from the spoilers. But he was betrayed by the English agent of the company; Northern railroad power and influence combined against him; and here in Virginia, Bourbonism zealously lent all the aid it could to the enemies of Virginia, her chief enterprise and her foremost man. Not he, but the combination against him, is responsible for the results. But for that combination (vile and unnatural), he would have triumphed over all temporary troubles and carried out his great project to the shores of the Pacific; and if the line from Norfolk to Bristol is in alien hands, under outside control, not Mahone's fault, but his enemies'.

13.

The combination was too strong for General Mahone—backed as it was by every Bourbon-Funder and broker influence of the land. Yet, when the decree for receivers was agreed to by him, in the hope that thus the company might work out of its difficulties, he declined to become one of the

receivers (though urged to do so), as he could not consent to be a beneficiary of adverse action against his corporation and thus seem at least, to consent to that action for his own aggrandizement. He named and recommended two gentlemen as receivers,—but his recommendation was afterwards ignored and men appointed who, instead of relieving the company, as its revenues, if properly applied, enabled them to do (as the reports show), only co-operated with the enemies of General Mahone and of the company to force a foreclosure and sale of the line. Yet let it be remembered to General Mahone's honor that never did he consent to the decree for receivers until it was agreed that it should be inserted in the bill that the surplus earnings of the road should be first applied to the payment of arrears due for labor, materials and supplies and then to the payment of the money borrowed from the banks—making, however, no provision, nor stipulation, for the payment of the money due to himself.

Single-handed and alone, at his own expense, General Mahone for years fought the bondholders' ring against the sale of the road, aided by the best legal talent in and out of the State in resisting the proceedings before the Federal court; and when, at last, overcome by the plotters in and out of the State, a decree of foreclosure and sale was granted, he used his best exertions to form a company to buy the road, or to advance the money to redeem it. He thought he had succeeded in this; but before the day of sale arrived the arrangement (for reasons not necessary to detail) fell through.

Still steadfast to his great enterprise, General Mahone, as President of the company, did not neglect his trust, and in the last moments preceding the sale, he still had sufficient power and influence, as President, backed by the people of Virginia, to make terms with the purchasers. And what were those terms? That the purchasers should maintain the consolidated line from Norfolk to Bristol, as an unbroken, continuous line, to be always kept faithfully to the policy which guided the State in consenting and contributing to their construction;—in other words that this great line, which owed so much to him, should not be diverted and subordinated to the benefit of other States, cities, and peoples, but should be operated forever for the chief behoof of Virginia, her cities and her people. The next stipulation was that all the old stockholders should have in the new company the same number of shares of stock as they held in the old organization; that is, that they should be put precisely upon the same footing in the new company as in the old, with the same quantity of stock of the same grade. That all claims for material, supplies and labor

should be recognized and paid in full, one-half in money and the other half in stock—which agreement was more than fulfilled by the payment of all these claims in cash. It was conditioned that the purchasers should pay the State \$500,000 in cash for her claim against the line. And finally, when the road went to the block, he had secured *even its bondholders*—all of them; English and American—to the full face value of their bonds, with all accrued interest; the English bondholders thus receiving *par* and accrued interest at 7 per cent. for bonds upon which they had paid only 69 cents on the dollar! and the home bondholder an unclouded security for his claim. It has since been said in court by the representatives of the purchasers of the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio railroad that those terms, imposed on them by General Mahone in consideration of his good-will and that of his company, cost the purchasers no less than one million and a quarter of dollars above the sum for which they bought the road at sale under the decree.

That was a great work, done by a great man, in a great emergency. It shows what devotion and capacity can accomplish, when unfaithfulness and weakness and incapacity would have cowered in utter helplessness. And it was all done when the road was in the hands of receivers, and when the court had pronounced a decree of sale which *extinguished forever every right and power of the company and its president; every interest and claim of the stockholders; every demand of all who had furnished material, supplies and labor; and every possible lien of the State.* Under the decree of sale the purchasers took the property clear of all debts and liabilities previously incurred, and the purchase-money itself went only to the mortgage creditors. Yet General Mahone saved the State, the stockholders, and the claimants for materials, supplies and labor from the wreck—all, aye, ALL, receiving full value for their demands, although the court had utterly extinguished these as against the purchasers of the road.

[Whig, January 31st, '85.]

14.

Comparisons are odious, no doubt; but still they are sometimes forced upon us,—as now between General Mahone and Hon. John S. Barbour, each State Chairman of his party. We cannot compare their war records, for Mr. Barbour has none,

as far as we know; but they have both been Presidents of railroads, with policies and results as different as the directions of their respective lines—Mahone's line being an East and West one for Virginia, and Barbour's a mere feeder and tributary to Baltimore and other outside cities. We have seen what Mahone and his road have done for Virginia and her people; but we defy anybody to show what Barbour and his road have done for us, beyond using our soil for road-bed and depots, and our old field pines for fuel for his locomotives. Even Alexandria has gone from bad to worse under his railroad policy, although it is the Northern *terminus* of his road, and a port which once enjoyed a large and lucrative commerce. Baltimore, perhaps, can point to benefits due to Barbour and the Virginia Midland; but there are no such benefits in Virginia, for the road, under Mr. Barbour, has been but a link in connections operated *against* Virginia interests.

Both men have ceased to be Presidents of their roads, and for like causes. Both lines fell into bankruptcy; but whereas General Mahone declined to be a Receiver of his road, and was in no wise acceptable to the conspirators who attacked it, him and Virginia, Mr. Barbour readily became the Receiver of his line, with the approval of the combination against its company. Declining to share the fate of the company of which he was the trusted chief officer, he went over to the enemy and accepted office at their hands! And yet, as Receiver, he was true to the enemy of the company, and false to the stockholders, and the Virginia Midland was sold under decree of court. In that decree, or outside of it, did Mr. Barbour protect his stockholders as General Mahone did by an independent contract? What say you, stockholders of the Virginia Midland? No! They and their interests perished in the collapse! Were the claims of those who supplied the road with materials and supplies provided for in the decree, or by Mr. Barbour in an independent contract? No! They lost their money and their claims are worthless! Were the demands of the laborers and employes in arrears secured by Mr. Barbour in the decree or otherwise? No! And the families of hundreds of poor men underwent much suffering because the money due these men from the Virginia Midland was not paid them nor secured in any manner. Their claims are as worthless as Confederate money.

We have said elsewhere that General Mahone, in the contract with the purchasers of the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio road, saved to the State the *full value* of her claims on the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio Company; and we here repeat the assertion; for, after consolidation was affected, a Legislative

Committee (Walter H. Taylor, chairman), appointed to ascertain the true value of the State's demand against the companies consolidated, *at the time of consolidation*, reported that these demands, at their market value, did not aggregate a sum exceeding \$426,128.05; and it was for that reason that the sum of \$500,000 was fixed upon as that the purchasers of the road should pay the State for her claims, with interest. The sum so ascertained by legislative valuation was agreed to be paid, was paid, and subsequently, at General Mahone's suggestion (which was accepted as a wise and just one), \$400,000 of the sum was appropriated by the General Assembly to repay the free schools a portion of the amount robbed from them by the Bourbons under the operation of the tax-coupons, and the remaining \$100,000 was appropriated to establish a colored Normal school. We all know how Bourbon obstruction, through Bourbon courts, long kept this money from its beneficent purposes; but the right prevailed and the money is being properly applied at last amidst the applause of the people.

Can Mr. Barbour point to *anything* in his railroad or public record that entitles him to *popular* recognition, applause and gratitude? General Mahone's public benefactions, or the movements and actions, civil and military, in which he has borne a great part for Virginia, will fill a volume in their mere enumeration; while Barbour cannot fill a title-page with his deeds in behalf of Virginia, and then the list will be false. Look at their roads; the one Virginia's greatest and most valuable internal improvement; the other a curse to the State, whose soil only serves as a road-bed for a traffic and travel wholly directed for the benefit of other States and cities. Look at Alexandria, the northern terminus of the Virginia Midland on the Potomac—a decayed port,—a dilapidated city, almost a ruin, inviting only owls as immigrants and inhabitants. Look, then, to Norfolk, on the Elizabeth—the most prosperous and growing city on the Southern Atlantic coast, whose receipts in cotton alone now reach annually almost a million bales. Before Mahone took the consolidated roads in hand, Norfolk's trade was chiefly in fish, brought to market in one-horse carts. Mark the change from a fish market to a great commercial port—and Mahone's hand and genius did it! Alexandria, on the contrary, was once a promising city, thrifty, with a trade which promised to develop into great things. But Barbour and his road brought desolation to the city on the Potomac, and her crumbling ruins are Barbour's monument! And let it be remembered that this Midland road was projected by Alexandria for *her*

benefit, and that for it she went into heavy debt. She has sold out her interest in the line, and all she has to show for her investment is a deserted market-house.

15.

While we desire to accord General Mahone his just dues we are not unconscious that he is fallible, and that he has made numerous mistakes. Among these (as has been shown) was his selection of John Collinson as the English financial agent of the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio Railroad Company. Another was in bringing Hon. John Goode, Jr. from his rustic obscurity to Norfolk, giving him employment raising him to notice and backing him with influence for political preferment. It is true that when he was sent to the Legislature from Norfolk, he exerted himself in behalf of Consolidation; but when that was accomplished he claimed and received from the Norfolk Railroad Co., \$1,500 for his services in that regard! Oh, unselfish and immaculate patriot! No wonder he succeeded in going to Congress three times in succession from a district notoriously having and casting a large majority against him. No wonder he turned to tear the hand that had succored and nurtured him, when he had found that thrift would follow fawning in another direction.

We note these mistakes, not wantonly, but because through such mistakes it has happened that conspicuous among the men who to-day are arrayed against Mahone are many of his *protégés*, who, but for him, would *never* have been in position to assail him. It has been truly said that most men can pardon injuries, but that few men can forgive a benefit and even gratitude itself has been defined as "a lively sense of favors to come!"

A man of affairs for many years, in peace and war, and always a power, it has been General Mahone's fortune to deal with many men, and always most generously. Even his enemies recognize his magnanimity; for some of his most virulent and pestilent revilers and pursuers are persons who only maintain their position before the public through his forbearance. Quick to recognize capacity, he has always extended to it a friendly and helping hand; and, steadfast to friendships with a fidelity that never wavers, he has always had too proud and independent a spirit to seek to conciliate

what he accounted meanness and treachery; and least of all as he ever yielded anything to threats of desertion and opposition, or to attitudes and movements bearing that construction. And thus it is that self-seeking and greedy ambition, grown ravenous under his too profuse and open hand, as turned upon him whenever it has believed itself able to make a bargain with his rivals in politics or railroad concerns.

Mr. Collinson and Mr. Goode are not the only individuals whom we shall cite as instances of General Mahone's mistaken judgment; but as we proceed, we shall have occasion to refer to even more conspicuous examples of men who have waxed fat on Mahone's bounty or favor, only to sell themselves to Bourbonism and kick at their benefactor.

Whig, February 4th, 1885.

16.

Vested wrong and entrenched error are nowhere and at no time easily dislodged. Holding every fortress of power, and possessing every weapon of defence and offence, they are attacked under every circumstance of difficulty, while they enjoy and employ every means of discomforture to crush or repel their assailants. Truth indeed is mighty, and right is strong; but they often have a long and doubtful battle against the combination of vice and virtue, intelligence and ignorance, prejudice and passion, which is always sure to rally to the established and ancient order of things, no matter what it may be; for even religion and infidelity stand shoulder to shoulder (as all the world's history has shown) to protect and preserve the system under which they have assured positions or interests or relations that they do not wish to have disturbed, or put to any hazard. They all want to be let alone, like the evil spirits whom Christ cast out of the possessed men who wandered among the tombs; and when driven to desperation, there is no recourse to which they will not resort to save themselves.

Bourbonism has signally illustrated these truths in its contest against the regeneration which ushers in New Virginia. The war of arms had hardly ended when it resumed the old *ante-bellum* political contest, as if nothing had happened, except new aggravations to spur it to the encounter. The arbitrament of war had settled no issue of right or policy, in Bourbon view; nor had surrender and peace bound Bour-

bonism to anything. The South had been overpowered, devastated, decimated, and her slaves had been freed. That was all; furnishing Bourbonism new motives for wrath and vengeance, and no reason for a new departure in political faith and practice. Permitted to do so by President Lincoln, Bourbonism convened a Legislature under the Alexandria or Pierpoint State Administration, and, in utter contempt of our situation, of all the facts and of the people (who were not consulted), actually attempted to assume, and in form did assume, the whole debt of Old Virginia, and proceeded to compound and fund the accumulated interest on it—laying a tax, meanwhile, to meet these extraordinary obligations, of only fourteen cents in the hundred dollars,—when this levy was insufficient to pay the current expenses of the Government! So oblivious was Bourbonism of the changed conditions amidst which it existed, that it actually forgot the fact that its Legislature was convened under the Alexandria Government and Constitution, and that this Constitution not only recognized the separate and independent existence of West Virginia, but directed that our debt should be first adjusted with that State before we undertook to assume and pay any of it. The utter inability of this Bourbon Legislature to understand the situation and accommodate itself to it, was further shown in its appointment of a Commission to negotiate for the return of West Virginia to her old *status* and allegiance as a part of this State!

Yet there were men who saw that we were in a New Virginia, under revolutionized circumstances that demanded the recognition of a new dispensation in our civil and political life. They saw, too, that the demand was imperative, and that the surrender at Appomattox was a false pretense if they did not yield to it in good faith. Among these men was General Mahone. He acquiesced in the inevitable, and showed by all his acts that the past was gone for him forever, except as a memory. He cheerfully and zealously cooperated with the Federal authorities, civil and military, to set Virginia on her feet in the new path now opened before her; and it was not long before he was consulted in all the steps looking to the political and material restoration of the Commonwealth. After Congress had revoked President Lincoln's authorization of the Alexandria Government among us, and made Virginia "Military District No. 1," it was to General Mahone that the Federal authorities chiefly turned for advice in working toward reconstruction; and he made all the use his opportunities afforded him to obtain favors for us from our conquerors and rulers.

17.

It was not until 1869 that he was enabled, in a most pronounced and public way, to show at once his power and his patriotism. The reconstruction acts had been passed; a State Convention, dominated by hate and suspicion, rather than by wisdom and tolerance, had framed a Constitution containing several obnoxious and proscriptive features. Under this Constitution, and with it, if adopted, was to be chosen a Legislature, Governor, and an entire State Government, preparatory to the readmission of Virginia into the Union. The Government at Washington was exceedingly solicitous that a State Government should be chosen which, while it would be really satisfactory to Virginia, should not be inimical to the Federal administration, nor faithless to the obligations of reconstruction. General Wilcox, commanding at Lynchburg, was authorized to lay the matter before General Mahone, and ask his co-operation. He plainly told that officer that he saw no way in which he could be of service unless upon some compromise with the Constitution which the Convention had framed; but that, in hope of a possibility of some such compromise, he would consult with influential and representative gentlemen of all parties in all sections of the State and get ready for action. He did so, and with great success in the end aimed at.

Meanwhile, the irreconcilable Bourbon element had nominated a ticket with Colonel Withers for Governor, upon a Bourbon platform; and it had also improvised a "Committee of Nine" to proceed to Washington and use its influence with President Grant to have the most objectionable features of the Constitution submitted to a separate vote. What was the amount of influence of this purblind committee with the President may be judged from the fact that on its arrival in Washington it was actually guilty of the supreme folly of placing itself under the patronage, advice, and direction of General B. F. Butler—probably the most obnoxious person in the United States to General Grant at that date! But notwithstanding this indiscreet committee, the President, for reasons already indicated in the application to General Mahone for counsel and assistance, did apply to Congress for authority to submit the proscriptive features of the State Constitution to a separate vote of our people, and he was accordingly so authorized.

This gave General Mahone his opportunity; and he was prepared for it. The Federal authorities and the Republicans in the secret of the New Movement (as it was afterwards

called) urged that steps should be taken to control in its interests the regular State Convention, called by the *ultra* and Radical Republicans; but to this General Mahone wisely objected, not merely on the ground that liberal Republicans were too weak to achieve anything substantial in a contest with such elements in that Convention, but because it was best for the success of the compromise movement that the Radicals should go as far to one extreme as the Bourbons had gone in the other.

At a meeting in the city of Richmond for consultation, at which General Wilcox, General Mahone, Franklin Stearns and George R. Smith were present, it was determined that the Liberal candidate for Governor should be at once selected and be made Governor by military appointment, to increase his chances of success and to lessen those of Wells, then military Governor and the choice of "the party of hate," as the *ultra* Radicals were then called. A number of gentlemen were suggested as available,—among them one or more who had served on the "Committee of Nine; but General Wilcox declared emphatically that no man who was of that committee would be acceptable to General Grant and his administration,—another proof of how much influence that famous squad had in determining the fate of Virginia and Virginians! Other names were suggested without reaching a decision, when General Wilcox said that it seemed that there was no available man in Virginia for the occasion. At this General Mahone said the man was present with them,—and he named Mr. Franklin Stearns. Mr. Stearns was surprised and overwhelmed, and protested his inability and unfitness. He was no statesman, no politician, no speaker, he declared; but after General Mahone assured him that he would be assisted in every way by men of the highest capacity and greatest experience, he consented to accept the appointment and the sequences to which it was to be initiative. The order removing Wells and appointing Mr. Stearns Governor was actually made out and signed, to be announced next day, when Colonel Alexander Sharpe (then Postmaster of Richmond, and a brother-in-law of President Grant) and the Bond at that time in power and politics here, got wind of the matter, and reached Washington just in time to obtain a peremptory telegram from the President forbidding the removal of Wells.

18.

Subsequently, on account of Mr. Stearns' reluctance to enter the field, Gilbert C. Walker, of Norfolk, was pitched

upon as the man to bear the banner of the New Movement. A former Democrat, he had identified himself with the Republican party, and had engaged in various enterprises in Virginia. Of fine presence, a good speaker and popular in his manners, he was a liberal, fully in sympathy with the compromise scheme which General Mahone had been selected to engineer. The Radical Convention met, and went at once to the extremes it expected to reach. It nominated Wells for Governor and a colored man for Lieutenant-Governor, upon a platform which breathed defiance to Bourbonism and advocated the Constitution as a whole, and especially its prescriptive provisions. In the body, however, were a number of liberal Republicans who dissented from the immoderate action taken, and who, in accordance with the preconcerted Wilcox-Mahone programme, bolted from its ranks. The result of this bolt was the nomination of Gilbert C. Walker, for Governor, John F. Lewis, for Lieutenant-Governor, and James C. Taylor, for Attorney-General, as True Republicans, upon a liberal platform, which declared against the prescriptive portions of the Constitution to be submitted to popular vote in July 1869.

Thus there were three tickets in the field: the Radical, the Bourbon, and the Liberal. With his usual skill and energy, General Mahone soon pushed the Liberal ticket to the front. At Lynchburg, in a public meeting hastily called to consider the situation as affected by the New Movement, Hon. Thos. S. Bocock at once turned the tide in favor of the Walker ticket by his earnest declaration that although he did not know Walker, he was ready and willing to support any man endorsed by General Mahone. Leading men and organs of both parties all over the State rapidly pronounced in favor of the compromise thus offered, and the people rallied to it with fervor. It soon became evident that the movement would be a success, and the more reasonable Bourbons began to consider the propriety of withdrawing their ticket and coalescing with the supporters of Walker, Lewis, and Taylor. Notwithstanding the objections of the implacable, this was finally brought about in a conference held in the city of Richmond, and the control of the joint forces was at once placed in the hands of General Mahone. He planned the campaign; he secured orators; he made appointments; he furnished the funds. At a critical period in the canvass, when certain local influences in some of the counties threatened disaster, it was through General Mahone's personal influence and exertions that Beverly Douglass and others took the stump and overcame all obstacles.

It was a great triumph and a great good. General Mahone had seen and taken advantage of the only chance of escape for Virginia from the evils of the carpet-bag rule, which had afflicted all the other Southern States. By separating the more moderate and liberal Republicans from the Radicals was the only hope of defeating the party of hate, of expurgating the proscriptive Constitution and saving large numbers of our most worthy citizens from disfranchisement and ineligibility to office. In a square fight between the Bourbons and the Radicals, and the Federal and military influences would have been with the latter and they would have triumphed. Let the thoughtful Virginian consider for a moment what would have come upon us in that Radical victory of carpet-baggers, with the State Government restored under an unexpurgating Constitution; our people largely disfranchised, and the party of hate entrenched in every department of our Government. As it was, the Liberal movement elected all the officers of State, a majority of each branch of the Legislature, and expunged from the Constitution every vestige of proscription. And to General Mahone are due the chief thanks and credit for all these blessings, as well as for others that immediately ensued thereupon,—for as soon as Walker was declared elected, General Mahone and another gentleman hurried to New York and got Horace Greely to go to Long Branch to see President Grant, upon whom he prevailed to have Wells at once removed and Walker appointed in his stead, until Virginia was duly readmitted to the Union by Congress.

The Bourbon ingrates have attempted to deny or belittle General Mahone's agency in these affairs of 1869; but in the last public discussion (1880) of the new movement and its master spirit, Colonel Frank G. Ruffin, Mr. Franklin Stearns, and Dr. G. K. Gilmer (who know of what they speak) wrote letters which appeared in the Richmond *Dispatch*, from which we take the following extracts :

COLONEL RUFFIN:

"General Mahone took command of the combined forces and organized the victory over Wells and the 'party of hate,' which enfranchised the people of Virginia. Here again I speak, as a witness; for in that canvass I was a volunteer aid, upon the staff of the Richmond *Enquirer*, and witnessed the manœuvres which flanked the enemy and gave us the day."

MR. STEARNS:

"After the ball was put in motion, it was managed by

some of the ablest men in Virginia, and no man did more than General Mahone."

DR. GILMER:

"And now a word as to General Mahone. It surprises me that anyone should dispute his agency in this affair. He could not have done what the Republicans did; but it is due to the truth to say that the Republicans could have done nothing without him. The Committee of Nine were not known in the case. General Mahone was the power behind the throne which was greater than the throne, and so acknowledged, at least by those of us on the inside."

{*Whig, February 7th, 1885.*}

19.

In the New Movement, the Bourbons had had their first experience in falling in behind Mahone, after opposing him as long as they could, or dared. They were to have much of this experience in many subsequent cases, always, however, with the same sinister and treacherous design in their affected acquiescence that they speedily revealed with respect to the Liberal movement of 1869. As soon as it was known that Walker was elected and the Constitution adopted, with its proscriptive features stricken out, Hon. Raleigh T. Daniel, then Bourbon State Chairman, amidst the ill-concealed snickers of all Bourbondom, telegraphed a message to President Grant, ironically congratulating him on the success of his policy in Virginia—the Bourbon commander and his followers, who had remained discretely in the rear during the fight, rushing to the front to secure the spoils in the moment of victory. They had stooped to conquer.

But construction was not complete, and for some time, in view of this important fact, Bourbonism restrained itself and pursued the line of the New Movement, as projected by General Mahone and his Liberal associates, with some show of good faith. The amendments to the Federal Constitution, abolishing slavery and redefining the civil and political rights of citizens, were ratified; the reconstruction acts were accepted; and care was taken to elect to the United States Senate men who were not objectionable to the Government at Washington. One of these Senators was Lieutenant-Governor Lewis, of Rockingham; the other, Judge Johnston, of Washington county. Mr. Lewis had always been a stead-

fast Union man, and was then, as now, an outspoken Republican, with liberal views and generous impulses. Judge Johnston had been put upon the bench by the Federal Military Government; and when apprised of his election to the Senate, he wrote a letter to Governor Walker, in which he heartily concurred in the constitutional amendments, favored equal rights and free education for all the people, and pronounced warmly for an honest support of the administration of President Grant.

It goes without saying that General Mahone was no mere looker-on in these proceedings. He was an acknowledged power, in the full flush of success and popular applause, and Bourbonism, no matter how unwillingly, had to defer to his counsel and suggestions, both as to men and measures. Abandoning the name of Democrats, the Bourbons called themselves Conservatives—a name they clung to until 1880, when John W. Daniel, in their State Convention, christened them anew as Democrats by resolution. Long before that, however, they had thrown off the mask, and were openly bent upon reactionary measures to restore Bourbon policy and ascendancy as far as possible.

Reconstruction having been happily accomplished, largely through his instrumentality, as we have seen, General Mahone bent his energies to the consolidation of his railroads, to their renovation and re-equipment, and to the development of their capacity in the restoration of material prosperity to Virginia. Yet he still kept his eye on the general course of public affairs; and when the judiciary was reorganized under the new Constitution, his potent influence and wise judgment had much to do with the selection of the men. He it was who secured Waller R. Staples' nomination and election to the Supreme Bench—believing that thereby he gave to the State a judge at once liberal, learned and able; and the sequel showed that he was not mistaken; for as long as Judge Staples remained in office, he was conspicuous for the qualities attributed to him. Yet he is now a foremost Bourbon, stumping the State against "Mahone and Mahoneism," although to the very last moment of his official life he clung to Mahone and besought him and Mahoneism to save him. It is true that Judge Staples, in his present partisan attitude, affects to avoid all personal attacks upon General Mahone; but he only affects this—being really one of the bitterest denouncers of the record, policy and principles of the man who was *his* friend in every hour of his need. And the offence of Judge Staples is the more flagrant, not merely because Mahone's hand put him upon the Supreme Bench and was willing to

retain him there,—but because Mahone had been willing to push him for the first Virginia vacancy that occurred in the United States Senate and to back him for the Conservative nomination for Governor in 1873. In both these latter cases Judge Staples and his friends had sought General Mahone's aid, and he had cheerfully assented; but after all arrangements had been made and success assured in each, Judge Staples mysteriously withdrew from the candidacy for re-election, best known to himself. General Mahone's part, nevertheless, was as worthy of recollection and grateful requital as if his candidacy in each instance had been carried to nomination and election.

20.

The Legislature elected in 1869 consisted of about one-third Liberals, one-third Bourbons, and one-third Radicals. On most measures the Bourbons co-operated with the Liberals,—and thus the Radicals were foiled at every point. But there was one notable exception to the co-operation we have mentioned. The two most important general acts of this Legislature were the Free School bill (passed in 1870) and the Funding bill (passed in 1871). The Bourbons now claim credit for passing the former, when the legislative journals show that it was supported, without regard to party, by Liberals, Radicals and Bourbons—and by all in obedience to the Constitution they had sworn to support,—a Constitution framed by Republicans. This instrument explicitly declares:

"The General Assembly shall provide by law, at its first session under this Constitution, a uniform system of public free schools, and for its gradual, equal, and full introduction into all the counties of the State, by the year 1876, or as much earlier as practicable."

The notable exception to the usual co-operation of the Bourbons with the Liberals occurred on the passage of the second bill we have named—the Funding bill of 1871. That bill, almost repeating the folly of the Bourbon Legislature of 1866-'7, actually assumed the whole debt of the old State of Virginia, merely *deferring* one-third of it to await a settlement with West Virginia,—which State, it was now discovered, had arisen into being to remain. The folly of 1866-'7 was wholly repeated in fixing the aggregate of this debt: the principal and simple interest to 1866-'7 was treated as a new principal, upon which compound interest was calculated to 1871—the whole amount thus found being capitalized as a

principal, for further compound interest. Instead of finding West Virginia's third at what it was when she ceased to pay taxes to this State, or became a recognized State in the Union herself, this third was computed as of 1870-'71, without crediting this State with a dollar of the millions she had paid, or otherwise redeemed, of the principal and interest! But we need not discuss that nefarious measure in Virginia now, for we are all practically agreed that it was a gross blunder, if not a crime. The Liberals opposed it vigorously, and it would have been defeated but for a coalition of the Bourbons and Radicals of both houses in its support. It was charged that bribery and corruption were busy in securing this result, and all the facts point in that direction. The Radical leaders afterwards explained that their action was guided by a wish to divide the Conservative party, and it certainly tended to that and brought it about in the end.

An analysis of the votes on these measures show that the large majority of those who voted *for* the Free School bill voted *against* this mischievous and fraudulent Funding bill; while it also shows that the large majority of those who voted *against* the Free School bill voted *for* the Funding bill: Significant facts, revealing the real *animus* of the voters, and indicating the future line upon which they would separate. The Funding bill was a pet measure of Governor Walker's, while General Mahone declined to support it and wrote letters to his friends in the Legislature warning them to beware of it. Jonas Walker, a brother of the Governor, was a principal lobbyist for the bill, and was doubtless largely interested in it. General Bradley T. Johnson (who soon became the leader of the Bourbon faction in the State, and remained so until he returned to Maryland) was another conspicuous friend of the measure, together with other prominent Bourbons and Radicals. It was said at the time that the Bourbon patronage of this baleful bill was the first instalment of the price for which Governor Walker abandoned his Republicanism, even in its Liberal form, and went over to Bourbonism. Certain it is that he then entered upon cordial relations with the Bourbon faction which rapidly led him into an estrangement from General Mahone and all other Liberals, and made him a favorite exponent and representative of Bourbonism. He is now an *ultra* Democrat in his native State, New York; and he is another example of General Mahone's ill-confided trust and betrayed confidence. However, Walker served the great immediate purpose for which Mahone had chosen and elevated him, and that is enough to vindicate the selection, no matter if the man did prove false afterwards to his public professions.

as well as to his personal obligations. Even the Bourbons finally threw him over in disgust.

In the very next year (1872) the people elected a Legislature so strongly opposed to the Funding bill that a bill was passed, almost unanimously, repealing the tax-receivable coupon feature of that measure; but this repeal was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Appeals, with respect to the bonds already issued under the Funding bill—Judge Staples dissenting. In 1873, chiefly through the hearty support of General Mahone, General James L. Kemper was made the Conservative nominee for Governor; and his election was secured largely by the active, diligent and liberal efforts which General Mahone made in his behalf. The late Judge Meredith, long chairman of the State Conservative Committee, and well known for his high character and ability, repeatedly eulogized General Mahone as a public man who performed while others were promising, and who paid while others were asking what they were to receive. He testified that his committee never appealed to General Mahone in vain for help; and that from and including 1869 to 1877, the committee felt relieved of all care and responsibility whenever and wherever the General put his hand to the work.

General Kemper came to office full of professions in favor of a readjustment of the debt, and a liberal policy in politics. His messages elaborately paraded these professions, and he labored with diligence and success to demonstrate the utterly inaccurate *data* upon which Governor Walker had urged the passage of the Funding bill. So liberal was he, indeed, that a scheme was set on foot (with his understood approval) to nominate a ticket in 1876 with Grant for President and Kemper for Vice-President. But all this resulted in nothing but an abortive conference with a lot of brokers, and a quarrel with the Federal administration for sending troops to Petersburg, at the request of Judge Hughes, to protect Republicans and other voters from Bourbon intimidation in that city. Kemper rapidly succumbed to the influences and blandishments of Bourbonism, and before his term expired he had turned his back on Liberalism and become a Bourbon of the Bourbons.

21.

Meanwhile the Liberals in and out of the Legislature steadily opposed the execution of the Funding bill and clamored for Readjustment. The people invariably elected Legisla-

tures in favor of Readjustment, but always enough of the representatives were bullied, cajoled or bought by the Bourbons and brokers to prevent any effective steps to be taken in the desired direction. General Mahone's political and personal friends were nearly all identified with this Liberal opposition to the Funding bill, against which he had himself warned some of his legislative correspondents before it became a law. But his railroad had got into financial straits consequent on the crisis of 1873; his and its enemies, domestic and foreign, had combined against him; and he was thus restrained from taking that active part in political affairs which he desired and to which the people invoked him. In 1877, however, his railroad difficulties had reached a stage in which he was largely relieved of their burden. The ravages of the tax-coupons had begun to tell most disastrously against free education by intercepting or diverting its funds and closing its schools. The people were aroused to a determination to have relief in some way, and they eagerly called upon Mahone to lead them. His letter of 1877, in which he emphatically declared for a Readjustment of our public debt, as an act of equity, as well as of imperative necessity, marked another era in our deliverance and the progress of New Virginia. The *Richmond Dispatch* had got wind of this letter, and, with its usual tactics, sought to anticipate and break the force of it by a loud profession for itself and faction of being heartily in favor of everything General Mahone proposed and urged. The editorial appeared in Richmond the day the letter was published in Petersburg. But the *Dispatch* soon veered from its position under Bourbon and broker duress, and thus gave an initial instance, since frequently repeated, not only of how it can look one way and row another, but of how little reliance can be placed upon it as an exponent of the real views and secret purposes of Bourbonism. The *Dispatch* is again for Readjustment to-day (so it says); but all the years from and including 1877 to and including 1883 rise up in testimony against it as one of the fiercest and most dangerous enemies of our debt settlement. *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*: as applicable to the faction as to its principal organ.

The people rallied to General Mahone as their leader, and in the Conservative Convention of 1877 he was the strongest candidate for the nomination for Governor, receiving the highest number of votes cast for any candidate, until his name was withdrawn. Before the Convention met he was urged not to allow his name to go before that body, and to run as an independent candidate before the people, for it was fore-

seen that the weaker candidates would combine against him in the Convention. It was urged upon him, too, to consent for the withdrawal of his friends from the Convention after it had assembled. But he would consent to neither,—determined to give the Bourbon elements in the party every opportunity to learn and obey the will of the people before he took an independent stand to carry out that will. The Convention adopted a platform in favor of a Readjustment on the basis of the State's revenues, without an increase of taxes—substantially what the people and General Mahone demanded, if carried out in good faith.

Among the candidates before the Convention was Colonel F. W. M. Holliday, of Winchester. He had written a letter, which was circulated in his favor, pledging himself to abide by the will of the people as to the debt, and declaring it a matter for legislative determination, and not for Executive interference. His friends in the Convention, too, made similar pledges in his behalf. Seeing it unlikely that he himself could secure the nomination in face of the combination against him, General Mahone had his name withdrawn, and advised his supporters to rally to Holliday, who thereupon was nominated. Walker, of Pulaski, was nominated for Lieutenant Governor. In the canvass that followed, General Mahone faithfully supported the nominees,—although Walker took the stump against Readjustment and denounced it as repudiation and highway robbery. Colonel Holliday made no canvass. Being elected his inaugural address reiterated the views as to the debt which he had expressed in the letter heretofore referred to. The Legislature, fresh from the people, was largely in favor of Readjustment. Yet, in face of his repeated pledges, Governor Holliday vetoed the Barbour bill (a temporary appropriation bill intended to prepare the way for Readjustment), and subsequently vetoed the first Riddleberger Readjustment bill—doing so, too, in terms outrageously insolent and insulting. In all this he was backed by the Bourbons and their press.

It was evident that the Conservative party had only become a machine to defeat the will of the people and to forward the purposes of Bourbonism. Patience and patriotism had done their best to secure a just settlement of the debt, to save the free schools, and to deliver the State from fast accumulating financial difficulties on every score, without sundering the Conservative organization and its supporters. But now patience had ceased to be a virtue, and patriotism demanded that Bourbons and Bourbonism should no longer be trusted. It was under these circumstances that General

Mahone and his Liberal coadjutors determined to form a new organization that should be truly responsive to the popular will.

[*Whig*, February 10th, 1884.]

22.

The taxes had been raised from forty cents to fifty cents on the one hundred dollars for the specific purpose of meeting the *minimum* requirement of the Constitution for the support of the free schools; yet, notwithstanding the Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance thereof in 1870, the tax-coupons of the Funding bill of 1871, were allowed to intercept and absorb the school tax—the annual average of this interception being over \$167,000, with a steady increase every year. One-half the schools were closed, and the remainder were open for only two or three months in the year, with a constantly decreasing attendance. Beginning with \$1,816,000 cash in the Treasury, our arrearages under the Funding bill averaged a million of dollars a year. Although the Bourbons dared not directly increase the rate of taxation for the avowed purpose of meeting the outrageous impositions of the Funding bill, they increased assessments beyond value; they busily sought and invented “new subjects” of taxation (as Daniel’s stamp-tax)—as if all taxes did not press upon the people; and they did not scruple, meanwhile, to rob the Sinking Fund, the Literary Fund, the School-tax, the colleges, the asylums, and all our public institutions, to put money into the pockets of our coupon-scalping brokers and larger (chiefly Bourbon) tax-payers. The poll-tax itself, allowed by the Constitution only as a source of revenue for the schools, was curiously and treacherously perverted into a qualification of the suffrage, and employed, through the registrars of voters, the assessors and collectors of taxes, to disfranchise many thousands of voters. Our jails were filled with lunatics who could not be accommodated in the asylums, whose appropriations were not paid and whose enlargement was stayed. Everything, public and private, wofully felt and suffered under the depression and oppression of a policy which depleted all our vital forces. Enterprise of every kind languished, and, instead of capital and labor coming to us to help in our development and progress, these fled from us as if Virginia were an infected region—our own people migrating by thousands to other States and to the Territories.

The Bourbons, meanwhile, not only refused to Readjust the debt which was so cruelly and unjustly crushing us, but united to support Governor Holliday in his vetoes of the various measures passed by the Legislature to protect and relieve the schools—John W. Daniel substantially declaring, with respect to one of these, that he would rather put the torch to the school-houses than pass it. Governor Holliday himself, in one of his messages, said that education was “a luxury,” and that free education was a disgrace if obtained through public money that he held ought to pay coupons. The Bourbon press applauded these acts and declarations, and denounced all the friends of readjustment as repudiators and thieves. In the midst of all this loud talk in behalf of honesty and honor, even Bourbon Doctors of Divinity, as the records of the Auditor of Public Accounts show, were purchasing coupons at 70 and 80 cents in the dollar and paying their taxes with them; thus at once defrauding the State, the schools, and the creditors!

Late in 1878 the Bourbons, inspired and led by General Bradley T. Johnson and Mr. William L. Royall, secretly organized a political movement, outside and independent of the Conservative party, alledged to be in behalf of the “Public Credit.” When the organization was complete, it issued an address which became notorious as “the address of the 39”—that being the number of signers to the original issue of the precious document. It invited all men, of all parties and colors, to unite with the organization for the support of the Funding bill and to increase taxation to pay the coupons. Among the signers were nine Doctors of Divinity, all of whom, except two, (as the official records prove) were paying their taxes in coupons. The State organization announced was a State Committee of which General Williams C. Wickham, chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee, was a member, together with other Republicans and prominent Bourbons. Colonel Robert Beverly, a member of the State Conservative Committee and an *ultra* Bourbon, was Chairman, and Mr. William L. Royall was Secretary, of this Committee. It at once sent out circulars to preachers, Bourbon partizans and Brokers’ men all over the State, urging them to aid this holy alliance in behalf of a job to rob Virginia and her people; and with the circulars were blanks intended to enroll and pledge all those who could be led to sign it to a hearty support of the new factions, its men and measures. This was a most extraordinary scheme in all its parts; but considered with respect to its attempt to prostitute religion and the pulpit to the designs of the Bourbon faction and a

broker's sordid, forcible and dishonest job, it was monstrous. The *Whig* attacked it vigorously from the first, and with a proper indignation that did not measure its words; and almost immediately the swelling thing collapsed, leaving only a bad odor behind it, while its inventors, promoters and their accomplices speedily abandoned it in confusion, if not in humiliation and shame.

23.

Confronted by all these things, General Mahone and the Liberal leaders in and out of the Legislature were not unconcerned or idle speculators. He and they consulted and agreed upon a course to be dependent upon events as they should disclose themselves. When the legislative session of 1878-'9 opened, the Bourbons announced that they were ready to readjust, and that representatives of the bondholders would concur in a new and fair settlement based upon the revenues of the State, without an increase of taxation. It soon appeared that Hon. Hugh McCulloch, associated with other financiers, and representing two syndicates of brokers, one American and the other British, was the author and manager of the new scheme, which was embodied in a bill that became notorious as "the McCulloch bill." We need not go into the details of a measure with which all Virginians are so familiar. Suffice it to say that McCulloch & Co., were forced to deny in writing that they represented the bondholders, and in the preamble of the bill itself they were careful to speak only for the syndicates of brokers, and to pledge these only to efforts to induce the bondholders to fund under their scheme. The funding was taken wholly out of the control of the State, and given to the syndicates as long as they chose to keep it, upon terms which made them masters of the finances of Virginia and of all the holders of bonds of every description. Instead of bringing relief, it was really a worse measure than the Funding bill. The tax-receivable coupon feature was retained; the bonds and coupons, formerly payable in currency at Richmond, were made payable in gold, or sterling funds, at London, at the option of the bondholder; the bonds and coupons, formerly taxed, were made forever untaxable; and the rate of interest was fixed at 3 per cent. for ten years, 4 per cent. for twenty years, and 5 per cent. for ten years—equivalent to the old rate of 6 per cent., and

more, when coupled with payment in gold and the exemption from *all* taxation. The most monstrous provision, however, was that known as the "Allen Amendment," which directed the Auditor, on the demand of the syndicates or bondholders, whenever any default in the semi-annual interest occurred, to issue tax-receivable certificates, redeemable *every* six months, to be sold as low as 75 cents in the dollar, to meet such default. As it was certain (as the event proved) that default would happen every six months, this provision (if carried into effect) made our bankruptcy and ruin inevitable by a forced system of borrowing money at $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. per annum to meet accrued and unpaid interest!

Think of the financial policy which would borrow money at the rate of sixty-six and two-thirds per-cent. to pay six per cent. on an exaggerated debt!

Of course the Liberals and Readjusters in the Legislature opposed this measure: and early in 1879 they held a conference at which they resolved to call a State Convention to organize resistance to this bill and to bring about a real and adequate Readjustment. The call was accordingly made for a convention to meet in this city in the last days of February, 1879, and General Mahone framed that call.

Pending these proceedings, General Mahone was called upon by a distinguished member of the Legislature and leader of the McCulloch scheme, to prepare some plan whereby the control of the Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio road could be saved to the State. He complied, and the scheme he formulated was submitted to a conference of members from both branches of the General Assembly, selected and assembled by General John Echols.

The scheme submitted by General Mahone was approved. Its practicability and its constitutionality were thoroughly examined by the ablest men in and outside the Legislature. It was approved by the Attorney General of the State—General Field—and other distinguished lawyers, as in no wise conflicting with the Constitution of the State—as an admissible legislative act.

It was now openly suggested to General Mahone, that in the event of the success of the scheme he should be re-instated to the control of the road: but, correctly suspecting the underlying motive which had prompted the leaders in this suddenly conceived concern for the interests of the Commonwealth and the people in this great property, declared that under no circumstances likely to arise would he ever consent to resume the presidency of the road.

Organized opposition to the McCulloch scheme, then pend-

ing before the Legislature, was foreshadowed. The Convention at Mozart Hall had been projected. General Mahone's opposition to the McCulloch scheme, if possible, was to be silenced. The Convention at Mozart Hall assembled and the suspected motive was speedily revealed when General Mahone, on invitation, there made his able *expose* of our financial *status* and its requirements, and strongly opposed the McCulloch bill as a false pretense to readjust our obligations. The Bourbons immediately abandoned their project to buy the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio road for the State; and when General Mahone and his friends afterwards signified their readiness to push the matter, the Bourbon leaders declared that they had decided to drop and oppose it, because General Mahone had dared to be true to his convictions and to the interests of the State and people with respect to the public debt. In their original plan, to place General Mahone in a position, with relation to them and their support of the purchase of the road, that would restrain him (as they hoped) from an active participation in politics that might endanger that project, the Bourbons had forgotten the character of the man they had to deal with,—a man who from his earliest life all the more asserted his independence, the more it was sought to bind it; and who has always been careful to hold his course high above even the suspicion of duress or inclination either through fear or favor.

Thus opportunity was lost of securing control to the State of the most influential of all her public works.

If the State had purchased this property, as she might have done without the cost of a dollar, she would have had the power of controlling the rates of transportation, and given to her people the low cost and facilities of getting to market, which these works were intended to afford. Her control of this trunk line of travel and commerce would have brought that growth to her cities which, by geographical situation, of right belongs to them. But it was then, as now, anything to beat Mahone. This was then, as now, the height of the statesmanship of the Bourbon leaders whose record is barren of any measure that takes concern of the public welfare. Let the man name one who truthfully can.

This vast and valuable property possessing more power for the development of the material interests and commercial growth of the commonwealth than all other agencies of the like combined, was permitted to go to the block, and pass to the control of strangers to her interests, without an attempt on the part of the delegated custodians of public affairs, to

save or protect, either the immediate interests of the State or of her citizens in the property.

The State held a large claim against the road, her citizens and others held over two millions and a half of stock in the road, and there was a considerable sum, too, due for labor and supplies, all of which had been extinguished by the decree of sale.

The Governor was Bourbon, the Legislature was Bourbon—not a step was taken, not a motion was made, to protect these claims. It was then, at this supreme moment, that Mahone interposed and negotiated a contract with the purchasers, which secured and saved of the wreck of this valuable property, what—let us see:

I. The payment of five hundred thousand dollars to the State for the claim she held against the road, which was indeed the full value of all the stock and claims sold the Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio Railroad under the consolidation act, as set out, item by item, in the report upon the subject by Col. W. H. Taylor, Chairman Senate Committee on Roads and Internal Navigation. This claim of the State, so recovered by Mahone, had been extinguished by the decree of sale—a decree which the Bourbon Governor, Board of Public Works, and Bourbon Legislature had permitted to come, without effort at resistance.

II. The payment of every dollar due for labors and supplies, which by the decree had been extinguished.

III. The restoration of every share of stock which had been extinguished, to an equal place of value in the new company.

It was this half million of money, recovered of the Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio Railroad,—by Mahone's efforts—that the Readjuster-Republican Legislature of '81-'82 dedicated—one hundred thousand to a colored normal school and four hundred thousand dollars towards the liquidation of the one million and a half of money, which had been taken from the free schools, previously, by the Bourbon managers at the capital; and one hundred thousand of that money is now withheld from the schools—while teachers go unpaid.

Immediately after the consolidation of his railroads was accomplished, a number of the leading citizens of Petersburg made a free offering to Mrs. Mahone of the finest house and lot in that city. This was declined. Later, the Common Council of the city tendered to General Mahone, at a nominal price, the finest lot in all the city; and this, too, was declined. No improper motives are charged in either instance; but General Mahone would not accept what might have been

construed into obligations having a tendency to shape his public actions. Behold here samples of "Mahone's methods."

The Mozart Convention organized the Readjuster party and made General Mahone the chairman of its State Committee. The resolutions adopted declared war upon the Funding bill and its coupons; opposed the new McCulloch scheme; called a rescue for the sovereignty of the State and people, and for the schools; and proclaimed a determination to force a settlement on the basis of our just indebtedness, properly ascertained, and our ability to pay, as shown by bitter experience. All men, of all parties and colors, were welcomed to the movement, on a platform of equal rights and interests. Weak-kneed Readjusters in the Legislature, foreseeing this inevitable issue, had already made terms with the Bourbons; and now others deserted their professions and constituents. The result was the passage of the McCulloch bill and its approval by Governor Holliday. Undismayed, full of confidence in the righteousness of their cause and the ability of their chosen leader, the Readjusters boldly appealed to the people, and the heated contest of 1879 was begun.

The events recited had resulted in the almost entire dissolution and disorganization of the Conservative party. Only the Bourbon fag-end of its State Committee remained; and this, early in the spring of 1879, met and adopted the McCulloch bill as the platform of its faction—declaring all who did not support that measure to be no longer Conservatives. The same fag-end (consisting of 12 members out of a committee of 27) met again in August and proceeded formally "to kick out of the Conservative party," as they said, all Readjusters and others who would not rally to the new Brokers' bill. Three members of the Committee, who attended the meeting of this Bourbon Rump (Messrs. Groner, Richard A. Wise, and Stovall) vigorously protested against this action; but in vain. The rupture was complete.

General Mahone directed the campaign on the part of the Readjusters, and took an active share in it besides. The Bourbons (then called Funders) alleged that the whole opposition to the McCulloch bill was but a pretext to advance the political fortunes of the General. They sought to, and did, make the fight a personal one over Mahone, as well as over the debt and the schools. "Anything and anybody to beat Mahone!" was their war-cry. They declared that all he wanted was to go to the United States Senate, and that he and his party would fulfill none of their promises to the people.

He had refused opportunity to go to the Senate when

Johnston was first elected. He could have gone to the Senate of the United States then, in 1869, if he had consented, and remained for life, if he could have been a Bourbon and in the Senate no more than a bump on a log. But he had no political ambition to gratify. His highest purpose was to give life, energy and value to the unbounded resources of his State; education to her children; and to bless the people with peace, plenty, and progress.

In this way the Bourbons actually nominated General Mahone for the Senate before the people, and the people accepted and confirmed the nomination.

The canvass was hot; but from the first the Readjusters pressed the enemy with vigor, and achieved a great victory, beating the Bourbon-Funders by a majority of over twenty thousand in the popular vote—from ten thousand to fifteen thousand of this being white majority. Twenty-three Readjusters and seventeen Funders were elected to the Senate; and to the House of Delegates, fifty-seven Readjusters and forty-three Funders. A majority of the legislators chosen, of both the Conservative and Republican parties, were Readjusters; and together they elected all the Capitol officers and county judges, and chose General Mahone United States Senator to succeed Colonel Withers—General Mahone's white majority on joint ballot, exclusive of all colored and Republican votes, being seven, of which three were in the House and four in the Senate,—his total joint Readjuster vote being eighty to sixty cast for Colonel Withers and all others. And this result was secured in the face of the most extraordinary Bourbon overtures to combine the Bourbon and Republican vote on General Wickham or some other Bourbon-Funder Republican. But no inducement nor bribe could break the ranks of the men who had a great cause at heart, and who recognized in General Mahone the leader who had guided them to victory and power.

[Whig, February 13th, 1885.]

24.

The very revolt from Bourbonism which the Readjusters proclaimed had wrought good from the first for all the material and political interests of New Virginia; and when it was known that it had defeated Bourbonism decisively, the effect was wonderful in attracting capital and enterprise into our

borders—1879 marking the era of revived progress and prosperity for the Commonwealth. In advance of any new legislation or administration under the new dispensation the revolution in popular sentiment and policy which had been attested at the polls made itself felt in all the channels of our public affairs; and the schools especially began at once to revive and flourish.

It is true that the Bourbons claimed to have redeemed the schools through the Henkel bill, which measure authorized the issue of tax-receivable certificates for every county to the amount of 75 per cent. of the school-taxes estimated by the Auditor of Public Accounts to be due upon the returns of assessments. Yet the Henkel bill, in its original form, was a Readjuster measure, and as such it proposed to certificate 90 per cent. of the estimated school dues to each county. Mr. Henkel himself was a Readjuster, elected by Readjusters, although he declined to go into the separate and independent movement of 1879; but the Bourbons adopted him and his bill—cutting down the amount to be certificated from 90 per cent. to 75 per cent., as we have seen. The bill would have been inoperative, however, but for the defeat of Bourbonism—that defeat practically forcing the retention of State taxes in every county to at least 75 per cent. of its school-taxes. The bill passed both Houses of the General Assembly without a dissenting vote—the Readjusters still voting for it even after they failed to restore the 90 per cent. reserve originally contemplated by the measure,—the remaining 10 per cent. being sufficient to cover the costs of assessment and collection. Since the Bourbon victory of fraud and force in 1883, the schools and teachers have rapidly lapsed into their former condition of delayed payments and diverted funds, notwithstanding the fact that the Henkel bill has been superseded by the Grandstaff bill, which directs 90 per cent. of the school-taxes to be reserved in the counties from the State taxes; and, under the continued predominance of Bourbonism, the prospect is sure that the state of the schools will at an early day be worse than it ever was.

The election of 1879 still left Holliday Governor; and, although the Liberals and Readjusters framed and passed the Riddleberger bill to readjust the State debt, with a recognized principal of about \$21,000,000, at three per cent interest, it met a Bourbon veto—as other desirable measures did—among them a bill directing all school-taxes to be paid in money. A joint resolution, nevertheless, was adopted, proposing an amendment to the Constitution to abolish the dollar qualification of the suffrage, to restore the free ballot to the

people. But with an obstructive Bourbon minority in the General Assembly, which prevented a two-third majority in each House on all liberal measures, and with a vetoing Bourbon Governor, much needed and salutary legislation was defeated or postponed. Yet the Readjusters and General Magruder (who vigilantly and diligently aided the party in the Legislature with his powerful influence and wise counsel) had fully vindicated their professions by as full performance as was possible under the circumstances. If they did not achieve all that the people demanded, it was because the Bourbon Governor and the Bourbon legislators would not let them.

In 1880 came an election for President, Vice-President, and Congressmen. At the State Convention called to consider and deal with the situation, it was thought best to nominate an independent electoral ticket, pledged to the Democratic nominees. This course was taken, not only because of the large number of Conservatives in the Readjuster party, but because the only hope for continued success for the Liberal movement lay in gaining fresh recruits from the Conservative voters. Yet it was distinctly declared that the Democratic nominees were not supported as Democratic candidates, but as Readjuster candidates; and pains were taken to fully preserve the organization and purpose of the party from any entangling alliance with the Democratic party.

The proposition to compose our electoral ticket with that of the Funder (Hancock) ticket on the basis of seven Readjusters and four Funders, was refused.

It is not to be ignored, however, that in 1879 the Republican President and his administration distinctly and unequivocally arrayed themselves in favor of the Bourbons and against the Liberal Readjuster movement; and in this they were followed by the Republican machine in this State, as well as by the whole Republican press of the country. It is apparent, therefore, that in the face of this Republican attitude in favor of Bourbonism, strange and unnatural as it was, the Liberals and Readjusters of Virginia had small choice of position in the National fight of 1880, if they meant to maintain even a show of self-respect. In the action taken, dictated by so many imperative considerations. Republicans and Conservatives patriotically concurred, zealous to maintain an organization which had already done so much good, and which promised a bountiful harvest of public and private benefits, if its adherents remained steadfast and harmonious. The old platform, with additions in the direction of liberality and reform, was adopted, and the fight was prosecuted with vigor in every district of the State.

25.

Up to within three weeks of the election, everything went well for the Readjusters. Even the Bourbons felt that they were sure to lose the State. But, in the midst of these fair prospects, the Republican National Committee, seeing no prospect of carrying the State for Garfield and Arthur, and yet eager to secure as many Protectionists as possible in the House of Representatives, sent a couple of excellent gentleman to Virginia, who were not merely unfitted for their mission, but inharmonious and vacillating, to exhort the Republicans to rally to the Readjuster ticket as a whole, including the Presidential electors. All the Liberal candidates for Congress had pronounced emphatically for a Protective tariff; but the effete Republican machine, which had co-operated so cordially with Bourbonism in 1879, not content with putting a Republican electoral ticket in the field, also set up alleged Republican candidates for Congress in every district. It was to discredit and counteract this assistant-Bourbon course on part of such State Republican machine that the National Republican Committee acted; but the action came too late, and with agents unequal to the occasion. It is doubtful that it would have been wise at any stage of the canvass; but, as it was, it wrought only evil. It broke the existing lines of battle on the eve of the actual conflict. It raised doubts and questions of which the Bourbons and their Radical allies were quick to take advantage. These proclaimed, as suited their purpose, that either a bargain and sale had been entered into to transfer the Readjusters to the Republican party, or that the whole scheme was a false device to betray the Republicans to Mahone. General Mahone and the Readjuster organs and orators did all they could to correct misrepresentation and expose falsehood; but confidence was disturbed, confusion followed, and there was a double stampede from the Readjuster banner,—the Conservative Readjusters rallying to the "regular" Democratic ticket, while the Republican Readjusters rushed to the "regular" Republican ticket. Thus, when victory seemed so sure, a well-meant scheme miscarried so badly as to bring utter defeat. Yet the mutual distrust, which thus so suddenly divided the two classes of Readjusters, did not extend to all the party. There were over 31,000 who stood firm and who voted the Presidential Readjuster ticket despite the general demoralization and dispersion. Moreover, whereas there was only one Republican to eight Bourbons in the former Congressional delegation, the election of 1880, notwithstanding all difficulties, resulted in

returning two Republicans, two Liberal and Protectionist Readjusters, and only five Bourbons to Congress.

In the following March, General Mahone took his seat in the United States Senate. Elected distinctively as an *anti*-Bourbon, he was bound by every obligation and consideration not to co-operate with them, nor with any party in the Senate which sustained them and of which they formed a large and preponderating part. His course was clear and plain, and he took it promptly and boldly—giving the Republicans by his vote control of the Senate, and placing that body in accord with the Federal administration. President Garfield, before he was inaugurated, had declared his approval of Readjustment and his warm support of the Liberal movement in Virginia. Afterwards he took occasion to give practical proof of his friendly inclination to Mahone and the party which he had here led to victory over Bourbonism.

But, on the other hand, while the Republican administration and the Republican Senators extended helping and welcoming hands to the great Liberal and Liberalizer of the South, the Bourbons made a fierce assault upon him as a traitor to his State, his section, and his party. Of course this was all the mere fatuity of venom and spite; for from and including 1869, Mahone and Bourbonism had been bitter foes,—and if at brief intervals there had been a truce, it was always broken by the Bourbons whenever Mahone dared aspire to anything, or ventured to broach any public enterprise. They had fought him in 1869; they had fought consolidation; they had fought him and his railroad; and they had proclaimed war to the knife when he became a candidate for the Conservative nomination for Governor in 1877—although in the Convention of that year he led all the Candidates the first three ballots and the last two out of six, when he had his name withdrawn. How he was attacked in the Senate by Hill and others with bitterest denunciation, and how he, always equal to occasion, replied to Hill in a way that extorted the applanse of the continent, is history. Even the cold-blooded Massey was so stirred by his heroic attitude and his victorious outburst of indignant vindication for his State, his people and himself, that he rushed to Washington to give effusive thanks and applause to Mahone. The real Virginians, who had followed him in war and in peace, met in their county assemblies all over the State and enthusiastically endorsed his words and deeds.

What followed? The Federal offices in Virginia were given to Virginians, and the liberal Virginians *of the people*. Then it was Federal offices in Virginia were, for the first time

since the war, filled by representative men. The Federal Judges, Attorneys, Marshals, Collectors, Postmasters, &c., were now Virginians, with rare exceptions, and they gentlemen of such character and capacity, and so fully identified with our interests, that they were acceptable to all parties. Liberal appropriations for public buildings and the improvement of our rivers and harbors, followed General Mahone's advent in the Senate. The tax on our tobaeco was, by his active influence, reduced from sixteen to eight cents—saving two and a half millions to the tobacco interest of the State. A protective duty has been placed on sumac, and the protection on our iron ores has been increased. Our postal service has been extended and improved. Federal favors in all things, instead of being turned from us, has been extended to us, and it has been wisely availed of as far as Bourbon obstruction in the House of Representatives would allow. It proceeds directly from General Mahone's course and the success of the Liberal movement in Virginia, that a Republican Senate has passed the Blair Education bill, and that the same Senate and the Republican President were in favor of the removal of all our internal taxes.

In 1879 Bourbons and Bourbonism were in close and loving alliance with President Hayes, Hugh McCulloch, and the Republican and broker press of the country to impose the McCulloch bill and its outrages upon us—to rob us, our schools, and our humane institutions, to manacle the State and oppress the people.

In 1881 Mahone and the Readjusters entered into an open alliance with President Arthur, if you please, and the Republican party, against the Bourbons, against the McCulloch bill, and in behalf of free schools, free politics, and the protection of our resources, our labor and industries.

To-day we have a readjusted State debt—except in so far as Bourbon obstruction has intervened and unsettled that question. They *acquiesced* at Lynchburg, in their State Convention of July, 1883, held there, but how have they kept the promise? Let gentlemen of their own party speak.

Mr. Royall, in his brief before the Supreme Court of the United States, says:

"If these two acts (Coupon Killers numbers one and two, as the Bourbons derisively call them,) stood alone, the coupon holder could make no complaint of them, since the decision of this (the Supreme) Court (declaring them to be valid). But when (so declared) they stood alone, (had not been tampered with by the Bourbon Legislature,) and since they have been subsequently supplemented by other legislation, (by the legisla-

tion of the Bourbon Legislature) which completely annihilates the coupon" (and upsets our settlement).

Mr. Maury, in his brief before the same court, says:

"I contend that this new remedy (provided in Coupon Killers numbers one and two) has been repealed, perhaps through inadvertence, perhaps ignorantly, for what may not be presumed of a Legislature, (the late Bourbon Legislature) capable of passing the laws just alluded to? (the laws recited by him in evidence of the baneful effect of Bourbon legislation upon our debt legislation). It seems that among the many other remarkable proceedings of the last Legislature, (Bourbon) they have actually repealed the very act (one of our Coupon killers) which they were blindly endeavoring to strengthen."

What further evidence—more conclusive—need be furnished, of the incapability of the managers of the Bourbon-Funder party to deal with this paramount, pressing question of State affairs? What faith can the people repose in the promises of the leaders of that party? What additional evidence of their hostility to our Readjuster-Republican Debt Settlement, and of consequence, to our free schools, is wanting.

To-day we have a redeemed and enlarged system of free schools; reduced taxation, both in rate and in assessment; restored free suffrage—which the Bourbons would now destroy by the Anderson-McCormick ballot-box machine for corrupting the honesty of elections—our productions better protected; and an offer from the Republicans of the Nation of over \$5,000,000 to aid in educating our rising generations, which the Bourbon party repelled and has kept away. A beneficent measure which was reported by the committee of the Senate of which General Mahone is the second member, which, by resolution drawn in his own hand, our Republican Legislature of 1881—82 endorsed.

When we look at the great actual benefits, State and Federal, and the greater prospective benefits, due to the policy advocated and guided to success by General Mahone, we are amazed that even the gates of hell that Barbour opened in 1883 at Danville and elsewhere could prevail against it, even temporarily. But as the crushing defeat and dispersion of 1880 were followed by a great success in the next year, the story of New Virginia no less illustrates how its foremost hero can pluck triumph from disaster than how he can mature and gather all the fruits of victory.

26.

In 1881 there were a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, an Attorney-General, a House of Delegates and half the Senate to be elected in Virginia. The Liberals and Readjusters met in State Convention and nominated Colonel William E. Cameron for Governor; Hon. John F. Lewis for Lieutenant-Governor; and Capt. Frank S. Blair for Attorney-General. Rev. John E. Massey, whom the Readjuster legislators had made Auditor of Public Accounts, was Colonel Cameron's principal contestant for the nomination, and he and some of his supporters made truculent threats of bolting from the Convention and opposing the nomination; but they did not do it.

The Funders, (who only the year before had assumed the name of Democrats) nominated Major John W. Daniel for Governor, with Hon. James Barbour for Lieutenant-Governor—Mr. Barbour being put upon the ticket because he had been an original Readjuster and was the author of the first preliminary Readjustment bill, which bore his name, but which Governor Holliday vetoed. Mr. Barbour clung to the Bourbons and returned to full fellowship with them in 1880, when they declared themselves Democrats; and the latter hoped to win Readjuster votes by placing him on their State ticket.

The Republicans also held a State Convention, at Lynchburg, which was made memorable by a fierce contest between the Liberal and Readjuster elements, on one side, and the Radical Straightout and Funder elements, on the other. The result was a triumph of the Liberal-Readjuster Republicans, who declined to nominate a State ticket and resolved to coalesce with the Readjuster party, and support its nominee. The Funder Republicans bolted and held a separate Convention; but after nominating two candidates for Governor, who successively refused to run, they adjourned in confusion, without having accomplished anything. Subsequently the leading Republican Funder, General Wickham, declared publicly for the Democratic ticket, being followed in that direction by most of his faction.

The contest was pressed hotly by both sides, and the Bourbons made General Mahone's course in the Senate a prime issue of the canvass—denouncing him as a traitor to the South and to the Democracy, who had betrayed his trust to the Republican party. There were many exciting episodes that we cannot pause even to mention. However, South Carolina plans and Mississippi methods had not yet been fully intro-

duced among us, and again General Mahone was endorsed, and Liberalism triumphed by a majority of over 14,000 for its State ticket, with a Legislature decidedly Liberal in both branches. Again Liberal-Readjusters were chosen to fill all the Capitol offices, and another United States Senator, Hon. H. H. Riddleberger, was elected. Here, again, as in 1879, the Bourbons sought to seduce the Republican-Readjusters to unite with them to elect a Funder-Republican, or any Republican, or Readjuster, who would bolt from the Readjuster party and fight it; but again their efforts were in vain.

At last, with the beginning of 1882, the Readjusters were full masters of the situation, with the complete control of the State Government in all its departments. They elected a new bench of judges for the Supreme Court of Appeals—all being men of high capacity and character; they took charge of all the public institutions, which theretofore had been under Bourbon partizan management; and, with a Governor in full accord with them, they proceeded as promptly as possible to carry out the programme of measures to which the party was pledged.

27.

During the campaign of 1881 the Bourbons had made another vigorous struggle in behalf of the McCulloch bill, claiming in their published official addresses, as well as by their organs and orators, that our revenues were sufficient to support the schools, defray all expenses of government, and meet the interest on the debt, as they attempted to assume and carry it. But they had made the same claims in 1879—urging that we could not only do all these things with our revenues, without increasing taxation, but have a surplus annually of over \$500,000 for incidental and extraordinary expenditures. Yet, when the Readjusters came to partial power, in 1880, they found only \$22,000 in the State Treasury, and a *proof impression of a plate already prepared to print and issue the Allen tax-certificates to meet the defaulted interest on the very first semi-annual payment falling due under the McCulloch bill!* The State had fallen over \$9,000,000 in arrears in eight years, counting the \$1,800,000 cash in the Treasury with which the Funder policy began its baleful career. Of this sum, more than a \$1,500,000 was due the schools; and large sums were due the colleges, asylums and other public institutions; while there were many outstanding warrants (amounting to one hundred and sixty-four thousand dollars) upon the

Treasury, for current expenses, which could not be paid. The very first act to which the Legislature was forced, under these results of Bourbon mistake and malfeasance, was to effect a temporary loan for our asylums and to carry on the Government.

The Bourbons, however, had learned nothing from all this experience. They closed their eyes and ears to the real facts and figures, and dealt exclusively in illusive fancies and calculations borrowed from a future of their own imagining. Even the improved condition of affairs brought about by the abolition of Bourbon methods and the introduction of Liberal and Readjuster reform, as far as possible, in 1780 and 1881, only served to lend Bourbonism fresh argument and assurance for the very follies which had made reform so imperative. They still claimed to be Debt-Payers while they had got us rapidly deeper in debt daily; and they only made the stronger claim to be Debt-payers when the Readjusters demonstrated that Readjuster ways and means (better than futile promises) more effectually paid even Bourbon arrearages, and wholly prevented new deficits.

When the altered or amended Riddleberger bill of 1882 was proposed, the Bourbons opposed it with unabated fierceness and vehemence. Although under the Brokers' job, which they adopted as their own, the State debt was claimed to be, with its constant accretions, about \$35,000,000, at an annual interest (substantially) of at least six per cent. in self-executing tax-receivable coupons,—and although a long and miserable experience had shown that it was impossible to carry this burden,—yet, even after the official evidence demonstrated that we *did not owe more* than \$21,000,000, they still insisted that we were bound to pay and must pay the rascally and fraudulent demand "nominated in the bond." But the people had faithful representatives in both branches of the Legislature, and Readjustment was accomplished, as far as the sovereignty of the State and of the people could decree and enforce. The just debt, officially ascertained at about \$21,000,000, was assumed fully, without the repudiation of a dollar, and the interest was fixed at 3 per cent. a year, without tax-coupons; the settlement thus reached being honest and honorable, and within our capacity to pay. Thirteen millions in principal and thirty-five millions in interest, were thus saved to the State and tax-payers; while the incidental benefits to all our concerns were of incalculable value in relief and encouragement.

Taxes were reduced in rate from 50 cents to 40 cents, and the exorbitant Bourbon assessments of real estate and other

property were lowered; the dues to asylums and our other institutions were paid, and our lunatics, by the hundred, were rescued from the jails where Bourbonism had placed them; the diversion of school-funds wholly ceased, and our schools, rapidly recovering from the depressed condition of 1879, soon regained their former number and efficiency, and pressed forward in a wonderful career of growth and prosperity: the Grandstaff bill repealed and superseded the Henkel bill,—providing that all the net school-revenues due every county should (in effect) be reserved in cash by the county treasurer from the State taxes coming into his hands annually, and that the Auditor of Public Accounts should pay \$25,000 quarterly, towards the arrears due the schools on account of Bourbon interception,—not a single dollar having been paid the schools under the act 1878 (directing a quarterly payment of \$15,000 on arrears), until the Readjusters came into power; acts in aid of the Riddleberger bill, called by the Bourbons the coupon-killers, were passed to restrain the outstanding coupons from interfering with our revenues, and these acts, though resisted by the coupon-scalpers, were sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States; \$500,000 in cash, received from the sale of the State's interest in Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio railroad, rescued from destruction by General Mahone, was appropriated to aid free education—\$100,000 to a Colored Normal School, \$400,000 to the general fund of the free school system; an appropriation was made to erect a colored insane asylum, now completed, near Petersburg; the further necessary legislation to amend the Constitution, so as to strike from it the Bourbon poll-tax qualification of suffrage, was enacted; liberal appropriations were made to our disabled soldiers; our United States Senators were instructed and our Representatives in Congress requested to secure the passage of the Blair Education bill; the whipping-post, which had been barbarously used by the Bourbons to degrade and disfranchise the colored people by a cruel discrimination, was abolished; the protection of our oyster-fisheries and oyster-men was restored; our penitentiary, long a heavy annual cost to the State, was made self-sustaining; the State Agricultural and Mechanical College, rent and robbed by Bourbon dissension and pillage, was placed upon a footing of marvelous success; the Virginia Military Institute, brought to bankruptcy by mismanagement, was rescued from its embarrassments, and put securely in the way of prosperity; all our institutions were liberalized and improved, insomuch that even recent Bourbon investigation, instituted to condemn, was forced to applaud; a free ballot, a

full vote, and a fair count were established as far as possible; the Government and the laws were fairly and equally administered, without discrimination; and all our affairs, public and private, delivered from the Bourbon Slough of Despond, were put upon the highway of happy development and progress.

28.

Some mistakes were undoubtedly made, especially in the selection of men for various offices; but in no department were these so great in kind or so many in number as occurred under other Conservative or Bourbon rule—and in contrast with the appointments of the late Shot-gun Legislature, it were impossible more wilfully to have abused public confidence. Some unforeseen misfortune came, which no human foresight could provide against; and others happened that were directly traceable and justly chargeable to former Bourbon misrule. Yet, on the whole, Readjustment touched nothing but to better and deliver it. It brought order out of chaos; light out of darkness; and new life and vigor out of torpidity and paralysis. Best of all, it gave us that political regeneration which makes us New Virginia indeed, by transforming us from mere Virginians and Southerners into American citizens.

Yet all was not accomplished that was hoped for. The treachery of John E. Massey and four of his friends in the Senate, rendered it impossible to properly re-district the State for members of Congress; to reduce and re-arrange the judicial circuits; to provide for Commissioners of Sales in the counties and cities; and to do various other things which the people desired. But for this treachery to the people, as well as to the party in the Legislature, we should at least have been saved from the shameful gerrymander, which last year gave the Bourbons eight Representatives out of ten. General Mahone had done all he could to conciliate and restrain these Senators; and he had succeeded, when a new and unexpected cause of irritation exasperated the four Senators to open and irreconcilable revolt. But, nevertheless, General Mahone and the party vindicated *their* fidelity all the more by their gallant battle against the new combination of old foes and new traitors; and in the ensuing campaign (of 1882) although Massey ran for Congressman-at-large on the Bourbon ticket, assisted by a Straightout-Republican candidate a

large, he was defeated by the people, who elected Capt. John S. Wise over him by 5,000 majority, and sent to Washington six Congressmen out of ten (Wise, Mayo, Libber, Hooper, Paul and Bowen), to reinforce their Senators at the other end of the capitol.

Mahone was again the Bourbon issue, and again was Mahone triumphant.

[Whig, February 25th, 1885.]

29.

Hon. A. M. Keiley, Chairman of the Bourbon State Committee, opened the campaign of 1883 by a call for a State Convention of his party, although there were no State nor Federal officers to be chosen that year. In this call he officially invoked and proclaimed the color-line, in open pursuance of the policy which had been practiced by his faction and urged by its organs ever since February, 1879, when Bourbon agents sought to discredit the first Readjuster State Convention by procuring the attendance of bogus colored delegates. It is evident that Mr. Keiley made this proclamation of war on the colored people in response to urgent Bourbon pressure, and in hope to retain his position. It was in vain, as far as he was concerned; but it was indicative of what was to come.

The Convention met in Lynchburg, and its whole proceedings were in the nature of an *apotheosis* of fraud and force—foreshadowing the character of the campaign to follow. With solemn hypocrisy, these Bourbons made perfervid, but no less perfidious professions that they recanted their opposition to Readjustment and what they had called “Repudiation” and “highway robbery;” that they were devoted to the equal rights and free suffrage they had fought so bitterly; that they were the authors, benefactors and champions of the free schools they had sought to destroy; that they were the true and only friends of the negro, whom they had used as a partisan *bugaboo* in all former campaigns, and whose slaughter they now meditated; and that thenceforth and forever they would “acquiesce” in and support the Readjuster legislation on the State Debt, and let their former self-styled “honor and honesty” shift for themselves. They even went so far as to promise the colored people that not only would their equal civil and political rights and privileges be sacredly guarded, but that, if Bourbonism came to power, *the colored schools should be put*

wholly and exclusively under ~~abolition~~ control. All this was the fraud. The preparations for force and violence followed close on its heels. The too conscientious and shrinking Keiley was summarily and insultingly removed, with not a word of recognition for past services, nor any courteous reference to him or his existence, to soften his overthrow. Most of his committee were ejected in like manner. It was obvious that a more resolute and unscrupulous administration was required by the faction; and, accordingly, the men suited to this requirement were selected for the new State Committee. Formerly the Bourbon convention had left the choice of its chairman to the committee; but now Mr. John S. Barbour was designated by the Convention as State Chairman. Not only so,—but, whereas therefore the State Committee had chosen its Executive Committee, Mr. Barbour appeared in open convention and actually stipulated, as a necessary condition to his acceptance of the position offered him, that he should be invested with full authority to name the Executive Committee,—and the Convention at once acceded to his demand!

Not content with the ordinary powers of a State Chairman, Mr. Barbour asked for and obtained not only extraordinary, but unlimited powers; not content with a committee chosen, like himself, to meet an emergency, he insisted on selecting his own tools for the work before him; and he thus became, not only the Boss, but the Dictator of his faction. It is plain that such a Dictatorship was not an accident, nor unadvisedly created and conferred. It was the deliberate and necessary preparation for what was to be done. Fraud, if need be, was to be reinforced by violence, outrage, blood and terror. The Convention had hardly adjourned, in fact, before the Bourbon organs all along the Virginia Midland railroad (of which Mr. Barbour was then President) and its connections began to declare what was expected. It was proclaimed that victory for Bourbonism was to be achieved at all hazards and all costs—as Barbour himself also affirmed later in his official proclamations. It was truculently threatened that if the election should result in returning a Liberal and Republican Legislature, *an armed Bourbon force would take possession of the Capitol and seat only whom it chose.* Everywhere and in every way it was plain that a campaign had begun, in which Bourbonism and its tools would stick at nothing to regain power. *They hoisted both the black flag and the bloody shirt;* and soon, from all sections of the State, came in accounts of Bourbon intimidation and turbulence.

Mr. Barbour himself, as far as possible, conducted a dark-

lantern and secret service campaign. He organized a complete system of espionage, proscription, intimidation, bribery and corruption, which descended to the minutest details of the life and concerns of the humblest citizens of all parties and colors, who were enrolled (*unknown to themselves*) in squads of ten under chosen *pimps*, whose business it was to ingratiate themselves into the confidence of their unsuspecting victims and betray them by any means, from false and lying representations to threats of civil or criminal suits, notices to remove from houses and lands, discharges from employment, exposures of personal and family scandals, and offers of aid in the nature of bribery and down-right purchase. One of the secret circulars setting forth this system, and its mode of operations, was obtained and published. In addition, Mr. Barbour and his assistants sent secret agents, of both colors, throughout the State to spread the falsest stories and to circulate the basest documents, signed or purporting to be signed and vouched for, by the names of gentlemen of standing. The chief of these documents were in the shape of "letters from Danville." Some of these got into the public prints, and it was seen at once by everyone that they were campaign fictions, deliberately concocted and employed to inflame passion and prejudice and incite bull-dozing and violence.

30.

As election-day approached, the bullying and aggressive temper of the Bourbons made itself more and more manifest in record and deed. Republicans and Readjusters were threatened and assaulted in all directions, singly and in their public gatherings. The issues of principle and policy were ignored, and the negro was made the pretext for a brutal and intolerant *dragonnade* of which the white Republicans and Readjusters were the real objects. The infamous document, known as "the Danville Circular," signed by men, some of whom said they had never read it, while others of them admitted under oath that they knew it was not true, but signed it as a mere political dodge,—this miserable invention of a desperate and unscrupulous faction was secretly printed, and designed for secret circulation by the tens of thousands in all the white districts of the Commonwealth; but a copy of it escaped at *Alexandria* (Barbour's party headquarters) from its custodians, and fell into Liberal hands; and General *Ma-hone*, as State Chairman of the Liberal party, did everything

possible, by letter, circular, mail, messenger and telegraph, to head off and counteract the insidious poison thus prepared for distribution among the people; and he succeeded by his extraordinary energy and activity, zealously aided by others, in almost wholly defeating this scandalous and shameful sneak-game and trickery.

So far all was well for the Liberal movement, notwithstanding the treachery and violence it had to confront on every hand. All the laws of the land—all the laws of civilized warfare—had been broken and outraged to baffle, weaken and defeat it; yet it was still secure of victory, as both its friends and enemies agreed. But a last recourse was left to Barbour and to Bourbonism; and to that they did not hesitate to resort. All through the week preceding the election the State was rife with rumors of deeds of violence committed by the Bourbons and their bravoes. There was, among all, a constantly-recurring fruit of a mob and massacre, which was always located at Danville. The thing was in the air. Nor in the air alone: for consignments of guns and pistols had gone in that direction for days and weeks before,—to arm Bourbons against the Liberals and Republicans who only prayed for peace and the freedom they cordially accorded other men. In the streets of Richmond men talked of the expectancy of a row and riot in Danville. On the 2nd of November the Richmond *Dispatch* (leading Bourbon organ) referred to this street talk and rebuked it as dangerous and hurtful. In remote counties the same talk was going on, and it was said that troops had been ordered to Southside Virginia. All this was *before* the fatal Saturday, November 3, 1883, when the bloody massacre at Danville occurred. It had been foretold in Alexandria—in Madison—in Essex—in Salem—in Rockingham—in Richmond. How did it happen that all these anticipations and forebodings were prophetic? *Because* the Bourbon campaign had prepared men's minds and had shaped the course of events for just this sort of culminating outrage, if not for a State-wide massacre. It was the result to which all that Barbour and Bourbonism had said and done logically and inevitably led to. But the accurate details of what was to happen, and where and when, could not have been foreknown as they were, had not an actual plot been devised and intimations of it sent in advance to trusty agents. Why the telegram which was sent from Danville on Monday following the massacre and day before election, to all parts of the Southwest, "*we are standing in our doors, with shot-guns in hand, defending our wives and children from an organized mob of negroes, now parading the streets!*" when

a colored man was not to be seen in the streets of Danville on that day—on the contrary an armed force of white men were parading the streets on that very day. Why were couriers in waiting along the railway lines traversing the white section of the State to take out into the interior counties the exciting, exaggerated, false accounts of the massacre, if it were not anticipated?

It is not necessary to recount the Danville story. Enough to say that its accomplishment was accompanied by every evidence of premeditated design, as the same design was so fully foreshadowed by what preceded the horrible butchery, as well as by what followed it. Every appliance and means was ready to take every advantage of the enormity for partisan effect. There was all the appearance of an organized and forewarned readiness, awaiting the expected signal. When the signal came on that baleful Saturday, it took no Bourbon partisan by surprise: it grieved no Bourbon heart; but, while Bourbonism exulted in the explosion of its political dynamite at Danville, the shock dismayed the people and left them a prey to the devices of the wicked conspirators. The deed was base enough: but Bourbon baseness, by preconcert among its tools, charged the crime upon its victims, and shouted through the State a false and mock heroic call to arms for defence against the negroes who (with thousands of white Republicans) were cowering in terror or flying in panic from the dread execution of a plot which Virginia Bourbons had learned to form from the examples given in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

31.

It was an armed and offensive campaign on the part of the Bourbons against the unarmed and peaceful Republicans. Yet it was only this last assault at Danville, and the base use made of it to mislead and terrorize the people, that succeeded in demoralizing a portion of the Liberal voters. Thanks to the Liberal movement, free suffrage had been re-established in 1882, as far as law and Constitution could accomplish it; and it was to meet and dispense the large reserve that would now come to the Liberal side at the polls that Bourbonism resorted to enormities that had never been known in this Commonwealth before. The foul play succeeded,—but not without showing that Liberalism had taken root and would grow despite all efforts to destroy it. It had begun in 1876

with 82,000 votes, in 1883, Danville notwithstanding, it polled 127,000; a gain of 14,000 votes over 1881, and of 45,000 since 1879; and in 1884, it polled 141,000 votes by Bourbon count—after such barefaced frauds as were practiced in Charlotte, Southampton, Halifax, and sundry other counties and cities of the State. Charlotte and Halifax giving a fraudulent majority for Daniel and Cleveland of fifteen hundred, where there are full that number more of colored than white voters.

With all its violence and fraud, Bourbonism managed to count itself in by a majority of only 17,000 in 1883—a number much less than that which would have been added to the Liberal poll had “a free ballot, a full vote and a fair count” prevailed.

It is worthy of special note that in this most remarkable campaign the Bourbon policy was to eliminate from it, as far as possible and as far as Bourbons were concerned, every issue except the false one of *color*. Even “anything to beat Mahone,” which had failed in every State and Congressional contest since and including 1879, was subordinated, if not abandoned, in behalf of an exclusive devotion to this exploiting of the negro as a *scare-crow*. It is true that the color-line had been drawn by Bourbonism in all former contests; but this was the first time it was rallied to exclusively and marked in blood. In point of fact, instead of fighting Mahone chiefly, as theretofore, the Bourbons practically confessed themselves defeated by him on every real issue, and pretended to surrender to the Liberal movement, professing (as we have seen) to defer to and *acquiesce* in the popular will which had so unmistakably and unshakably resisted all their former attacks on “Mahone and Mahoneism.” “Mahoneism” was Readjustment of the State debt; implacable war on the tax-coupons; redemption and development of free education; reduction of taxes; restoration of free suffrage; impartial administration of the laws and government; and a return in good faith to American citizenship and to the Union;—and to this “Mahoneism” Bourbonism humiliated itself; this “Mahoneism” it adopted as its confession of faith,—renouncing its former creed; and to this “Mahoneism,” if not to Mahone, *it publicly yielded!* Yes: yielded as it did in 1869; with this difference; that in 1869 the Bourbons surrendered directly to Mahone and accepted him as their commander; whereas in 1883 they surrendered (or pretended to surrender) to his great cause, and thereby sought, with devilish auxiliary inventions, to depose him from command and grasp power for themselves over a deceived and betrayed

temporary success being partially achieved only through a resort to murder most foul.

It would be a very dishonest and incomplete retrospect of this period, of Bourbon profession of repentance, followed immediately by the most flagrant exhibitions of utter Bourbon depravity, if attention were not given to a marked and significant feature attending the Danville Massacre and Bourbon blood-bought triumph of three days later. As soon as it was sent abroad from Danville that the butchery there had occurred, according to programme, the bonds and coupons of the Funding bill of 1871 and of the McCulloch bill rapidly rose here, at Baltimore and everywhere. On Monday they still went; *and this, mark!* when the Bourbons had pledged themselves to Readjustment, and when they were busily representing that the Massacre at Danville was caused by a negro rising, which threatened to spread all over the State and endanger the lives of all the white population—to rend the State with an internecine war of races! How was it that in face of all this apparent cause for a panic in Virginia securities, the money markets took it all, if not serenely, at least with an excitement based in a new-born faith in the value of these securities? How was it that the financial results were as curiously at variance with the proclaimed situation? Simply because the money markets (always well-informed) knew better. *They* knew how much value to attach to the forced Bourbon profession of "acquiescence" in the Middleberger settlement; *they* knew what the Danville Massacre meant; and when, on the 6th of November, the Lynchburg "acquiescence" and the Danville Massacre bore their full fruition in a Bourbon victory at the bulldozed and terrorized polls, the brokers emphasized their entire appreciation of Bourbonism and its pledges to the people by running up the tax-coupons to the highest notch!

Behold Bourbons and Bourbonism, as certified to by their best intimate friends and associates (the brokers), who know em best!

[Whig, March 2nd, '85.]

32.

The election by massacre, however, had not given the Bourbons the necessary two-thirds majority in both branches of the Legislature to make them independent of the Executive. They had such majority in neither branch; and at once,

by unparalleled proceedings against constituent and representative right, they set about creating the majorities they needed. Four Republican Senators, whose term of four years had not expired, but who had accepted Federal or State appointments incompatible with their Legislative functions, resigned in the interval between the election and the meeting of the General Assembly. As it was not only his right, but his duty to do, the Governor issued writs for special elections in all these cases, and Republicans were chosen in every instance. The Bourbons declined to recognize these elections, and ordered new elections through the President of the Senate. Again, in every case, were the Republican Senators returned, and by increased votes. But delays were now interposed to keep the four seats vacant; and in two of the cases a *third election* was ordered, on false pretexts trumped up for the occasion. Yet for a third time were the same Republicans elected, and with majorities still increased. After a protracted period two of the twice elected Senators were seated; but in the case of the Senator from the Norfolk district, though thrice elected, he was not permitted to take his seat until the session was about to close. The fourth Republican Senator was utterly ousted, and a Bourbon sympathizer put in the seat, although he himself did not claim to have been elected!

In two other cases, Republican Senators were unseated on the flimsiest grounds, and their Bourbon contestants installed. Mr. E. W. Hubard, of Buckingham, was one of the Republicans thus unrighteously deprived of his representative right, but, a vacancy from his county having been declared in the House of Delegates by the Bourbons of that body, he became a candidate for the position, and was elected.—*the very precinct whose vote was thrown out to unseat him, as a Senator now voting unanimously for him*,—Democrats, Republicans, Readjusters, Bourbons, Funders, whites and blacks, *all* voting for him in a concurrent rebuke of the outrage perpetrated by the Bourbon Senate! In this way the Senate usurped and violently seized the power of a two-thirds majority, which the people had not yielded to them even though terrorized and demoralized largely by the massacre at Danville, and attendant villanies.

In the House like tactics were pursued by the Bourbons. The seats of Republicans were kept vacant upon pretended and unsustained contests. In some of these (notably with respect to the delegates from Norfolk city) new elections were ordered; yet in every new election the Republicans were sent back with greater majorities—evincing the indignation

people at the infamous course taken by Bourbonism to grasp unlimited and ungranted authority. In other cases, well fearing the people, the Bourbon contestants were beaten, when all the evidence showed that these men were not elected, and that the Republican contestees were entitled to their places, not only upon the returns, but by all precedents. The two-thirds majority for Bourbonism here, however, as in the Senate, was to be secured, no matter through what iniquities, and it was done. At a caucus, which included not only the Bourbon legislators, but various Bourbon leaders, Major John W. Daniel is reported to have exclaimed, when it was objected that neither laws nor precedents would sustain the policy determined on: "*If the laws are against us, so much the worse for the laws: and if the precedents are against us, let us make new ones!*"

Such was the spirit and temper of Bourbonism. Suffice it to say that not less than seventeen Republican and Readjuster legislators were thus robbed of their representative capacity, and their constituents foully outraged, to give the Bourbons the power in both branches of the General Assembly that they had resolved upon.

33.

Of course the creatures of the Danville Massacre, reinforced by the creatures of the methods we have so briefly and incompletely adverted to, were ready for all vile work; and they entered upon it with eager zeal. Executive prerogative was ruthlessly invaded; the judiciary was threatened and attacked; costly and partizan investigations were set on foot against the management of nearly all our institutions; officials in every department were unscrupulously accused and arraigned; and, by every device that legislative appliances and Bourbon malice could employ, it was sought to continue and increase the reign of intimidation which the preceding campaign had established. The Bourbon *role* was that of the bully and bulldozer, and he was the ablest and best Bourbon who excelled in that contemptible *role*. Men bearing the names of gentlemen did not shrink from making public exhibitions of themselves in the halls of legislation that would have better become the miserable pimps of the lowest brothel. And yet their affected crusade against the malfeasance and corruption they pretended to exist in the administration they attacked resulted only in their own discomfiture and the de-

pletion of the public Treasury. With two exceptions, all our officers were vindicated, and these two resigned to escape the partizan malignity aroused against them. In every case the investigations, instituted to condemn the Readjuster and Republican management of our affairs and institutions, resulted in practical approval of that administration, and, in many cases, of high laudation. And these results, mark, were in spite of Bourbon conspiracy to traduce and blacken, and with committees selected to accomplish this purpose. All the same, Bourbonism was not to be foiled; and it rapidly proceeded to restore the old Bourbon *regime* and mismanagement everywhere. "Mahone and Mahoneism" had selected good men and instituted good measures, as far as human judgment and foresight could do so; but these were to be all overthrown for a return of the old dogs to their vomit and of the old hogs to their wallowing in the mire.

The Bourbons found over one million and a half of dollars in the Treasury when they came into legislative control in December, 1883, and they at once proceeded to squander it; treasurers, sheriffs and other defaulting officers, with their sureties, indebted to the State in large sums, were "relieved" in shoals; Readjustment was undermined by pretended acts in its aid, so that suits multiplied against the Commonwealth and its officers, and coupons again began to absorb our revenues and rob our free schools; an unconstitutional attempt was made to restrict civil and political rights by declaring it a misdemeanor for certain officers to take part in politics—in direct antagonism to that principle of Civil Service Reform which insists upon the political independence of the public officers; unjust claims against the State were allowed and paid; a most shameful gerrymander of the State for Congressional representation was accomplished, and that, too, by evasions of the plain mandates of the Constitution, and by unworthy collusion; blundering of commission and omission occurred in all their hasty and evil acts, although they had in their body many of the alleged "best people" and "best lawyers;" the appointment of the assessors of lands for taxes was taken from the county courts, was denied to the people, and it was sought to place it in the hands of a partizan Auditor, when the outrage was only arrested by the popular outcry against it; extravagant provisions were made to employ extra counsel for the State; the graves of the poor and the stranger were given to the *ghouls* of dissection; under the pretexts of giving them new charters to towns and cities, the most important rights of local government were invaded; the appointment of school trustees was placed in

hands of partisan electoral boards, to give complete control of the free schools to Bourbon partizans; and a scheme was adopted, by unconstitutional means, to place the ballot, ballot-boxes and election returns in the hands of Bourbon tools, selected by partisan boards elected by the Bourbon legislators. In this enumeration only a tithe of the mislegislation done and attempted is glanced at.

34.

The Election-bill, passed by these Bourbon usurpers, even attempted to revive and re-impose the abolished freehold qualification for office; and thus, happily, insured its own defeat as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Appeals. But notwithstanding this Legislature had already extended the regular session thirty days to accomplish its mischievous work, the Bourbons combined and made such a constitutional demand upon the Governor to call an extra legislative session,—which demand was complied with. In this unnecessary session, demanded chiefly for the purpose of another attempt to take possession of our ballots and elections, and to thus effect, if possible, the complete and perpetual mastery of the people by Bourbonism, great costs were imposed upon our Treasury and much other wicked legislation was enacted. The bill to usurp entire Bourbon grasp of our registrations and elections was re-enacted, with the freehold qualification omitted, but retaining all its other nefarious features; and an illegal and unconstitutional effort was made to give it force and effect by the election of the Electoral Boards, provided for in the bill, *by joint resolution*,—a wholly unwarranted method, rendered doubly vicious, null and void, by the utter failure to present the joint resolution to the Governor, as the Constitution explicitly prescribes. Nevertheless, these boards have met and proceeded to the appointment of registrars, judges and commissioners of election, &c.; and it yet remains to be seen if this scheme to overturn popular government and establish a faction as our rulers forever is to be allowed. The Supreme Court of Appeals is relied upon to vindicate the Constitution and save the liberties of the masses; but if this fail, the resort is to an indignant and resolute self-assertion of the people, whose wrath and majesty can make even the minions of Bourbonism quail in guilty fear and shrink from the dirty work committed to them.

When this outrageous measure was pending in the legisla-

tive extra session, after its veto, General Mahone, as Chairman of the Republican State Committee, hurried to Richmond and devised means to defeat its passage. If the loyal Republican and Readjuster members of the House opposed to the bill were all in their seats when it came up, at any time, it would be almost impossible to pass it,—because they numbered 33, and the Bourbons could not obtain a two-thirds majority over that number; but, to make assurance double sure, another member of the House, opposed to the bill, had agreed to make the adverse vote on the bill 34, if his vote was needed. But, although General Mahone, by letter, telegram and special messengers made every exertion to get the needed members in place and keep them there, he failed,—yet through no lack of duty or effort on his part. Some of the members, too, were sick, or otherwise compulsorily absent. And thus in spite of all that patriotic zeal and energy could do, the outrage, as far as legislative usurpation could accomplish it, was done.

There are very many important issues between Bourbonism and the people; there are very many wrongs done upon the people, or attempted, by Bourbonism, which cry aloud for vengeance and reparation; and there are very many things which may be deferred for final settlement without irreparable damage; but this election bill embodies the paramount issue, attempts the grossest wrong, and it must be *now* met, defeated, avenged, and made forever impossible by an uprising of a people jealous of their rights and determined not to accept the shackles prepared for them. The fundamental right of rights is here at stake, and all is lost if the people surrender it to Bourbonism, or again trust Bourbons after this supreme attempt to enslave and degrade them.

[Whig, March 7, 1885.]

35.

The year 1884 marked another era in the evolution of New Virginia and in the progress of the Liberal Movement. The Republican party of the State had had only a nominal existence since 1873, and its skeleton of organization was only maintained to control the Federal patronage in our bounds and to make a feeble and futile parade in Presidential years. It had run no State ticket since 1873. In our Legislature it mustered a force entirely impotent for any good purpose. It had indeed carried the State for Grant in 1872 by a very small

majority, consequent on the dissatisfaction of the Conservatives with the Democratic nomination of Greeley; but in 1876 the State went for the Democratic Presidential ticket by a majority of 45,000. It was said, indeed (and subsequent occurrences gave credibility and probability to the statement), that the Republican and Bourbon machine-men in Virginia had come to a cordial and happy compromise, under which it was desirable to have the Republican State party as small as possible. This bargain was to the effect that the Bourbons should control the State and its officers, and that the Republican bosses should have the disposition of the Federal patronage coming to Virginia, as long as the Republican National party maintained its ascendancy—which these bosses looked upon as a perpetual endowment, for their benefit, without the slightest desert or exertion on their part.

It was, therefore, the most natural thing in the world that these Republican bosses, of a close corporation holding a munificent monopoly, should look with great disfavor upon the Liberal Movement, which threatened to disturb the happy *status quo*. In fact, they met it with a virulence of hate, denunciation and opposition which exceeded even that of the Bourbon bosses; and there was at once a hearty alliance entered into between these high contracting parties for mutual offence and defence against the startling new departure, aimed immediately at the organization of the people on fresh lines and important living issues. Although the Readjusters, led by Mahone, arose in revolt against Bourbonism and its rule, these Radical bosses, in conjunction with their Bourbon allies, even induced President Hayes and his Republican administration to throw the weight of their power and influence, in the most extraordinary way, against the revolt and in favor of Bourbon supremacy! Yet the masses of the Republicans in Virginia instinctively comprehended the situation. They saw their opportunity, and they eagerly seized it, despite the machinations of their treacherous bosses, backed by a Federal administration and President that had been so egregiously duped into aiding Bourbon ascendancy. They, like the masses of the Conservative party, abandoned their bosses and rallied with renewed hope and zeal to the banner of New Virginia which Mahone had unfurled for revolution and reform in our affairs and politics. The old Republican leaders, who had joined Mahone in 1869, again united with him to renew the struggle of that year and carry it to full and permanent victory, if possible. It is safe to say that, notwithstanding the treason of the Republican State machine and its minions, at least four-fifths of the Republican voters of the

State flocked joyfully and resolutely to Mahone from the first, and have faithfully stood by him and his cause to this hour.

Inevitably, by its own impulse, as well as by the adverse course of Bourbonism, the new movement tended to Republicanism. While the State debt was the original issue, other issues equally important grew out of that necessarily and as consequences of the attitudes of the contending forces. The tax-coupons of the funding robberies of Bourbonism despoiled the free schools, and threatened them with destruction; and hence popular education became a ward of the new party, to save that great cause from the attacks which Bourbonism, no less from its nature than from its financial policy, was vigorously making against it. The Readjuster party, too, on its first advent, had proclaimed its mission as one of the people, by the people, for the people, without regard to race, color or former party affiliations, against the bosses of all other local parties; and hence it demanded free suffrage, not only as a matter of right, but as a matter of self-preservative policy, against the poll-tax qualification which Bourbonism had imposed and insisted on maintaining. Around these main differences gathered many minor ones, all combining to widen the breach that had been made by the original revolt.

With the entrance of Gen. Mahone into the Federal Senate, and the beginning of Garfield's wiser and more manly administration, new ties had been formed between National Republicanism and the Liberalism of New Virginia. Bourbonism in both branches of Congress had declared war against this Liberalism and its great leader; for well did every Bourbon at Washington recognize in this movement, so skillfully and vigorously pushed, an alarming menace to his faction's supremacy in even the remotest and most downtrodden region of the South. The Republicans, on the other hand, saw in the movement a means to dissolve and liberalize the Solid South, and they came with generous succor and aid in its behalf. Meanwhile, here, although the Republican voters were almost a unit for Readjustment and its men and measures, the discarded bosses only the more openly and violently co-operated against it with Bourbonism. They even attempted to put up State tickets, when they had no voters to support it, except a handful, whom they could deceive or coerce. They put up bogus Republican candidates in all the Congressional districts to weaken and divide the Republican vote and help the Bourbons to victory. Failing in these devices, and having been utterly disowned and disbanded by the Republican party and its State Convention in 1881, they actually rallied openly, and

by published proclamation, to the Bourbon standard and its candidates! They were expelled; they were deserters; and in that year of 1881 they turned their backs upon the Republican party and became Bourbons!

In 1882 the State Republican and Readjuster committees formally coalesced and united in calling district conventions for Congressional nominations; and their action was ratified and sustained by their constituents.

36.

By force of these and other circumstances the Readjuster-Coalition party, even previous to 1884, had become, not only thoroughly *anti-Bourbon* and *anti-Democratic*, but practically and essentially the Republican party of Virginia. It needed only the formality of a public declaration, with due recognition from the National Republican organization, to complete the process. Accordingly, in pursuance of the call of the National Republican Committee, after a full conference, the Republican and Readjuster State Central Committees, with their respective chairmen, united in a call for a State Convention, which assembled in the city of Richmond. In that Convention, by the unanimous action of the delegates duly elected, it was resolved:

"Whereas, Government is ordained among men to secure the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,—sacred rights, only to be secured in a Republican form of government, established by the people, for the people, through a full, free and honest expression of the popular will at the ballot-box; and,

"Whereas, the stability, honesty, and purity of government depend largely upon the intelligence of those whose voice shapes its administration and whose sovereign will dictates its policy; and,

"Whereas, the development of the unbounded natural resources of this Commonwealth, the increase of her manufacturing interests, and the diversification of her industrial pursuits are only to be accomplished under a tariff that shall protect and foster American resources, interests and industries, with deliberate preference for our own capital and labor against the foreign capital which would force us to a ruinous competition with its pauper labor; and,

"Whereas, the Republican party of the United States has been and now is the steadfast advocate of the principles and

policy here declared,—the only National party whose organization has given countenance, encouragement, and support to the cause of Liberalism in Virginia,—a Liberalism which seeks a real Republican form of government for the true spirit of Democracy that aspires only to the greatest good for the greatest number:

“Therefore, We, the representatives of the people comprising the Coalition party of Virginia, in convention assembled do declare:

“That, from and after this day, our party shall be known as the Republican party of Virginia; that in National affairs we shall follow the banner of the National Republican party, and shall support with zeal and fidelity its nominees for President and Vice-President.”

The Republican party of Virginia, thus proclaimed, at once reorganized in full, with Gen. Mahone as State Chairman. The Convention elected a delegation (by districts and for the State at large) to attend the Republican National Convention at Chicago. The Bourbon assistant squad pretended also to hold a convention, electing delegates; but at Chicago neither this bogus convention nor its bogus delegation was recognized by either the National Republican Committee or the National Republican Convention; whereas, the Convention called by the Coalition Committees was recognized as the legitimate and regular representative of the Republican party of Virginia, and its delegates, headed by General Mahone, were recognized and welcomed both by the National Committee and the National Convention—General Mahone being received with a storm of applause from the National Convention when he entered to take his seat.

In the struggle for the mastery of the State that ensued in the Presidential canvass, most thorough and gallant work was done, although the Virginia Republicans had not got their choice (Arthur) as the nominee for President, and although little material aid was received from the National Committee or from any other source. The State voted Republican although the Bourbons returned it for Cleveland; and General Mahone had taken prompt steps, on reliable information received by him from all parts of the State, to show that the Republican electoral ticket, for Blaine and Logan, had received a majority of the legal votes cast, when he was apprised that, as Indiana had gone Democratic, it was of no use to proceed further as to the vote of Virginia. Even on the Bourbon returns, the Democratic vote was but a little over 144,000, while the Republican vote was over 141,000—some of the Republican vote, however, being thrown out in such

unt, for informality, when returns, favorable to the Democrats, having the same informalities, were received and counted.

Thus, the Republicans of Virginia, by 45,000 more votes than they ever cast before as a distinctively Republican organization, again signally ratified and confirmed the reorganization of the party and the leadership of General Mahone.

In 1872 the Republican vote of Virginia was only 93,000: in 1876, 95,000: and in 1880, 96,000. It is believed that but for frauds and bulldozing last November—with “a free ballot, a full vote and a fair count”—the Republican vote would have been returned at 150,000, with more than 10,000 majority over the Democratic vote legally cast. As it was, and under the Bourbon gerrymander of the Congressional districts, the Democrats carried the State by 3,000 majority and returned eight Representatives out of ten to Congress—their 3,000 fraudulent majority practically securing six members of the House.

37.

No movement is so strong—no cause so vigorous—that its progress has not been impeded by obstacles, subjected to vicissitudes and interrupted by disasters. That to-day New Virginia has fallen again, partially and temporarily, into the clutch of the Bourbonism of old and dead Virginia, is but the fortune of that fierce struggle which always occurs between development and re-action. Yet New Virginia *is here*. And she is here to stay,—thanks to the popular uprising which General Mahone has led with indomitable energy and incomparable skill. Even Bourbonism itself has so far recognized the new birth and the new dispensation that it has been forced to assume and effect virtues which it does not possess. “To beguile the time,” even the Bourbon attempts to “look like the time.” He seeks to hide his narrowness and bigotry under a liberal air: he pursues the back track with a cry of “Forward!” he betrays the State to brokers and other speculators, but always with a superserviceable show of solicitude for public rights and interests; he is a greedy, yet silent partner with the coupon-scalpers, while he loudly inveighs against the “cutworms of the revenue”; he shouts for free schools, while he resolutely cuts off their supplies; he bulldozes, proscribes, defrauds, and disfranchises the voter, yet shrieks a devotion to “the right preservative of all rights”; full of all the prejudices and passions of race and section, he vaunts loyalty to

the Union and professes eager recognition to popular equality; bent on the supremacy of casts and clique, he declaims servid balderdash about the necessity of a "government of the people, by the people, for the people"; and, on all subjects, he veils his real purpose and practice by vehement professions and protestations against the very course to which his irrepressible instincts resistlessly impel him and his kind.

His faction, to-day, is in this attitude of false homage to the New Virginia it would gladly subvert, and intends to subvert, if possible. Yet, thank heaven, revolutions never go backward. Reform and progress, though often stayed and sometimes apparently reversed, still go on from conquest to conquest. Restorations of ancient *regimes* are but the wonders of an hour—tumbling from sheer decay and imbecility. Bourbonism only returns like a gibbering ghost of what was, to speedily take its flight in a permanent departure. The veterans of old abuse lag awhile, superfluous on the stage; but *their* day has passed. The *émigrés* return but to go forever! These truths are demonstrated by all history and experience; they are corroborated by every stable factor of the present; and they will be repeated in the near future of this New Virginia. The man who has chiefly contributed to this regeneration of the Commonwealth stands confident and undismayed amidst the blatant exultations of the miserable oligarchy which has risen again but to receive the more complete damnation. Serene and self-poised even in 1880, when he was suddenly left to his enemies and the enemies of a great cause, with a faithful band of only 31,000 followers he sees no reason for despair or despondency on a field where his ranks, even upon a roll made out by the Bourbon foe, embody an undaunted and growing host of over 141,000 true men, pledged by every obligation and bound by every tie to rescue New Virginia from the toils into which she has been betrayed, and to place her feet again, firmly, upon the road of progress to peace, plenty and popular elevation.

Whig, March 16th, 1885.

38.

In reviewing the record of General Mahone, in its connection with the evolution of New Virginia, many details have been necessarily omitted; but enough has been given to outline his great career, and to remind all how vast and con-

trolling has been his part in the history of Virginia for the last quarter of a century. In war, he will live forever in achievements, of which his title as "Hero of the Crater" only commemorates a crowning example. In peace, the Consolidated Line of Railroads, extending from Norfolk to Bristol, is an everlasting monument of his practical ability and energy in the work of the material development of New Virginia.

Previous to consolidation, or before Mahone became controller of the lines afterwards consolidated by law, through bills of lading, with pro-rating charges, were unknown in Virginia. Richmond received no freights from Southwestern Virginia, nor from the expansive regions of which the lines to Bristol were intended to furnish an outlet Eastward. Goods shipped to or from Richmond, on any line of transportation not terminating or touching at the point of destination, required the interposition of a commission merchant at every departure from the original line of shipment, with exorbitant accumulations of charges for transfer, &c., frequent losses and much delay. Freights sent by rail from Richmond, or by canal, for the Southwest, lay unattended to at Petersburg, or at Burkeville, or at Lynchburg, unless they were consigned to a commission merchant to forward them. The same troubles, hitches, delays, and costs accumulated in the transportation either way. It was General Mahone who remedied all this, and sent through trains daily to Richmond, *via* the Danville road, laden with the products of the Southwest, and beyond. He made it as easy (and much more cheap) to ship from Richmond to any connecting line by ordinary through freight as by express. He not only removed old obstacles and provided new facilities in the transportation of freights and passengers, but he forced the whole railroad system of the State to adopt his methods. Not only so,—he sedulously sought to make his lines and all connecting lines subsidiary to Virginia, her cities and her people, first and foremost: and it was his firm and persistent refusal to allow his roads to become mere feeders to lines to Baltimore and Philadelphia which raised up against him a mighty combination of railroad and other interests inimical to this Commonwealth. He would not make terms discriminating against any section or city of Virginia in favor of outsiders. On the contrary, he always held for fair treatment of his own State, her cities and her people—the preservation to the producer the advantages of their actual geographical relations to all markets, and to the cities—the like relations to the trade reached by his road and its connections. He believed this to be the true railroad policy; he believed it is duty to maintain it; and he believed that Virginia was re-

entitled fully to everything in this way for which he contended.

But while he raised Norfolk from the dust and poured a refreshing tide of trade and commerce into Lynchburg, Petersburg, Richmond, &c., he remembered the humblest people along his line, and provided the amplest and easiest mode of shipment for their products at the lowest rates. The evidence of this abounds in the memory of the people, who not only remember their sad experience *before* Mahone, but are now suffering under a fresh burden of extortion and discrimination *since* Mahone! Even under the Receivers, the tariffs were increased; and of late, despite fair promises, the whole line to Lynchburg has become *anti-Virginian* and tributary to Baltimore and Philadelphia.

The tariff sheets of the Virginia and Tennessee road in 1875, under Mahone, and in 1877, under the Receivers, tell a tale. The rate on first-class freights:

Distance in miles	10	20	40	80	140	180	205
1875. Rates in cents per							
100 pounds	16	20	28	44	67	75	80
1877. Rates in cents per							
100 pounds	18	22	32	46	70	83	85

The tariff of the Southside road for 1865, under Colonel Bird, for 1875, under General Mahone, and for 1877, under the Receivers, marks Mahone as the true friend of our people:

Distance in miles	20	37	55	60	80	100	125
1865. Rates in cents per							
100 pounds	68	84	100	105	125	145	150
1875. Rates in cents per							
100 pounds	20	28	34	36	38	40	40
1877. Rates in cents per							
100 pounds	22	30	36	38	45	49	50

Here are also the comparative rates on the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio road in 1875, under Mahone, with those of the same date on the Richmond and Danville road:

Distance in miles	20	40	65	70	80	100	125
A., M. & O. Road	20	28	34	36	38	40	40
R. & D. Road	23	31	37	39	44	49	57

Before General Mahone took charge of the Southside railroad, the rate on first-class goods between Lynchburg and Petersburg was \$1.50 per 100 pounds; on fourth-class, 60 cents. In the autumn of that year General Mahone assumed the management, and in April, 1866, he had already effected a reduction of more than two hundred per cent.; for in 1866

the tariffs of this line called for 50 cents per cwt. on first-class freights, and for 35 cents on shipments of the fourth-class. And these rates were never raised.

The subjoined comparative tables show conclusively the regard shown for the producing interest by Gen. Mahone. The first shows the progressive reduction which was enforced on the Southside road, between Concord Depot and Richmond and Petersburg, from the year 1867 to 1875:

	1867	1875.
Leaf tobacco, per cwt	39c.	24c.
Wheat, per cwt	18	14
Eggs, per cwt	80	40
Groceries, per cwt	49	35
Agricultural implements, per cwt	40	35
Guano less than car load, per cwt	17	14
Agricultural lime, per car, 18,000 pounds, . .	\$30 60	\$20 00
Lumber, pine, per M	5 50	4 60

Comparative rates on the Southside road from Blacks and Whites to Petersburg:

	1865.	1873.
First-class	84c	28c
Second-class	54	26
Third-class	39	24
Fourth-class	34	19
Fifth-class	26	14
Sixth-class	none.	11

Tobacco	39	19
Wheat	20	11
Corn	15	11
Groceries	39	26
Dry Goods	54	28
Agricultural implements	34	26

As to the Virginia and Tennessee railroad, before General Mahone took charge, the cars in which cattle were shipped would not carry over 16,000 pounds, and it cost \$46.50 to ship this quantity to Lynchburg, equal to \$58.12 per car of 20,000 pounds. There was no separate rate for poor stock-cattle, through bills of lading were unheard of, and they could not be shipped beyond Lynchburg.

Under his administration, 20,000 pound cars were built, rates from Abingdon to Lynchburg reduced to \$50—equal to \$40 per 16,000 pounds—distinctions were properly made between beef and stock-cattle, and arrangements made for through bills of lading to Baltimore and also to Culpeper,

Warrenton, and other grazing points, at low rates. There were shipments of stock-cattle from Abington to Culpeper—nearly 300 miles—for \$57.50, or less than 2 cents per ton per mile, and the cars had to go back empty, reducing the revenue per mile one half, so that stock-cattle were practically carried at about 1 and beef cattle at $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents per ton per mile.

Since then charges on all classes of freights and passage have been put up from 12 to 30 per cent., or higher.

39.

In March, 1877, even the *Winchester News*, speaking of Gen. Mahone and the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio railroad, said :

"In our judgment the interests of both company and Commonwealth point to the reinstatement of the man who may be said to have created the work in its present shape and thrown upon it more through trade than is possessed by all the other railways in the State put together.

"Whether or not that result be reached, it is certain that Virginia has further need for Mahone in the building up of her waste places by means of new lines of traffic and the improvement of old ones. When the existing revulsion, which has driven all American railroad stocks out of the European market and prostrated such powerful corporations as the Reading and New Jersey Central, shall have spent its force, there will be a demand for such men."

In that year, too, the *Norfolk Virginian*, although supporting another candidate for the Conservative nomination for Governor, declared that among living soldiers General Mahone has no superior, and placed his military services to the State only second to those of Lee and Jackson. The *Virginian* also considered consolidation as among the greatest achievements that have been wrought for the advancement of the material interests of the State.

In 1877 the *Roanoke Valley* said :

"As the time advances, and the people begin to meet and appoint delegates to the Convention, it becomes more manifest each day, that where the selection of delegates is left to the masses of voters, that indeed little Billy Mahone is the people's candidate. The unjust and malignant assaults made upon him have been investigated, and instead of his working his railroad in antagonism to the interests of the people, he

has been the only friend the farmers and merchants had amongst the railroad magnates of the State."

These are but samples of declarations with which we could fill volumes.

In 1877, urging Gen. Mahone's claims for Governor on account of his friendship for the agricultural as well as the other interests of the State, the *Rural Messenger* published a letter from Colonel W. C. Knight, ex-president of the Virginia Agricultural Society, and for many years an active member of the Executive Committee, and all his life a skillful and successful farmer, who testified to the great regard General Mahone ever evinced in nurturing the industrial interests of the State, notably in regard to her agriculture and manufactures; and the *Messenger*, in an editorial referring to this letter from Colonel Knight, said:

"We happen to know that it was due to the liberality of General Mahone that the Virginia State Agricultural Society was enabled to add to its strength in life members and to make its first fairs a decided success. To show his abiding interest in the welfare of that and kindred societies, he brought to their aid all the facilities which the three roads under his management then (1869) could afford.

"To stimulate an increase of life membership, he permitted all such to pass to and from the fair free of charge. "To secure a large attendance and thus to increase the gate receipts, he granted visitors to all such fairs half fare—*i. e.*, full fare one way—free passes on return.

"To induce exhibitors to take their stock, manufactures, &c., to the fairs for exhibition, he granted free transports to and fro, provided there was no change of ownership—and the attendants on stock had free passage; and these extraordinary privileges were granted for three consecutive years, when, the object being attained of placing the State Agricultural Society on a firm footing, he accommodated his rates to those which obtained on other roads to-wit: half fares to life members and half rates to stock, &c.

"The life member from Bristol actually made money by becoming a life member of the State Agricultural Society. To the visitor the fare to Burkeville, return free, was \$13.20—plus gate fees for four days, \$2—\$15.20; for three years, \$45.60, dischargeable by becoming a life member by the payment of \$20. In other words, for every life member induced by this liberal conduct of Mahone, the company paid the life membership fees.

40.

Major R. L. Ragland, of Halifax, formerly State Senator and long the leading representative of our tobacco and other planting interests, was a fervent advocate of Mahone for Governor in 1877. In one of the Major's various letters, urging Mahone's claims, he said, under date of June, 27, 1877 :

"Mahone has been the best abused man in Virginia, and the more his enemies traduce and abuse him, *the more the masses are aroused to his defence and support.* The abuse and detraction of this brave General, true Conservative, and patriotic Virginian, by a portion of the press of his native State, is a blot upon Virginia journalism. The betrayal of such 'ingratitude is treason to mankind.'

For as by depredation wasps proclaim
The fairest fruit, so those the fairest fame.

"The people are determined to judge of the merits or demerits of candidates for public favor for themselves, and not by the dictum of what a vindictive press may say of them.

"The character of General Mahone needs no eulogy at my hands. His deeds are engraven to live in history as long as heroism is revered and patriotism a virtue. 'He needs no trappings of fictitious fame' to perpetuate his name. His biography now were premature, it can afford to await a posthumous authorship.

"But in this hour of Virginia's necessity, it is not to honor General Mahone that many of us desire to make him Governor, but it is the fitness of the man who has the capacity, will and energy to best discharge the grave and responsible duties that devolve upon our chief State Executive. This is emphatically no time for the mere gratification of personal friendship in the bestowal of office, nor to honor men at the expense of the State. This is the feeling that leads me to the support of Mahone. I know his ability and felt his energy when I opposed most of the legislation asked for by him in the interest of his railroad, believing that his corporation had received favors enough. I watched him closely and fought him hard, but I cheerfully bear testimony to his unvarying honorable conduct.

"*A born leader of men and measures,* he necessarily antagonized men and corporations, and consequently made enemies as well as friends. But he has *never*, as far as the writer knows, *antagonized any of the great industries of the State.* He is in favor of fostering and encouraging them all—an particularly that of the farmers—as the base of the pros-

perity of all. This I know as far back as the organization of the Farmers' Council of Virginia and North Carolina, when General Mahone could have no other motive than the prosperity of the industries of the people. The head and front of his offending with some is that he has been *intensely Virginian* in feeling and action. I honor him for it, for his very excesses in this regard carry with them their own extenuation.

"Mahone was a successful general, a successful leader in the memorable political contest in 1869, when we achieved a political victory whose full benefits time alone can develop; and if he failed of success as a railroad president it was more due to financial stringency and persecution than to mismanagement.

All own the chief when fortune owns the cause.

"Mahone is no more responsible for his road being in the hands of receivers than for 'the lost cause,' for he gave to both his best services. When Governor, as he is likely to be, he will bring to that responsible position his clear judgment, large experience, eminent executive talents, and practical good sense that cannot fail to bring good results to the Commonwealth.

"Let me earnestly entreat the representatives from the counties and districts to the 8th of August Convention to attend in person and not delegate their duty to alternates, that the nomination may express the choice of the people of the State. The integrity and future success of the Conservative party demands *a fair choice*, and a cessation of warfare on any one of the honorable candidates. No harm can result from legitimate criticism of the public acts of candidates or their relative abilities, but when pens—

Skilled by a touch to deepen scandal's tints
With all the high mendacity of hints,
While mingling truth with falsehood, sneers with smiles,
A thread of candor with a web of wiles—

Attempt to write down an honorable man, it will produce discord, strife and heart-burnings, that will take years to heal."

The last declaration of the letter, at least, was prophetic! We are now in the midst of the discord, strife and heart-burnings, thus caused, and thus predicted.

41.

In a letter to Major Alfred R. Courtney, dated June 29,

1877, General Mahone, with reference to the diversion of the school-funds under Bourbon mis-legislation and mal-administration, said :

"If in a position to determine such questions, I would let the very wheels of government stand still before I would be the instrument, or the quiet observer, of so cruel a wrong to the children of the State, so manifest a breach of trust, so palpable a disregard of the organic law, and so gross a violation of the will of the people, as the perversion or conversion of the public-school fund to any other purpose than that for which it was created. It flows now in that channel which gives fertility to the minds upon whose training rests the future of the Commonwealth; could I speak by authority, not one cent of it should ever go to a use less sacred."

And now look what has occurred under this resolute declaration of the great enemy of the tax-coupons and the great friend of the free schools. In 1871 (the first year of our free educational system), there were

2,278	white schools ;
769	colored schools ;
3,047	white and colored schools ;
92,112	white scholars ;
38,976	colored scholars ;
131,088	white and colored scholars ;
2,580	white teachers ;
504	colored teachers ;
3,084	white and colored teachers.

But after eight years of Bourbon animosity and misrule the system had decreased in all parts, and was in a steady downward course to utter ruin. The following table shows the falling off in the schools, scholars and teachers in eight years —without mentioning the decrease in the length of the school term :

1879.	
1,816	white schools ;
675	colored schools ;
2,491	schools for both colors ;
72,306	white scholars ;
35,768	colored scholars ;
108,074	scholars of both colors ;
2,089	white teachers ;
415	colored teachers ;
2,504	teachers of both colors.

But mark the bright record which followed—illustrating "the ways of Mahoneism," and the results of "Mahone's methods!"

There were, the in first year of Readjuster rule,

1880.

3,598 white schools;
 1,256 colored schools;
 4,854 schools for both colors;
 152,136 white scholars;
 68,600 colored scholars;
 220,736 scholars of both colors;
 4,088 white teachers;
 785 colored teachers;
 4,873 teachers of both colors.

The gain, thus, in one year, was 2,363 schools, of which 1,782 were white, and 581 were colored; 112,662 scholars, of whom 79,830 were white, and 32,832 were colored; and 2,369 teachers, of whom 1,999 were white, and 370 were colored.

But this great increase cannot be fairly estimated unless we again look back and see what a reversal of the ebb-tide it was—an ebb-tide swiftly carrying our public school system to extinction. The following table illustrates how Bourbonism and Funderism operated upon the schools:

	1871	1874	1879
Schools	3,047	3,902	2,491
Graded Schools . . .	70	155	128
Pupils.	131,088	173,875	108,074
Teachers	3,084	3,962	2,504
Expenditures . .	\$587,472.39	\$1,004,990.02	\$511,902.53
Colored Teachers . .	504	490	415
Colored Schools . .	769	994	675
Colored Pupils . . .	38,976	52,086	35,768

At the very first bound, after Bourbonism and Funderism were checked, the schools, as we see, sprang forward to greater success than they had ever attained before, at any period. The following tables show the increase of schools and pupils since 1880:

	1879	1881	Increase.
Number of schools	2,491	5,382	2,891
Number of pupils	108,074	239,046	130,972

The increase here is 768 colored schools and 2,123 white schools; 41,191 colored pupils and 89,781 white pupils.

	1879	1882	Increase.
Number of schools	2,491	5,587	3,096
Number of pupils.	108,074	257,362	149,288

This increase of schools consists of 2,246 white schools and

850 colored ones ; and *this increase of pupils* comprises 99,728 white and 49,560 colored pupils.

	1879	1883	Increase.
Number of schools	2,491	5,974	3,483
Number of pupils	108,074	268,360	160,286

Here is an increase of 3,483 schools, of which 2,443 were white and 946 were colored ; and an increase of 160,286 pupils, of which 105,106 were white and 55,180 were colored.

	1879	1884	Increase.
Number of schools	2,491	6,356	3,856
Number of pupils..... . .	108,074	288,030	179,956

Thus, since 1879 (the last year of Funder-Bourbon domination), our free schools have grown 3,865 greater in number —or more than double the number they ever reached previous to 1880, and the number of pupils has increased 179,956 over the number of 1879. Of the increase in schools, 2,672 are white, and 1,192 are colored ; of the increase in pupils, 112,414 are white, and 67,542 are colored.

We need not dwell upon these figures. They speak eloquently for themselves ; and they furnish a record of honor and desert for those who redeemed our schools from Bourbon-Funder and coupon-scalping hate and pillage, that need only be kept before the people to teach them who are their friends and who their enemies, and the enemies of their children.

[Whig, March 28th, '85.]

42.

The enemies of General Mahone have represented him as the King Stork of our politics ; but it is sure that his Bourbon predecessors in the United States Senate hardly rose to the dignity of Kings Log— being generally regarded as mere bumps on logs. They did nothing but make themselves ornamental and draw their salaries. They neither prevented nor accomplished anything for our State or people ; and the same may be said of our Bourbon Representatives in the Lower House of Congress. All these Bourbon statesmen either lacked the capacity or the disposition to labor for Virginia and Virginians. The most diligent, distinguished and useful one among them was Hon. John T. Harris ; and all he did was to distribute seeds and official reports in his district to his constituents.

General Mahone at least changed all this. He brought activity in place of supineness; he took Virginia from the hostile attitude toward the Federal Government, in which Bourbonism placed her, and restored her to her ancient relations to the National administration; from a mere cipher in the affairs of the country, he made her once more a potent unit in the Union; and whereas the Virginia Bourbons in the Senate and House spent all their little force in fomenting sectional jealousies and animosities and lauding a Virginia that no longer existed, he became the champion of New Virginia, and vindicated her and her people with commanding tongue and presence, as well as with heroic courage. The Virginia Bourbons had either joined or silently acquiesced in the Congressional war of brokerdom against Virginia; they had concurred in the denunciation of her people for resorting to Readjustment to protect the State Treasury from robbery and our free schools from destruction, or they had sat, mumchance, in treacherous cowardice before the slanderers; but Mahone at once rushed into the breach, with all the wrath of indignant patriotism, and overthrew or repelled all the Goliaths of Brokerdom and Bourbonism that dared malign this Commonwealth or its citizens.

He was at once placed upon important committees,—being made chairman of more than one of them; and he, for Virginia, became a power in the land. He at once put this power to the best of uses. Besides reforming the civil service in Virginia in all its departments, for the good of the State as well as of the Nation, so that this service should be in the hands of servants of the people instead of the minions of an insolent class, he diligently sought to obtain for us a fair share of the Federal patronage at Washington and elsewhere, then engrossed by men only nominally Virginians, and falsely charged to her. In this direction he has succeeded in securing at least two hundred changes, and thus placing in positions of honor, power and trust, real citizens of Virginia, representing nearly all the counties of the State, many of which counties *had never before received a Federal appointment*. He broke up (and, let us hope, forever) the system of confining all allotments of patronage to certain favored localities in the State; and, as far as he was able, he saw to it that our citizens of every section should have a fair show at Washington.

He caused to be established in our bounds *six hundred miles of new postal routes*.

He caused the mail service to be increased on a large number of old routes—an increase equivalent to an aggre-

gate of two hundred miles more new *routes*; and, besides, he had the weekly mails on many *routes* changed to semi-weekly, tri-weekly, or daily.

He caused three hundred and forty-seven new post-offices to be established among us, to the great accommodation of all the people.

He secured the increase of the Protective Tariff on our *iron-ores*, which has been the immediate cause of the great movement in the development of our iron resources and related interests.

His was the potent hand that obtained the present decrease in the internal tax on our tobacco, whereby our greatest staple and most prolific source of cash income has been rescued from a ruinous depression, thus removing two and a half millions of dollars tax to which this industry was subjected.

He also obtained the following appropriations for public buildings in various parts of the State:

At Harrisonburg	\$ 65,000
At Abingdon	62,000
At Lynchburg	150,000
At Richmond	150,000
<hr/>	
Total,	\$352,000

Besides, he was active and influential in obtaining over two hundred thousand dollars for our rivers and harbors.

Not only was he the power that secured these appropriations, but his watchful care saw to it, in the last moments of the recent session, that the appropriations for public buildings were inserted in the Sundry Civil Bill, from which Randall in vain sought to strike them in the House. And this money thus obtained by General Mahone, will not only adorn our cities and conduce to the better administration of public affairs among us, but it will give employment to many laborers and mechanics, and add \$552,000 to our circulating medium, to the benefit of all of us, directly or indirectly.

Besides, in committee, on the floor of the Senate, at the White House, in the departments, he has wrought vigorously for Virginia in all matters and on all questions affecting her or her inhabitants, and with great effect always, either to prevent evil or to accomplish good. On all National questions he has been steadfastly in favor of American right, honor and interest; and, in the recent organization of the Senate, his great force and capacity were fitly recognized by placing him on the Committee on Appropriations—a most important com-

mittee, his appointment to which is no less an honor to Virginia than to him and the Republican party of the State.

What a contrast his activity and its results present to that idle indifference in practical affairs which had characterized all previous Representatives and Senators in Congress from Virginia. And when we make the contrast between his work and the *loafing* of all recent Bourbons from Virginia, the exhibit is so striking that it amazes all beholders that Virginia can still submit to send a Bourbon to Congress under any device of fraud or pressure of force.

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A Virginian, addressing the *Whig*, well says:

"Why should Virginians 'hold up the hands' of General Mahone ?

1. Because he has advocated a new era in the history of Virginia.

2. Because he has been consistent in his advocacy of an equitable settlement of the public debt, and in the present condition thereof, all eyes are turned to him, even his enemies admitting that the original advocates of the settlement can better care for its protection than those who maligned the Riddleberger bill.

3. Because he despises the opprobrium of those who characterized Readjustment as "highway robbery"—who, whilst crying stop, thief, appropriated the fruits of his larceny, and now descant upon the delightful fragrance of that which, aforetime, they pronounced a "stench in the nostrils of the people."

4. Because he has despised the futile efforts at ostracism of those brainless creatures who affect to cast obloquy upon men at the very time they are scheming to break the force of their power by wholesale adoption of principles which all Bourbondom denounced as the bane of the Commonwealth.

5. Because he has successfully fought the battle of manhood suffrage.

6. Because, under his leadership, the whipping-post, that brutal emblem of barbarous practice, has been abolished.

7. Because, under his advocacy, the public schools were not regarded "a luxury to be dispensed with," doubling their number, increasing their efficiency, and delivering the teacher from the merciless grasp of the curbstone broker.

8. Because, in his development of the internal improvements of Virginia, by lines East and West, he has sought to make her cities the *termini* of inter-State commerce, rather than way-stations upon the highways of foreign capital.

9. Because, recognizing the fact that the war is over, he insists upon the restoration of those cordial relations without which the sections can never attain true prosperity and power.

10. Because he has advocated the same measure of political freedom to county school superintendents that is accorded to treasurers, clerks, sheriffs, and Commonwealth's attorney's, and has insisted that the holding of office, of any nature whatsoever, so far from disqualifying the incumbent, imposes upon him the double necessity of giving manly and untrammeled utterance to sentiment.

11. Because the "counting out" process of the Legislature has, in all its enormity, been exposed by him, and the attention of the State so directed to the conspirators that the placing of a single member (Bourbon) upon the State ticket would defeat it by twenty thousand majority.

12. Because there is not a Bourbon of slightest prominence who does not regard himself peculiarly blessed in not being a member of the present Legislature, and who does not, in his secret heart, mock at the members thereof who aspire to future political promotion.

13. Because he excites the apprehensions and engenders the bitterness of the enemies of Virginia, and in the supreme hour of her peril has ever stood in the "fore-front of the battle," illustrating the splendors of her renown, and erecting, as imperishable memorials, the monuments of his victories upon the downfall of her foes.

14. Because, as the leader of a host, 140,000 strong, his forces are being massed in phalanx, to be hurled against the demoralized squadrons of an army in full retreat from the calamities that their own imbecility has visited upon the people; and because his great qualities as a leader are attracting the attention of men all over the Commonwealth who have true desire for deliverance from those who love the bondholder rather than the schools and the children of the State.

15. Because, in the National council chambers, he has been the peer of the noblest, and has guarded with jealous eye all that appertains to the interest of Virginia; because to the Nation he has shown the hypocrisy of a party that, pretending

to brand him with the stigma of repudiation, is now unblushingly advocating the doctrines of the repudiator.

16. Because "all men everywhere" recognize in General Mahone a man who has the "courage of his convictions" and are disgusted with the silly twaddle that Mahoneism and Mahone are no longer to rule in Virginia.

17. Because, whether with patronage or without it, he is ever a terror to the Bourbon heart; whether in the arms of victory or in the jaws of defeat, he is an inspiration to his friends and a malediction to his foes; whether amidst the proudest of Virginia's peerless names, or amidst the humblest of her devoted sons, he is still the "buckler of our faith," the "high tower of our defence," the "bulwark of our strength," and the great mountain top from whose serene outlook we can view the final overthrow of the scheming Bourbons who struggle in the dim mists of obscurity at its base. Mahone! Mahone!! Mahone!!! Long live Mahone to cheer his friends, to defeat his enemies, and to point the Old Commonwealth to new paths of prosperity and power."

Besides, in committee, on the floor of the Senate, at the White House, in the departments, he has wrought vigorously for Virginia in all matters and on all questions affecting her or her inhabitants, and with great effect always, either to prevent evil or to accomplish good. On all National questions he has been steadfastly in favor of American right, honor and interest; and, in the recent reorganization of the Senate, his great force and capacity were fitly recognized by placing him on the Committee on Appropriations—a most important committee, his appointment to which is no less an honor to Virginia than to him and the Republican party in this State.

What a contrast his activity and its results present to that idle indifference in practical affairs which had characterized *all* previous Representatives and Senators in Congress from Virginia! And when we make the contrast between his work and the *loafing* of all recent Bourbons from Virginia, the exhibit is so striking that it amazes all beholders that Virginia can still submit to send a Bourbon to Congress under any device of fraud or pressure of force.

43.

The Readjustment of the State Debt, secured under General Mahone's direction and skillful leadership, saved to Virginia, in round numbers, \$13,000,000 of the principal of the unjust

claims which the Bourbons and Funders agreed to allow and so strenuously upheld, as they still uphold them by their folly and treachery.

That Readjustment also saved to Virginia over \$35,000,000 of interest improvidently and unfairly allowed under the pretended settlements made by the Bourbons in 1871 and 1879, making a total saving on the debt, principal and interest, of over \$48,000,000.

That Readjustment also scotched, if it did not kill, the tax-coupons; and, at any rate, saved the public free schools from robbery and destruction.

That Readjustment led to the reduction of our onerous rate of taxes—ten cents on the \$100.

That Readjustment enabled us to reduce the excessive assessment of real estate for taxes several millions of dollars.

That Readjustment enabled us at once to pay promptly all current appropriations and dues in arrear to our charitable and educational institutions.

That Readjustment enabled us to appropriate *and pay* \$25,000 quarterly toward the \$1,520,000 arrears to the school-fund, accumulated under Bourbon misrule.

That Readjustment enabled us to reserve for the schools in their respective counties the whole annual sum of school-taxes due them, less only the costs of assessment and collection.

That Readjustment enabled us to build an adequate asylum for our colored insane.

That Readjustment enabled us to establish an efficient sinking-fund for the rapid extinction of the debt.

That Readjustment saved the State from the necessity of temporary loans and other shifts unworthy of a great Commonwealth.

And that Readjustment, as devised and administered by its authors, freed the State from a degrading subjection to brokers and other coupon-scalpers; filled our former empty treasury; and gave the State full means to meet all legitimate demands upon her.

By his own private and independent action, when a Federal Court had seized and condemned to be sold for the benefit of foreign bondholders the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio railroad, General Mahone saved to the State \$500,000 for her interest in that line, which otherwise would have been completely lost under the action of the bondholders and the court. Of this sum, by the active exertions of General Mahone, against the solid opposition of Bourbons and brokers, \$400,000 was set apart to the free schools and \$100,000 to the building of a colored Normal Institute.

These are only examples of the multitudinous direct material benefits coming to Virginia through or by General Mahone, or as results of his energy, skill and forecast. Even the Bourbons have done what they have, of good or ill, through the means provided by the policy and administration of Readjustment by Readjusters and Republicans. The Farmville Female College itself was originally projected by Dr. W. R. Vaughan, a Readjuster; and by him, aided by the *Whig* and other Readjuster influences, it got a firm foothold on public legislative consideration and favor. Yet, with respect to that institution, as well as the Southwestern Asylum and other public enterprises in which Bourbons and Republicans united, nothing could have been done but for Readjustment; for, otherwise, the Treasury would have been empty, and the accursed tax-coupon would have still preyed upon our vitals. And if now that coupon has renewed its strength and venom, Bourbon mislegislation is responsible for it.

But beyond our public administration, our Liberalism and Readjustment combined to attract *useful and productive capital* among us precisely in the ratio that it repelled *speculative and destructive capital* from us. The political New Virginia of 1879 had hardly been heralded to the world before men, money and enterprise rushed into our borders to develop our magnificent stores of mineral and other wealth, and give us a material New Virginia.

It was all, really, like the wonderful work of magic—the recognized magician, Mahone!

[*Whig*, May 4th, 1885.]

44.

Almost an entirely new generation has come upon the scene since 1860-'65. It "knows not Joseph." The feelings and opinions and judgments of the men of the times that tried men's souls are largely forgotten, and in their place we have the angry invective and the base calumny born of personal jealousies and partizan strifes. As, near a century ago, Washington and his heroic compeers were the victims of unrestrained and fierce abuse, which forgot truth and justice in the bitterness of political differences,—so now the heroes whom the people less than a score of years ago held in highest reverence and esteem for matchless services in peace and war, and credited with the purest public devotion and the highest

ability, are pursued with relentless and unscrupulous depreciation and slander:—*not* that they are less worthy; not that they have done anything inconsistent with their past record of patriotic consecration to the best interests of the State and people; but merely because they have ventured to pursue a line of policy not approved by certain prominent and influential elements among us, and because their success clashed with the ambitious and arrogant claims of these elements.

Under these circumstances; amidst this din and confusion of irritation and wrath; we cannot see men in their true character, color and proportions, as they were formerly seen by their fellow-citizens, and as they will be seen again and forever by a posterity removed from the conditions that now prevail. Those who have come upon the stage since 1865-'70, and whose views of men and things have been controlled to large extent by the ruling cries and passions of these recent days, are not in a position to clearly see and estimate those, who, still refusing to abandon the service of the dear Virginia to which they have dedicated their lives, are subjected to all the unjust and heated vituperation and misrepresentation that personal and political antagonism can devise. Even the glorious past of these devoted servants of the Commonwealth is smirched with unholy and sacrilegious hands; their present motives are misconstrued; and their future designs are painted in abhorrent colors.

For these reasons, it is well to recur to the period when these causes which disturb judgment and provoke passion did not exist, and when our heroes and statesmen were recognized at their real worth by a people full of gratitude and admiration, who had not yet been taught to distrust and malign their best friends and most valiant champions. Especially is this well with respect to the brilliant and no less practical man—Mahone!—who, having stood by Old Virginia to the last, was the first to spring to the front to raise New Virginia from the dust and lead her on the path to power, peace and prosperity. Virginia's Poet, Hope, of Norfolk, but voiced the common heart when he sang of Mahone:

"His name itself a history? Yes, and none
 May halt me here. *In war and peace*
 It challenges the full rays of the sun;
 And when the passions of our day shall cease,
 'Twill stand undying, for all time displayed.
 Itself a battle-flag

It is the voice of the past prophesying the future above and despite the petty spites of the hour. Young men! it

was the award of your fathers, as it will be the reverent ascription of your children!

But we shall let Hope, the poet, historian and prophet speak in full, commanding his words as more worthy the attention of New Virginia than the foul abuse inspired by envy, malice and all uncharitableness—remembering that, do and say and think as you will, New Virginia has yet had but one hero and statesman—William Mahone!

A METRICAL ADDRESS.

Recited on the Anniversary of the Battle of the Crater,
before the Surviving Officers and Men of Mahone's
Brigade.

BY CAPTAIN JAMES BARRON HOPE.

In pace decus, in bello praesidium.—TACITUS.

*Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina
Digne Scripserit? aut pulvere Troico
Nigrum Merionen, aut ope Palladis
Tydiden superis parem.*—HORACE.

*Avec plus d'art encore et plus de barbarie,
Dans des antres profonds on a su renfermer
Des foudres souterrains, tout prêts à s'allumer.
Sous un chemin trompeur, ou, volant au carnage,
Le soldat valeureux se fêle à son courage,
On voit en un instant des abymes ouverts,
De noirs torrens de soufre épandus dans les airs
Des bataillons entiers par ce nouveau tonnerre
Emportés, déchirés, engloutis sous la terre.*—VOLTAIRE.

—The most precious tears are those with which Heaven bedews the unburied head of a soldier.—Goldsmith.

I.

Your arms are stacked, your splendid colors furled,
Your drums are still, aside your trumpets laid,
But your dumb muskets once spoke to the world—
And the world listened to Mahone's Brigade.

Like waving plume upon Bellona's crest,
Or comet in red majesty arrayed,
Or Persia's flame transported to the West,
Shall shine the glory of Mahone's Brigade!

Not once, in all those years so dark and grim
Your columns from the path of duty strayed;
No craven act made your escutcheon dim—
'Twas burnished with your blood, Mahone's Brigade!

Not once on post, on march, in camp, or field,
 Was your brave Leader's trust in you betrayed,
 And never yet has Old Virginia's shield
 Suffered dishonor through Mahone's Brigade !

Who has forgotten at the deadly Mine
 How our great Captain of great Captains bade
 Your General to retake the captured line?
 How it was done you know, Mahone's Brigade !

Who has forgotten how th' undying dead,
 And you, yourselves, won that for which Lee prayed?
 Who has forgotten how th' Immortal said :
 That "Heroes" swept that field, Mahone's Brigade ?

From the far right, beneath the "stars and bars,"
 You marched amain to Bushrod Johnson's aid,
 And when you charged—an arrow shot by Mars
 Went forward in your rush, Mahone's Brigade !

In front stood Death. Such task as yours before
 By mortal man has rarely been essayed !
 There you defeated Burnside's boasted corps,
 And did an Army's work, Mahone's Brigade !

And those who led you, field, or line, or staff,
 Showed they were fit for more than mere parade ;
 Their motto : "Victory or an epitaph,"
 And well they did their part, Mahone's Brigade !

II.

Were mine the gift to coin my heart of hearts,
 In living words fit tribute should be paid
 To all the heroes whose enacted parts
 Gave fame immortal to Mahone's Brigade.

But he who bore the musket is the man
 Whose figure should for future time be made—
 Cleft from a rock by some new Thorwaldsen—
 The Private Soldier of Mahone's Brigade !

His was that sense of duty only felt
 By souls heroic. In the modest shade
 He lived, or fell ; but his, Fame's Starry Belt—
 His, Fame's own Galaxy, Mahone's Brigade !

And in that Belt—all luminous with stars,
 Unnamed and woven in a wondrous braid—
 A blaze of glory in the sky of Mars—
 Your orbs are thickly set, Mahone's Brigade !

The Private Soldier is the man who comes
 From mart, or plain, or grange, or sylvan glade,
 To answer calls of trumpets and of drums—
 So came the Soldier of Mahone's Brigade !

His messmate, hunger ; comrades, heat and cold ;
 His decorations, death or wounds, conveyed
 To the brave patriot in ways manifold,—
 But yet he flinched not in Mahone's Brigade !

When needing bread, Fate gave him but a stone ; ,
 Ragged, he answered when the trumpets brayed ;
 Barefoot he marched, or died without a groan ;
 True to his battle-flag, Mahone's Brigade.

Could some Supreme Intelligence proclaim,
 Arise from all the pomp of rank and grade,
 War's truest heroes, oft we'd hear some name
 Unmentioned by the world, Mahone's Brigade.

And yet, they have a name, enriched with thanks
 And tears and homage—which shall never fade—
 Their name is simply this : Men of the Ranks—
 The Knights without their spurs—Mahone's Brigade !

And though unbelted and without their spurs,
 To them is due Fame's splendid accolade ;
 And theirs the story which to-day still stirs
 The pulses of your hearts, Mahone's Brigade.

Men of the Ranks, step proudly to the front !
 'Twas yours unknown through sheeted flame to wade
 In the red bATTLE's fierce and deadly brunt ;
 Yours be full laurers in Mahone's Brigade !

III.

For those who fell be yours the sacred trust
 To see forgetfulness, shall not invade
 The spots made holy by their noble dust ;
 Green keep them in your hearts, Mahone's Brigade !

O keep them green with patriotic tears !
 Forget not, now war's fever is allayed,
 Those valiant men, who, in the vanished years,
 Kept step with you in ranks, Mahone's Brigade !

Each circling year, in the sweet month of May,
 Your countrywoman—matron and fair maid—
 Still pay their tribute to the Soldier's clay,
 And strew his grave with flow'rs, Mahone's Brigade !

Join in the task, with retrospective eye ;
 Men's mem'ries should not perish 'neath the spade ;
 Pay homage to the dead, whose dying cry
 Was for the Commonwealth, Mahone's Brigade !

Raise up, O State ! a shaft to pierce the sky,
 To him, the Private, who was but afraid
 To fail in his full duty—not to die ;
 And on its base engrave, "Mahone's Brigade !"

IV.

Now that the work of blood and tears is done,
 Whether of stern assault, or sudden raid,
 Yours is a record second yet to none—
 None takes your right in line, Mahone's Brigade !

Now that we've lost, as was fore-doomed, the day—
 Now that the good by ill hath been outweighed—

Let us plant olives on the rugged way,
Once proudly trodden by Mahone's Brigade.

And when some far-stretched future folds the past,
To us so recent, in its purple shade,
High up, as if on some "tall Admiral's mast,"
Shall fly your battle-flags, Mahone's Brigade.

V.

Each battle-flag shall float abroad and fling
A radiance round, as from a new-lit star ;
Or light the air about, as when a King
Flashes in armor in his royal car ;
And Fame's own vestibule I see inlaid
With their proud images, Mahone's Brigade.

Your battle-flags shall fly throughout all time,
By History's self exultingly unfurled ;
And stately prose, and loud-resounding rhyme,
Nobler than mine, shall tell to all the world
How dauntless moved, and how all undismayed,
Through good and ill stood Mahone's Brigade.

O glorious flags ! No victory could stain
Your tattered folds with one unworthy deed !
O glorious flags ! No country shall again
Fly nobler symbols in its hour of need !
Success stained not, nor could defeat degrade ;
Spotless they float to-day, Mahone's Brigade !

Immortal flags, upon Time's breezes flung !
Seen by the mind in forests, or in marts,
Cherished in visions, praised from tongue to tongue,
Wrapped with the very fibres of your hearts !
And gazing on them, none may dare upbraid
Your Leader, or your men, Mahone's Brigade.

VI.

That splendid Leader's name is yours, and he
Flesh of your flesh, himself bone of your bone,
His simple name maketh a history,
Which stands, itself grand, glorious and alone !
Or, 'tis a trophy, splendidly arrayed,
With all your battle-flags, Mahone's Brigade !

His name itself a history ? Yes ! and none
May halt me here. In war and peace
It challenges the full rays of the sun ;
And when the passions of our day shall cease,
'Twill stand undying, for all time displayed,
Itself a battle-flag, Mahone's Brigade !

He rose successor of that mighty man
Who was the "right arm" of immortal Lee ;
Whose genius put defeat beneath a ban ;
Who swept the field as tempest sweeps the sea ;
Who fought full hard, and yet full harder prayed.
You knew that man full well, Mahone's Brigade !

And here that great man's shadow claims a place;
 Within my mind I see his image rise,
 With Cromwell's will and Havelock's Christian grace ;
 As daring as the Swede, as Frederick wise ;
 Swift as Napoleon ere his hopes decayed ;
 You knew the hero well, Mahone's Brigade !

And when he fell his fall shook all the land,
 As falling oak shakes mountain side and glen ;
 But soon men saw his good sword in the hand
 Of one, himself born leader among men,—
 Of him who led you through the fusilade,
 The storm of shot and shell, Mahone Brigade !

Immortal Lee, who triumphed o'er despair,
 Greater than all the heroes I have named,
 Whose life has made a Westminster where'er
 His name is spoken ; he, so wise and famed,
 Gave Jackson's duties unto him whose blade
 Was lightning to your storms, Mahone's Brigade !

Ere Jackson fell Mahone shone day by day,
 A burnished lance amid that crop of spears,—
 None rose above him in that grand array ;
 And Lee, who stood Last of the Cavaliers,
 Knew he had found of War's stupendous trade
 A Master at your head, Mahone's Brigade !

O, Countrymen ! I see the coming days
 When he, above all hinderances and lets
 Shall stand an Epic form, lit by the rays
 Of Fame's eternal sun that never sets !
 The first great Chapter of his life is made,
 And spoken in two words—"Mahone's Brigade !"

O, Countrymen ! I see historic brass
 Leap from the furnace in a blazing tide ;
 I see it through strange transformations pass
 Into a form of energy and pride ;
 Beneath our Capitol's majestic shade
 In bronze I see Mahone—Mahone's Brigade !

O Countrymen ! When dust has gone to dust,
 Still shall he live in story and in rhyme ;
 Then History's self shall multiply his bust,
 And he defy the silent Conquerer, Time.
 My song is sung : My prophecy is made—
 The State will make it good, Mahone's Brigade !



[CONFIDENTIAL.]

PETERSBURG, VA., 1st July, 1887.

DEAR SIR:

We must have more efficiency, more systematic and efficient work in our party organization, if we would win in the all-important election we are to have this fall for nineteen members of the Senate and a full House of Delegates.

I shall not stop here to discuss with you the great interests involved in the result of that election. I need not tell you that on it depends the future of the Republican party in this State, for years beyond any hope in which we may indulge. The eye of the Republican party of the Nation is hopefully turned to Virginia and the election before us. If we win, and we ought to win, and will, if only we put forth that effort which party duty and devotion to Republican principles demand that we should make, no where in all the Union will the party of any State command more conspicuous consideration at the hands of the National party, than our party here in Virginia. Let us now elect a majority on joint ballot of the Legislature, and our influence in the Senate of the United States will be at once restored, and the electoral vote of the State next year will be made certain for the Republican Presidential ticket of that year. Let us elect that majority of the Legislature and put a stop to the wild partisan career and the wreck of State affairs, which have characterized their administration by the Democratic managers for the last four years. Let us elect that Legislature, and remove the peril to which the Free School System of the State is now exposed, and again empty the jails of the insane and make place for them in our asylums. Let us elect that Legislature, and give to the people a fair and non-partisan election law, so that every voter may, unhindered, exercise the right of suffrage, and be

confident that his ballot will be honestly counted as cast. Let us elect the next Legislature, and by final settlement of the Public Debt on a basis that will discharge alike our duty to the public creditor and to the people, and bring back to the State the good name which she has heretofore enjoyed at home and abroad; invite settlers and investments within our borders. Let us elect the next Legislature, and bring back that frugal administration of the State government which cost under Republican rule eight hundred and two thousand dollars, and now under Democratic control exceeds one million three hundred thousand dollars, or an increase of half a million annually; in itself, this increase, equal to one half of all the taxes derived from real estate. Let us elect the next Legislature, and spare the people of that inevitable and severe increase of taxation, which must follow a continuance of the policy of the Democratic managers. To do this, to elect the next Legislature, it behooves us to leave nothing to chance, to avoid the risk of over-confidence and the danger of a multiplicity of aspirants for Legislative honors, for we must know that our opponents are in this contest to win, regardless of means or methods. They feel that they are already and justly condemned by an overwhelming judgment of the masses, and that their only hope to regain control at the Capitol of the State, is by attempt to deceive, delude and cheat the people.

If we are to win in this election—and we must—there must be systematic organization by precincts, and a thorough canvass of voters; the doubtfuls and the stay-at-homes must have special attention.

Out of every one hundred voters, sixty are pronounced and go to the polls anyhow and vote the ticket of their party. This class need only passing attention. They attend the court-greens.

The second class, composed of twenty out of every hundred, are never decided in their political faith and purpose. They do not attend public speaking generally, and are waiting for information. This is the class that should be closely and attentively canvassed especially by the candidate for the Legislature. This is the class to whom suitable political documents should be carefully distributed; they are the doubtfuls. The remainder of

the one hundred—twenty voters—are the stay-at-homes. They know but little of what is going on, politically, other than that which is told them, and they do not go to the polls unless carried.

These latter classes, making fully forty per cent. of the vote at every precinct, decide the election.

The party that delivers that vote, wins. It is the vote that demands most attention and involves largely the cost of elections—where expenditures are made for results. We must not only know where that vote is, but we must know precisely the persons who compose it at each precinct and the post-office of each such voter.

A little labor and system will procure that information.

You need at the start a copy of the Registration Roll. Go over to the Registrar's house and get him to give you a copy. You want merely the names of the voters and these to be designated white or colored, as the case may be. If the Registrar will not himself copy the roll, get him to allow you to take a copy of it. If he will not allow you to take a copy, and will only copy it himself for you for pay, then pay him a reasonable fee for the copy, and if you like send the bill to me. If he will do neither, then go to the clerk's office and from the assessor's book make a roll of all the persons, white and colored, assessed for the head tax, and you have a roll for all practical purposes. But I shall suppose, either out of civility or for reasonable pay, that you will get the roll from the Registrar. Now this has taken but the part of a day of your time.

Take this roll with you to the Clerk's office, and there quietly and to yourself compare the poll-book of your precinct for the last election, with the roll. On it check off every name that you find on the poll book. Then and there you will see who of the registered voters did not vote at your last election, and you will be surprised at the number; and if you will multiply that number by the number of precincts in your county, you will see what an important vote that class of the voting population composes. They are the stay-at-homes, and you want to designate each one of these. Where the man is a Democrat, S. D.—stay-at-home Democrat; and where he is a Republican, S. R.—stay-at-home Republican.

Now, then, here is another day given to the cause.

Then take your roll home and go over it, designating each voter as you may know his polities, as follows: Each pronounced Democrat, P. D.; each pronounced Republican, P. R.; each doubtful Democrat, D. D., and each doubtful Republican, D. R. This completes your roll if you should personally know each voter and his politics, but most likely there will be a man here and there on the roll whom you do not know, and cannot classify. You want to make an abstract list of all such, and as you meet Republican friends, enquire of them as to these persons, and in a little while you will find out about all of them and will be able to classify and designate the last man of those whom you did not know in going over your roll. Here then, and now, you have a complete roll of all your voters, and you know how each man stands; you know how many pronounced Democrats and how many pronounced Republicans there are at your precinct, and that such vote will be certainly cast on either side. You will know who are and how many doubtful Democrats there are, and you will know who are and how many doubtful Republicans there are at your precinct. Of these doubtful Democrats and doubtful Republicans, you want to make off a list giving the post-office of each, and send that list in to me, that I may send such persons reading matter.

Here, in all this work, not more than two days of you time has been taken—one in getting a copy of the Registered roll of voters, and the other in going to Clerk's office and in checking off on that roll all the names you find on the last poll-book of your precinct. I know you will not consider this amount of time and the labor imposed too much for you to give, for I am quite sure you spend ten times more in every canvass. In this case your time and your work possesses you of information essential to success—information which you never had before, and which no other man in your county has.

You know what vote you have in the precinct, and what vote you can deliver. You are ready for intelligent work. You are ready for an effective canvass. You know what voters to see and whom your candidate should see, when he comes to the precinct.

The candidate, when he comes to your precinct, should first come to see you and go over your roll, and you should have ready for him a list of the D. D.'s, the D. R.'s, and the S. D.'s, and these are the voters whom he should personally canvass—go to see each man, all the D. D.'s, S. D.'s and D. R.'s—before he leaves the bounds of your precinct. When he goes from your precinct he should go straightway to the precinct chairman or other person like yourself, who has done up his precinct as you have yours, and proceed to canvass that precinct as he did yours, and so on throughout the county. Thus you will observe that candidates waste no time on pronounced voters—men who are going to the polls and vote their party ticket anyhow—but his time and effort is spent where it ought to be, on that class of voters who, if doubtful or stay-at-home Democrats, may be persuaded to vote for him, and if hesitating Republicans, may be enthused and enlisted.

Now, as to the stay-at-home Republicans, you want to do this—and be sure to do this,—That is, select a trusty man who lives nearest one, two or three of these stay-at-home Republicans, give him their names and have it understood with him, that he is, on the morning of the election, with his wagon, cart or buggy to call by for these stay-at-home voters, take them up and bring them on to the polls **EARLY**. Give another trusty man a certain number living nearest to him to call for and bring to the polls. And so on until you have all these stay-at-home Republicans parcelled out among active, earnest Republicans—such Republicans as you know will go after these voters and bring them to the polls. Do this, and you will surprise yourself and the enemy as well, at the increased vote you poll. At convenient times during the canvass, when you can spare a day or an afternoon, go yourself and see as many of the D. D.'s, D. R.'s and S. D.'s as you can, and so proceed until you yourself have seen or canvassed the last one of these three classes. Do these things, and you will not have spent more time in the canvass than you usually give, but the result of your work will gratify you, and insure victory where, if left to chance, you may be sadly disappointed in the result. Do these things, and I tell you no such canvass for effectiveness has been or will ever be made in your

county. It is the only safe-guard we have against the opposition's use of money and their methods.

Will you kindly do me the favor to consider this plan of organization and work for your precinct, and tell me if you will carry it out, and [redacted]

~~not let it lie buried?~~

Yours truly,

WM. MAHONE.

and if you will, then let me know what help, if any, in the way of
actual expense, you will need at my hands, to put the plan in active
operation and force.

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— THE —
Election Laws,
— AND —
INSTRUCTIONS AS TO VOTING
— AND —
ELECTION RETURNS.

1. **Warn every Republican voter**, on all occasions and everywhere, to be on the lookout for all sorts of Bourbon tricks and deceptions, and especially such as are likely to be practiced just before and on election day.
2. **Caution our people** to pay no attention to any posters or statements, which the Bourbons may circulate at the polls before, or on the day of election, as in the case of the Danville Circular and false reports put out in respect to the Danville massacre.
3. **Treat all posters, circulars, or reports**, which may be put out on eve of election as *false*, and the invention of the opposition, and take pains so to advise our voters quickly.
4. **Look out for bogus Republican tickets**—tickets headed Republican, but bearing the name of the Democratic candidate.
5. **Precinct Chairmen** will organize a strong committee, chosen of the most active, vigilant and resolute men of the precinct, to attend the poll on day of election. The members of this committee should be carefully selected *now* at the earliest day, and each member notified of his selection. The committee so formed should assemble at the poll—be there on the ground fifteen minutes before the poll is opened, and this committee should at no time, during the day, leave the poll. The poll is due to be opened at sunrise and closed only

at sunset. *No suspension or recess* is admissible under the law. The sun rises on Tuesday, the 8th of November next, at forty-four minutes past six and sets at four minutes past five. The duty of this committee will be, in every proper way to promote and protect the interests of the party. Among other things this committee should see that the poll is opened and organized according to the requirements of the Election Law.

To see that the poll is opened at sunrise, except where none of the Judges of Election are on hand, and then, as provided by the law—that all the officers of election, take and subscribe the oath required by the law, and in the form prescribed, and that the officer administering the oath subscribe to the form prescribed.

To see that no *recess* is taken during the day by the officers of election; no suspension of the poll; that the box is at no time during the day opened, but all the while kept in full view of the voter; that our voters are not subject to any improper delay or hindrance in voting, or that they are intimidated or tampered with.

This committee should see that a full supply of tickets are on hand and the supply is kept and carefully issued to the chosen ticket holders, by a most trusty member of the committee; that ticket holders are faithful in the discharge of their duty; and, finally, that the returns made of the poll are in the form prescribed by law—no omissions of acts or forms required, no commission of acts not specifically authorized by the law,—and some two chosen members of the committee should accompany the person charged with the delivery of the returns to the clerk's office of the city or county, all the way to such place of delivery, that no violation of the law in that respect may possibly occur.

6. The ticket holders, with an ample supply of tickets, must be sure to be at the polls, at every voting place, before sunrise on election day, and there remain during the whole day, not leaving the polls until the vote is canvassed and the result ascertained and announced. If the result announced by the Judges shall not conform to your *record*, kept as hereafter prescribed, then and there demand correction.

The check upon the *poll* should be kept in the following manner: Two reliable, resolute white men should be chosen to hold a check on the *poll*. They must be at the polls when it is opened, and remain there in sight of the box continuously all day, till the poll is closed. One of these with a roll of the Republican voters in hand—should look at each Republican ballot as the voter comes up to hand his ballot to the Judge of Election receiving ballots, he must be in position

keep his eye upon the ballot from the time he examines it, 1 cried by the Judge of Election, and then opposite the name of the voter, on his roll, check by prefixing the figure for the first Republican ballot so received; opposite the name of the voter casting the second Republican ballot, he will place the figure 2; opposite the third voter casting a Republican ballot, the figure 3, and so on; so that he will not only be able to know precisely the certain persons who voted the Republican ticket, but the last figure or figures he places opposite the name of the last Republican ballot cast, will give the number of Republican ballots in the box—plus any that may be cast by persons who will desire that it shall not be known how they voted. This check on the box—this record of Republican ballots known to have been voted, may be in this way recorded, if preferred; that is to say, let the Republican voter have two Republican tickets, on the back of one of these tickets let the voter write his name and hand that ballot to the man in charge of the *check*, who will string the same, while the voter presents the other ticket to the Judge of Election in charge of the *box*.

This *check* is the important duty of one of the two so chosen white men, and the work he is asked to do is not only important to forbid cheating, but *to go into any contest over the returns*.

The other of the two men so chosen to guard the polls, will keep a tally of the votes as *cried* at the polls. For the first vote cried and taken by the Judge of Election, he will score the figure 1; when the second vote is cried and received he will score the figure 2; when the third is cried and scored he will score the figure 3; and so on—without regard to whether the ballot is Republican or Democratic. Here then, his last score will represent the entire number of ballots cried and received. This tally and the roll kept by his associate, complete a check upon the box. The one, when the polls are closed, can announce so many ballots cast *all told*, the other that of the total number—there are so many certain Republican ballots. If the result, which the Judges shall subsequently announce, does not fairly conform to the figures given by our two friends, who have kept the count and check as just described, then and there let them and the body of voters present *demand correction*. These two chosen guards of our party's interests at the polls, should promptly report any *variance* with their count, and any irregularities affecting the result, to our Candidate for the Legislature, and forward a full report of the same to the undersigned at Petersburg, Va. Let this be done at once—on the night of election. The one of these

two men checking the roll of Republican voters should keep his *eye* on the Roll and promptly send off for such voters as are not up in time. This sending for *lagging* voters must not be put off too late. They are generally known and should be sent for early in the forenoon.

7. **Every Republican voter** should get his tickets from the Republican ticket holder, and before handing the ticket to the Judge of Election to be deposited in the ballot-box, he should exhibit it to the Republican book-holder and see that his name is checked by him on the roll he has, or he should put his name on the back of a duplicate ticket and hand that ticket to the book-holder to be strung. This precaution is necessary, in order that a complete list of Republicans voting on election day may be had for future use in the event of fraud at the polls, or a contest. Frequently during the day, at least once every hour, the Precinct Chairman should ascertain from the book-holder the number of Republican votes cast, and he should proclaim aloud, in the presence of the Judges of Election and voters at the polls: I know that at least (here state the number) votes have been cast at this precinct for the Republican ticket.

8. **Immediately upon receipt** of this circular, Precinct Chairmen will ascertain, whether or not the Registration book of his precinct is in possession of the Registrar, and on Monday night, November 7th, the day before the election, he will, in company with a discreet and intelligent Republican, visit the Registrar of his precinct and ascertain from him whether or not the Registration book is in his possession; if not, find out where it is; and, if the Registrar should state that he has turned it over to one of the Judges of Election, ascertain the name of the Judge of Election to whom he has delivered the book.

It is very important at voting precincts, whether the Republicans are in a majority, that every precaution should be taken to have the Registration books at the polls before sunrise on the morning of the election, and Precinct chairmen will adopt such measures as may be proper and necessary to prevent the destruction or loss of the Registration books.

9. **Where there is no Registration book** on hand at the polls, under the law the Judges of Election are required to open the poll and proceed with the election and to receive the ballot of every person who shall, *on presenting the same*, swear that he is a registered voter of the precinct, and the Judges shall so record his name. No condition can be required by the Judges on such oath, the man desiring to vote is entitled to have his ballot received and counted as cast.

he following is the oath which the voter takes and which it is the duty of one of the Judges of Election to administer.

"You do solemnly swear [or affirm] that you are a citizen of the United States, that you are 21 years old, and that you have resided in this State for twelve months, and in this country [city or town] for three months next preceding this election, and that you are not disqualified from voting by the Constitution or laws of this State; that your name is [here insert the name given], and that in such name you were duly registered as a voter of this election district, and that you are now an actual resident of the same, and that you are the identical person you represent yourself to be, and that you have not voted in this election, at this or any polling place. So help you God."

Every Republican voter of the precinct should attend the polls, and if there are no Registration books there, apply to the Judges of Election to administer to him the foregoing oath, and if they should fail to do so, or fail to permit him to cast his vote, then let him endorse his name on the back of the ballot he *tendered* to the Judges of Election, and hand it to your book keeper, who will string the same, and at the same time note the fact opposite the voter's name on his roll. After the poll is closed, the person stringing and taking account of ballots so tendered and refused, should make a roll of the persons refused the right to vote shall certify to the fact that the foregoing named voters of the precinct where there was no Registration book on hand—in conformity with the law—tendered the annexed ballots, offering to take the oath required by law in such case, and that the ballots of the aforesigned persons were refused. Make oath to the statement and have such persons to join in subscribing to such statement as can do so. Deliver the same to your candidate for the Legislature, and at the same time forward a copy to the undersigned. Remember it is an old trick of the Bourbon managers, and especially at precincts where we have majorities, to lose the Registration book the night before election or to have their Registrar go off with the book and *hide*. But you can proceed with the election for all that, just as I have described.

The *law* as to the appointment of Judges of Election, is as follows:

"It shall be the duty of the Electoral Board of each city and county, at some time prior to the first day of March in each year, to select and appoint three competent male citizens who shall be qualified voters, for each voting place in their respective counties and cities, who, when so elected and appointed, shall constitute the judges of election for all elections

"to be held in their respective districts, precincts or wards, for the term of one year, dating from their appointment, and which said judges shall have power to appoint two clerks for each place of voting at such election, to whom shall be administered by the judges, or either of them, the same oath as that taken by the said judges. Whenever it is possible to do so, the persons so selected and appointed as judges of election, shall be chosen for each voting place from persons known to belong to different political parties, and each one of whom shall be able to read and write. The members of any Electoral Board who shall wilfully fail to comply with this requirement, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be fined not less than one hundred or more than five hundred dollars. But no election shall be deemed invalid when the citizens appointed as judges shall not belong to different political parties, or who shall not possess the above qualifications."

10. In case where the appointed judges of election fail to attend—this is the law :

"And should any judge of election fail to attend at any place of voting for one hour after the time prescribed by law for opening the polls at such election, it shall be lawful for the judge or judges in attendance to select from among the bystanders one or more persons possessing the qualifications of judges of election, who shall act as judge or judges of such election, and who shall have all the powers and authority of judges appointed by said electoral board; provided, however, that if the judge or judges present have information that the absent judge or judges will not attend, he or they need not wait for the expiration of an hour or any other time. Should all the judges appointed for any place of voting fail to attend at the place of voting for one hour after the time prescribed by law for opening the polls at such election, it shall be the duty of any justice of the peace of the district in which the election is held, who shall be applied to for that purpose, or the mayor, if the election is in any election district in a town or city, to appoint three judges of election for such election district, who shall possess the same qualifications and have the same powers as judges appointed by said electoral board. *Should no judges of election be appointed for any county, city or place of voting therein, or if appointed they neglect or refuse to act for one hour after the time prescribed by law for opening the polls at such election, it shall be lawful for any three lawful voters of the district, who shall be present and willing to act, upon taking the oath prescribed for judges of election, to proceed to hold, conduct and certify the election in the*

manner provided in this act, and for that purpose shall have all the powers and authority of judges appointed by said electoral board."

It is an old trick of the Bourbon managers, sometimes to have one or more of their Judges absent at sunrise, when the poll should be opened. This is for delay and to tire voters. If they have one Judge on hand, he will put off opening the poll—waiting for the other Judge or Judges to come. The object will be to fatigue our voters, and the hope is that some will go home, or to consume so much of the day that all cannot vote. Sometimes no one of the Judges will appear, in the hope that no one will know how to proceed and the poll may not be opened at all. But here you have the law which marks out the way to proceed. Be sure, at the precincts where they have the Judges of Election and we the majority of the voters, that they do not refuse, on some pretext, to open the polls. In such a case follow the Election Laws, which authorizes any three voters of the precinct, who may be present and willing to act, upon taking the oath of office [which oath may be administered by any person present authorized to administer an oath; but in the absence of any such person, then the said persons, acting as Judges of Election, may administer to each other and to the clerks the oath prescribed by law, which is as follows: "I, A. B., judge [or clerk] of the election [as the case may be], do solemnly swear [or affirm] that I will perform the duties of judge [or clerk] of the election [as the case may be] according to law and to the best of my ability; and that I will studiously endeavor to prevent fraud, deceit, and abuse in conducting this election. So help me God."] prescribed for Judges of Election, to perform all the duties and have all the power of Judges appointed by the proper courts, such as appointing and swearing the clerks of election, making returns, &c.; and this should be put in writing and set forth in the returns. The fact of the appointment being made, and the oath taken, shall be noted by the clerk at the foot of the abstract of votes made and certified to on the poll-books, and should be in substance as follows: .

There being no person present to open the polls (or who would open the polls) at one hour after sunrise to-day, we A. B., C. D., and E. F., three competent voters of the precinct, who were present and willing to act, proceeded, (after being first duly sworn to open the polls and to hold, conduct,

and certify the said election and we appointed A. B., and C. D., as clerks of election.

Given under our hands this 8th November, 1887.

—, —, —, } Judges

Attest:

— — — — —, } Clerks

Do not forget that the Judges of Election must not proceed to conduct the election before appointing two clerks of election for each voting precinct—both of whom should be duly sworn before entering upon the discharge of their duty.

II. Take care that no Judge of Election, who is not present at the opening of the polls, and before a ballot is deposited, comes in and acts afterwards. All the Judges of Election and Clerks of Election must be sworn in at the *same* time, and before a ballot is received and deposited.

The following is the law upon this point, which be careful to see is strictly observed:

"No person shall act as a Judge or Clerk of any Election who is a candidate for any office to be filled at such election. And before any Judge or Clerk of Election enters upon the performance of any of the duties imposed upon him by this act, he shall take and subscribe an oath in the following form, to-wit: I, A. B., Judge [or Clerk] of the Election [as the case may be], do solemnly swear [or affirm] that I will perform the duties of Judge [or Clerk] of the Election [as the case may be] according to law and the best of my ability; and that I will studiously endeavor to prevent fraud, deceit, and abuse in conducting this Election. So help me God. If there is no one present authorized to administer oaths, then the Judges of Election, may administer to each other and to the Clerks the oath above provided."

12. Remember that under the Election Laws it is the duty of Judges of Election to open the polls in all Districts, Counties, Corporations and Townships, at each place of voting that is prescribed by law, and that the polls shall be opened at each voting place at sunrise on the day of Election and closed at sunset on the same day.

13. Take care that no recess is taken, and the ballot-box left alone, or in the custody of any one, except the Judges and Clerks of Election, and that the box is not opened on any pretext whatever, during the whole day of election. The of-

rs of Election are required to remain at the polls all day, and the ballot-box must not be removed from the place where ballots are received, and the box must not be *shaken* during the day. The box must be so placed as to be in plain open view of the voters from the outside. When the box has been stuffed the attempt will be made to shake the box; as to separate the ballots that have been put in—one or more tissue ballots inside of a larger one, or several tissue ballots together—because the law is that where one ballot is found inside of another both shall be destroyed.

4. **The box must** not be left in the polling place alone during the day, or after the polls are closed. It is against law to take recess during the day, or, after the polls are closed, to adjourn for supper, or to do anything else until the votes are counted, classified, and the returns are made up, the ballots and polling books *separately* sealed. Let every precinct chairman take with him to the polls a piece of red sealing wax.

It is a favorite trick of the Bourbon managers to take a recess for dinner, and after the polls are closed to adjourn for supper, leaving the box in the *house* where the election has been conducted and where some fellow secreted with a pass duplicate key to the box comes out and puts in as many Democratic ballots, and takes out a like number of Republican ballots, as he thinks necessary.

Be sure that all the Judges and Clerks of the polls are duly sworn, as prescribed in the foregoing law, before any ballot is received and deposited in the ballot-box, and that the *forms* subscribed.

Watch carefully the ballot-box all day; see that it is not opened at any time during the day, and be careful to note any irregularity on the part of the Judges and Clerks of Election, such as counting the ballots in the ballot-box before the polls closed, and comparing the ballots with the poll-books. The box must not be opened during the day and not until the judges come to count and make up the returns.

5. **Who can vote:** "Every male citizen of the United States, twenty-one years old, who shall have been a resident of this State for twelve months, and of the county, city or town in which he shall offer to vote, three months next preceding any election, and who shall be a registered voter in, a resident of the election district in which he shall offer to vote, shall be entitled to vote for members of the General Assembly, and all officers elected by the people; provided no officer, soldier, seaman, or marine, of the United States army or navy, shall be considered a resident of this State by

reason of being stationed therein: and provided also, that the following persons shall be excluded from voting:

First. Idiots and lunatics.

Second. Persons convicted of bribery in any election, embezzlement of public funds, treason, felony, or petit larceny.

Third. No person who, while a resident of this State, has since the adoption of the present Constitution of this State fought a duel with deadly weapon, sent or accepted a challenge to fight a duel with a deadly weapon, either within or beyond the boundaries of this State, or knowingly conveyed a challenge, or aided or assisted in any manner in fighting a duel, shall be allowed to vote, unless the disabilities incurred thereby shall have been removed by the General Assembly by a two-thirds vote."

16. The following is the law as to the opening of the polls, which read carefully and see that it is strictly followed and if it is not, note in what particular the Judges of Election fail to comply with the law:

"The Judges of Election, or one of them, immediately before proclamation is made of the opening of the polls, shall open the ballot-boxes *in the presence of the people assembled, and turn them upside down, so as to empty them of everything that is in them, and then lock them*, and the keys thereof shall be delivered to one of the said Judges, and said boxes *shall not be opened except for the purpose of counting the ballots therein, at the close of the polls*, and one of the Judges shall forthwith proclaim that the polls are open."

17. Remember that it is the duty of the Judge of Election to whom any ballot is delivered, upon receipts thereof pronounce in a loud voice the name of the person from whom the ballot is received; and, if the name of the person is found on the Registration book, and there being no objection made, the said Judge shall, without opening said ballot, (except to ascertain whether it is a single ballot) deposit the same in the ballot-box; whereupon the name of the elector shall be checked on the Registration book by one of the Judges, and entered by the Clerk of Election on the poll-books, and correctly numbered, in accordance with the number of electors therefore recorded.

18. Do not forget that at County Voting Precincts, as in all cities and towns containing less than two thousand habitants, any registered voter who has changed his place of residence from one voting District to another, *if he has a certificate showing that he was duly registered in the former District, and that his name has, since his removal, been erased from the Registration Books of said voting District, can vote*

on election day in the voting District in which he resides, and is the duty of the Registrar, if present, or one of the Judges of Election, upon the production of said certificate, to enter his name on the Registration books, on election day, and to receive and deposit his ballot.

19. How votes are challenged. The law on this subject is as follows :

"Any elector may, and it shall be the duty of the Judges of Election to challenge the vote of any person who may be known or suspected not to be a duly qualified voter.

When any person is so challenged, the Judges shall explain to him the qualifications of an elector, and may examine him as to his qualifications, and if the person *insists that he is qualified*, and the challenge is not withdrawn, *one of the Judges* shall tender to him the following oath: "You do solemnly swear [or affirm] that you are a citizen of the United States, that you are twenty-one years old, and that you have resided in this State for twelve months, and in this county [city or town] for three months next preceding this election, and that you are not disqualified from voting by the Constitution or laws of this State; that your name is [here insert the name given], and that in such name you are duly registered as a voter of this election District, and that you are now an actual resident of the same, and that you are the identical person you represent yourself to be, and that you have not voted in this election, at this or any polling place. So help you God." And if he refuses to take such oath, his vote shall be rejected; *if, however, he does take the oath when tendered, his vote shall be received*; provided that after such oath shall have been taken, the Judges may, nevertheless, refuse to permit such person to vote, if they be satisfied, from *record* evidence of their own knowledge, or other legal testimony adduced before them, that he is not a legal voter; and they are hereby authorized to administer the necessary oaths or affirmations to all witnesses brought before them to testify to the qualifications of a person offering to vote. Whenever any person's vote shall be received, after having taken the oath prescribed in this section, it shall be the duty of the Clerks of the Election to write on the poll-books at the end of such person's name the word "sworn."

Many Republican votes are lost on election day, because of the failure of the Judges of Election to observe the foregoing law as to challenging votes. If the person challenged insists that he is a qualified voter, and is willing to take the oath prescribed in the law (above quoted) it is the duty of the Judges of Election to receive and deposit his ballot in the

ballot-box, and it is the duty of the Clerks of Election to write on the poll-books, at the end of the person's name, the words "sworn."

Should the Judges of Election still refuse to allow any Republican to vote, who desired to take such oath and to vote, the fact must be noted opposite such voter's name on the roll of Republican voters kept by the appointed man to check the roll of our voters and, the ballot which he would have voted with his name on the back must be preserved by our booth holder and he should promptly report the names of all such Republican voters to our candidate for the Legislature and also to the undersigned.

20. The following is the law as to *how the polls are closed and the vote canvassed*:

"As soon as the polls are finally closed (of which closing proclamation shall be made by the Judges fifteen minutes previously thereto), the Judges shall immediately proceed to canvass the vote given at such election, and the said canvass shall be continued without adjournment until completed, and the result thereof declared. The canvass shall commence by taking out of the box the ballots unopened (except so far as to ascertain whether each ballot is single), and counting the same to ascertain whether the number of ballots corresponds with the number of names on the poll-books; and if two or more separate ballots are found so folded together as to present the appearance of a single ballot, they shall be laid aside until the count of the ballots is completed. Then, if on comparison of the said count with the number of names of electors on the poll-books, it appears that the two ballots thus folded together were cast by the same elector, they shall be destroyed. If the ballots in the ballot-box are still found to exceed the number of the names on the poll-books, then the whole of the ballots shall be replaced in the ballot-box, and after the same shall be well shaken, the conductor, or one of the Judges of the Election, being blind-folded, shall draw therefrom a sufficient number of ballots to reduce the same to a number equal to the number of names of electors on the poll-books. The number of ballots thus being made to agree with the number of names on the poll-books, the books shall be signed by the judges and attested by the Clerks, and the number of names thereon shall be set down in words and figures at the foot of the list of electors on the poll-books, and over the signature of the Judges and attestations of the Clerks, in the manner and form prescribed, provided that whenever the number of ballots is reduced by the destruction of fraudulent ballots, below the number of names of elector-

on the poll-books, the cause of such reduction shall be stated at the foot of the list of electors on the poll-books, before the signing and attesting the same by the Judges and Clerks respectively."

21. The following is the form of poll-books and certificate of Judges and Clerks of Election, prescribed by law, and referred to in the foregoing section from the Election Laws, viz:

The following poll-books shall be kept by the Judges and Clerks of Election:

Poll-books of the election held in the county of _____, in the township of _____ [city or town], in the year one thousand eight hundred and _____. A. B., C. D., and E. F., judges, and G. H. and J. K., clerks of said election, were respectively sworn [or affirmed] as the law directs, previous to their entering on the duties of their respective offices.

Number and names of electors.

A. B.	No. 1	E. F.	No. 3
C. D.	No. 2	G. H.	No. 4

It is hereby certified that the number of electors at this election mounts to _____.

Attest:

G. H., }
J. K., } Clerks.

A. B., }
C. D., }
E. F., } Judges.

Names of persons voted for, and for what office; containing the number of votes given for each candidate.

Governor.	Lieutenant Governor.	Representatives in Congress.	Representatives in State Legislature.	
			Senate.	House of Delegates.
A.	1 C.	1 E.	1 G.	1 J. 1
B.	2 D.	1 F.	1 H.	1 K. 1

We hereby certify that A. had _____ votes for Governor, and B. had _____ votes for Governor; that C. had _____ votes for Lieutenant-Governor; that D. had _____ votes for the Senate, _____ district, and E. _____ votes for the Senate, _____ district; F. _____ votes for the House of Delegates, and G. _____ votes for the House Delegates—(as the case may be).

G. H., }
J. K., } Clerks.

A. B., }
C. D., }
E. F., } Judges.

returns. If any are defective remember that the law, Acts of Assembly 1874, page 45¹, provides, "That if it shall appear to any Board of Election Commissioners, in determining the persons who have received the greatest number of votes for the several officers voted for in such election, that irregularities or informalities occur in the returns of the Judges or Clerks of Election which can be cured by amending or correcting the same, it shall be the duty of said Board of Commissioners immediately to summons the said Judges and Clerks, or such of them as may be requisite, to appear before said Board on some day not exceeding five days from the date of the summons, for the purpose of amending such returns, so that the same may conform to law. The summons may be executed by any Sheriff, Constable, or Township Collector, or any qualified voter, who shall receive for service a compensation of fifty cents for each person summoned, to be paid by the township in which the said Judges or Clerks reside."

Remember that not less than three Commissioners can act. No return is valid without it is signed by at least three; and those acting must be sworn in before the Clerk of the County or Corporation Court. Where there are only two Commissioners present, or where there is but one, the two or the one may swear in to act as Commissioner any voter of the county at hand.

See that the return made up by the County Board of Commissioners is made precisely in the form provided by the Election Law, and that it is duly subscribed by at least three Commissioners, and attested by the signature of the Clerk of the County or Corporation Court, and certified *under his official seal*.

When any return from any precinct, or any ballots are thrown out by the County or City Board of Commissioners to the wrong and injury of our Republican ticket, have the facts stated fully on the face of the returns, forward to Richmond, and such statement subscribed by one or as many of Commissioners as will subscribe to such exception or exceptions. Too much attention cannot be given here to this matter.

The Commissioners may adjourn from time to time until their duties are completed, within five days of their first meeting.

WILLIAM MAHONE.

Chairman State Committee.

Petersburg, Va., September 29th, 1883.

HOUSE DOC. No. VIII.

FINAL REPORT

OF THE

JOINT COMMITTEE

TO

CONFER WITH THE COMMISSION OF COUNCIL OF FOREIGN BONDHOLDERS.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Delegates concurring), That a joint committee, consisting of three members of the Senate and five of the House, be appointed by the presiding officers of the respective houses, who shall be charged with the duty: First, of meeting with a Commission from the Council of Foreign Bondholders and ascertaining what amount of the bonds of Virginia is owned or controlled by said Council of Foreign Bondholders; Second, to demonstrate to said Commission the inability of the people of the State to bear a greater burden of taxation, and also to show what are the revenues and the necessary expenditures of the government, and the available revenues for the payment of interest, and to point out to them that which addresses itself to their interest, as well as to the interest of the State.

By a subsequent joint resolution the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Delegates were added to the committee.

Immediately after the adjournment of the General Assembly on the 6th of April, the joint committee organized for business, and proceeded to ascertain from the most reliable sources the exact amount of the public debt and the status of each class of that debt: the amount of revenue received into the treasury under the present rate of taxation; the amount necessary for the support of the government, the maintenance of her educational interests, her eleemosynary institutions, and the care of her disabled soldiers, and the amount of revenue which might be made available for the payment of interest.

On the 29th of April, Sir Edward Thornton, G. C. B., and Mr. S. N. Braithwaite presented their credentials from the Council of Foreign Bondholders, which duly accredited them as a Commission of said Council.

By the authority granted the joint committee by the General Assembly, a stenographer was employed, who kept a faithful record of all that was said on either side.

Your committee desire to express their profound regret that they have been unable to secure a settlement of the debt of the State upon terms which would be satisfactory to both the State and her creditors. Each member of the committee, animated by earnest desire to reach such a result, seemed willing to lay aside all prepossessions and prejudices, to consider carefully all propositions submitted, and to determine every question upon its merits.

But anxious as the committee were to settle forever this vexatious matter, they were not willing to do so at the sacrifice of our educational interests, the crippling of our eleemosynary institutions, and the neglect of our disabled soldiers, which the acceptance of the propositions submitted to us would virtually require; hence, when upon our declining to accept the terms proposed by the Commission of the Council of Foreign Bondholders, they informed us that we had their ultimatum, their last word, and that they were unwilling to continue negotiations except upon that basis. This declaration on their part necessarily terminated negotiations.

The Committee believe they demonstrated to the Commission the insufficiency of our available assets to pay annually the amount of interest which they demanded, and that their demands could only be complied with by increasing the burdens of taxation upon the already too heavily burdened tax-payers.

In reply to this, the Commission rejected our estimates of receipts and disbursements, claiming that our receipts were greater than we had shown them to be (thus discrediting our statements, which were made from thoroughly reliable official documents), and that our appropriations to educational purposes, to our asylums for the insane, and for our disabled soldiers, were excessive; that these appropriations ought to be reduced, and the amounts saved by the reduction applied to the payment of interest due the bondholders, the great body of whom are citizens of England.

The Committee could not accept the arguments of the Commission as sound or their conclusions as just.

In a republic where the people are sovereign—where power originates with and rests in the people, where all men are equal before the law, and where the poorest may vie with the richest for the highest places of honor or profit, education is one of its main bulwarks. Hence, self preservation and duty, interest, and philanthropy demand that educational facilities shall be placed in the reach of all.

Nothing but the hardness of the times, the poverty of tax-payers, and the scarcity of money justifies us in adhering, as we are doing, to the minimum sum dedicated to public free schools by the constitution, and we shall hail with pleasure the dawn of such prosperity as will justify largely increased appropriations for educational purposes.

The commission also suggested a reduction in appropriations to insane asylums; overlooking or ignoring the fact that outside of the provision made for this unfortunate class in the several institutions of the State, hundreds of these poor demented creatures are languishing in the uncomfortable jails of the various counties, deprived of proper medical skill and trained nurses.

It was shown to the commission that the per capita expenditure in the asylums compared most favorably with that of other States.

Rather than decrease the appropriations, your Committee wished the condition of the State would permit larger donations to caring for these unfortunates.

Another subject of expense complained of, was what they call the extravagant provision for maimed and disabled soldiers of the State.

Re-opening Negotiations.

Upon being notified that the Joint Committee had resolved to report to the General Assembly the failure and termination of negotiations, the Commission requested the Joint Committee to re-open negotiations, and submitted another proposition, which they termed their "minimum." This proposition was, in the opinion of the Joint Committee, but little if any better than the one which they had rejected, and was promptly declined. With the declination of this last proposition of the Commission, the Joint Committee submitted to them a counter proposition.

Upon receiving it, the Commission asked a suspension of proceedings until they could receive instructions from the Council of Foreign Bondholders. This request was granted. At the expiration of four days they informed the Joint Committee that they were instructed to adhere to their last proposition.

Neither side having any other proposition to submit, the Joint Committee informed the Commission that they regarded all negotiations as finally ended, and would make their final report to the General Assembly as soon as it could be completed.

The committee hereto append in consecutive order a statement showing the comparative condition of Virginia financially in 1859-60 and 1886, the estimate made by the Commission upon which their first proposition was based, and containing substantially their proposition; the reply of the committee to that proposition; the second proposition made by the Commission, and the reply of the committee thereto; the third proposition of the Commission, which they termed their "ultimatum," their "last words," and the response of the committee thereto; the last proposition submitted by the Commission, which they termed their "minimum"; the reply thereto by the committee, and the final communication from the Commission.

And that the General Assembly may be fully apprised of all that passed between the joint committee and the Commission of the Council of Foreign Bondholders, the full stenographic report is also hereto appended in its consecutive order.

Statement showing the comparative values in 1860 and 1886.

"1860."

Value of property as shown by the Auditor's report of 1859-50...	\$1,043,965,928	36
Assets of the State being her interest in public works.....	35,357,469	82
Of this sum \$10,057,884 65 was productive, yielding an annual		
dividend of.....	631,775	08
The receipts of revenue at that time amounted to.....	4,306,671	63
And the disbursements.....	4,222,449	65

"1886."

Values of property, assessed for taxation, as shown by the Auditor's report of 1886.....	\$340,760,906	23
Assets of the State being her interest in the Richmond and Fredericksburg, the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad, bonds		

held by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, and a few minor items aggregating.....	2,246,898	75
Receipts of revenue.....	2,773,457	22
And the disbursements.....	2,755,635	87

The commission's first statement was as follows:

Revenue 1886.....	\$2,770,000
Expenses of government, exclusive of interest.....	1,914,000
	856,000
Arrearages of public schools and literary institutions.....	200,000
Taxes paid in coupons and recoverable short collections.....	150,000
Charge for reassessment of lands.....	10,000
Savings which ought to be effected in aid to disabled soldiers at least...	10,000
	1,286,000
Consols, \$14,284,000 at 4 per cent.....	569,200
Ten-forties, \$7,393,000 at 3 per cent.....	221,790
Unfunded, \$3,080,290 at 2½ per cent.....	77,000
Riddlebergers, \$3,140,900 at 3 per cent.....	94,227
Interest on principal.....	962,217
Arrears to be funded—tax coupons, \$4,361,869 at 3 per cent.....	130,854
Coupons on unfunded, \$2,325,028 at 2½ per cent.....	58,125
	1,151,196
Deduct interest on \$581,000 held by the U. S. government, 3 per cent...	16,430
	1,135,766
Surplus.....	150,234

The committee's reply.

To this memorandum your committee replied by stating in a communication formally addressed to the Commission, that this joint committee could not hope for a settlement as long as the Commission reject, as it appeared it had, our estimate of available revenues for the payment of interest, which we held to be \$660,000 approximately.

The Commission then submitted a second proposition containing certain items, which they deemed extravagant, and without stating the principal, proposed a payment of \$900,000 annual interest.

Your committee replied, after noticing the references made to the extravagant items named by the Commission, proposing a negotiation upon terms embracing all the bonds held by the State, which with all other outstanding bonds would make an annual expenditure for interest, of \$725,000 approximately.

Third Proposition Submitted by the Commission of the Council of Foreign Bondholders.

Consols of 1871.....	\$14,230,000	100 per cent.	\$14,230,000
Coupons to July 1st, 1887.....	\$ 3,500,000		
Less tendered, say.....	125,000		
		\$ 3,375,000	
Retire by cash payment 40 per cent	1,350,000		
To be funded at 80 per cent.....	\$ 2,025,000	80 per cent.	1,620,000
Ten-forties of 1879.....	\$ 7,390,000	100 per cent.	7,390,000
Coupons to July 1st, 1887.....	\$ 835,000		
Less tendered, say.....	35,000		
		800,000	
Retire by cash payment, 40 per cent.....	320,000		
To be funded at 70 per cent.....	\$ 480,000	70 per cent.	336,000
Interest on registered consols and ten-forties	32,000	70 per cent.	22,400
Total new secured debt.....			\$23,598,400
Unfunded in hands of public, say	\$ 3,080,000		
Less, held by United States government.....	581,800		
		\$ 2,498,200	69 per cent. 1,723,758
Interest on above.....	\$ 2,260,000		
Less interest on bonds held by United States,	718,000		
		1,542,000	
Of which, say 90 per cent., at 63 per cent.....	\$ 1,387,800	63 per cent.	874,314
And, say 10 per cent., at 50 per cent.....	\$ 154,200	50 per cent.	77,100
			\$26,273,572
Of which it may be anticipated not more than 90 per cent. will be funded; deduct, therefore			\$ 2,626,667
			\$23,646,905
Riddleberger bonds in the hands of the public.....			3,241,000
			\$26,887,905
Requiring at 3 per cent., \$806,730.			

Reply of Committee to Third Proposition.

To this proposition, your committee replied that they were willing to continue negotiations upon a basis of a principal of \$25,000,000, which must include all bonds held by the State—bonds to run 50 years at 3 per cent. per annum, redeemable in 10 years at the pleasure of the State.

Memorandum—Last Proposition.

1. That the interest accruing from July 1, 1887, on the consol bonds, be reduced to 3 per cent. per annum during the whole period of their currency.
2. That the interest accruing from July 1, 1887, on the ten-forty bonds, be reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum during the whole period of their currency.
3. That the overdue coupons on the consol and ten-forty bonds up to July 1, 1887, inclusive, be discharged as to such part thereof as the available resources of the State are sufficient to provide in cash at the rate of 50 cents on the dollar, and the remainder to be funded at 75 per cent. of the face value into new secured bonds bearing 3 per cent. interest during the whole period of their currency, and to run for a period to be arranged.
4. That the principal of the new bonds and of the consols and ten-forties, be redeemable at the option of the State either by purchase or drawings by ballot, and in the latter case—
 - (a.) As to the 3 per cent. bonds, by payment of 75 per cent. of their face value.
 - (b.) As to the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds, by payment of 63 per cent. of their face value.
5. That after the expiration of five years, an accumulative sinking fund of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, to be increased after a further period of five years to 1 per cent. per annum, on the amount of consols, ten-forties, and new bonds be provided for redemption by drawings at 75 and 63 per cent., respectively, as above mentioned.
6. That the arrear interest on the unfunded debt from 1885 up to July 1, 1887, inclusive, be funded under the Riddleberger act at the rate of 50 cents on the dollar.
7. It is desirable, as well in the interests of the State as of the bondholders, that the bonds held by the commissioners of the sinking fund and by the board of public works be cancelled.
8. By the above proposal, the tax-receivable coupon bondholders would immediately on redemption (even assuming that the whole of the overdue coupons were funded into new bonds and no part discharged by a cash payment of 50 cents on the dollar), absolutely surrender the capital sum of upwards of \$8,000,000, and pending redemption, would surrender a sum of upwards of \$400,000 per annum in interest, as compared with the amount now payable under the terms of the bonds, without reckoning in any way the increased rates payable on the ten-forty bonds from January 1, 1889. The total capital of the whole debt to be provided for by the State would thus be brought to about \$23,000,000, or \$2,000,000 below the limit of \$25,000,000 required by the terms of the resolution of the joint committee of the 9th of May, if the bonds held by the sinking fund and board of public works be cancelled.
9. The State may, by re-establishing her credit, confidently look to being able, after a very few years, to raise a new loan, if desiring to do so, sufficient to redeem the 3 per cent. and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds at the reduced rates, on terms which, from a financial point of view, will give a further benefit to the State.
10. The details for carrying out this arrangement, if accepted, will be the subject of discussion and negotiation with the joint committee, with every desire on our part to meet in every possible way the legitimate requirements of the State, whilst conserving the bondholders' interest.

EDWARD THORNTON,
S. N. BRAITHWAITE.

RICHMOND, May 11, 1887.

The Last Proposition of the Commission Tabulated from the Preceding Memorandum.

Consols.....	\$14,230,000
Coupons and interest on consols and ten-forties.....	4,424,000
Less 25 per cent.....	1,106,000
	3,318,000
	17,548,000
Ten-forties	7,390,000
Other securities to be funded in Riddlebergers.....	2,950,000
Riddlebergers in hands of public and literary fund.....	4,320,000
	7,270,000
	\$32,208,000
Interest on \$24,994,450 00 at 3 per cent.....	749,833 50
Interest on \$7,390,000 at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.....	184,750 00
	\$934,583 50

RICHMOND, VA., MAY 12, 1887.

Sir ED'D THORNTON, G. C. B.,

Chairman Commission Council Foreign Bondholders:

DEAR SIR:

This sub-committee representing the committee on the part of the State of Virginia, was directed by said committee to advise you gentlemen representing the Council of Foreign Bondholders that it cannot recommend to the General Assembly of Virginia the acceptance of your proposition, as contained in your communication and memorandum of to-day; indeed it is the sense of the joint committee that it is useless to report the proposition: because—

First. Taking the indebtedness of the State inclusive of the bonds held by schools and colleges, and exclusive of the bonds held by the State, other than the literary fund, and after deducting two-thirds, Virginia's portion of the debt due the United States, we find by applying figures to your proposition, that the whole debt of Virginia for which we would have to provide interest annually, in round numbers, to the sum of \$32,000,000, the annual interest upon which, at the rates you name, would equal the sum of \$925,000. We see no way by which the State, in her impoverished condition, can pay such a large annual interest; to attempt to do so, would be worse than folly. In the first place, it would require an increase of taxes, or a reduction of the amount (constitutional minimum), which the State now supplies for the maintenance of her free schools. The committee can do neither; but permit us to say, that if we felt so inclined, a settlement requiring the increase of the one, or the reduction of the other, would be rejected by the people; in the second place, if we neither increased taxes nor reduced our appropriations to free schools, there would almost immediately be a default of the payment of the interest agreed upon; and let us remind you that these defaults—*i. e.*, the State's inability to meet her annually accruing interest, have been the cause of all legislation hostile to her creditors.

Second. We fail to see how you reduce the principal of the debt to \$23,000,000. It is true you offer to allow the State to reduce some of her obligations at an

amount less than their face value, but after this reduction, by no calculation can we reduce the principal below \$26,000,000, or thereabouts. We have conscientiously given you what we honestly believe to be our annual revenues applicable to the payment of interest on our public debt, and again express an earnest desire to make a settlement within our resources, and beg to submit the following as an evidence of that desire:

I and II. On your first two propositions the Joint Committee consented to the rate of interest therein named—to-wit: 3 per cent. on consol bonds and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on ten-forty bonds, on a principal fixed in the fourth proposition of this memorandum.

III. As to the third proposition the Committee could not see their way clear to accept the funding of past due coupons as therein suggested, and resolved to offer in its place that \$500,000 in cash be set aside to redeem past due coupons at the rate of fifty cents on the dollar as soon as that sum can be realized from revenues or other sources, and that all coupons maturing up to and including July 1, 1887, be redeemed at 50 cents on the dollar, or funded into Riddleberger bonds at the rate of 50 cents on the dollar, at the pleasure of the State.

IV. That the principal of the consol bonds be reduced immediately to 75 cents on the dollar, and that of the ten-forties to 63 cents on the dollar; that such reduced principal of the consols bear interest from July 1, 1887, at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum, and that of the ten-forties at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, and that the same shall be evidenced by stamping in plain characters said reduced amounts on the bonds and coupons, respectively, as they now exist.

V. There will be no difficulty in arranging the sinking fund as suggested by you.

VI. That all other outstanding bonds be funded under the Riddleberger bill including interest from 1885 to July 1, 1887, at 50 cents on the dollar.

VII. That the bonds held by the Sinking Fund Commissioners either be cancelled or exchanged for the bonds to be funded under this agreement in Riddleberger bonds.

VIII. This settlement by our calculation barely brings the debt within our revenues available for the payment of annual interest ascertained by the closest collection of taxes, and the most economical administration of our government. We are satisfied that a settlement made upon a basis that would not come within these conditions, could not be carried through the legislature or ratified by the people of this State.

The details for carrying into effect a settlement upon this basis, will be the subject of negotiation between us.

We will thank you to furnish us with a reply as early as possible.

Yours respectfully,

J. H. H. FIGGAT,
H. H. DOWNING,
Sub-Committee.

<i>Copy of Joint Committee to the last proposition tabulated from the preceding memorandum.</i>	
consols.....	\$10,672,000
coupons and interest on coupons and ten-forties.....	\$4,424,000
less tendered.....	164,000
	<hr/>
	\$4,260,000
less.....	1,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$3,260,000
less one-half.....	1,630,000
other securities to be funded in Riddlebergers.....	2,950,000
Riddlebergers in hands of public and literary fund.....	4,320,000
	<hr/>
	\$19,572,000
ten-forties.....	4,655,700
	<hr/>
	\$24,227,700
Interest on \$19,572,000, at three per centum.....	\$587,160
Interest on \$4,655,700, at two and a-half per centum.....	116,392
	<hr/>
	\$703,552

Final Communication.

RICHMOND, MAY, 1887.

DEAR SIR:

We have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter communicating the solution of the joint committee definitely declining the proposal which we made on the 11th instant on behalf of the English Bondholders, and we are in consequence instructed to inform you that the holders of the consol and ten-forty bonds formally withdraw the offer made by the resolution of the public meeting held in London on the 24th September last, to entertain a compromise based upon the present taxation and available revenue of the State after providing for the constitutional appropriations for government, schools, and other public expenditure, and claim their full rights as established by law.

We are dear sir,

Yours faithfully,

EDW'D THORNTON,
S. N. BRAITHWAITE.

MR. CHAS. E. STUART.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES E. STUART, *Chairman.*
 JOHN E. MASSEY,
 J. N. STUBBS,
 W. C. WICKHAM,
 WM. F. RHEA,
 J. H. H. FIGGAT,
 JAS. BARBOUR,
 H. R. POLLARD,
 H. H. DOWNING,
 JAS. H. DARST.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT.

In pursuance of the following joint resolution:

Whereas the recent accredited agents of the foreign bondholders (Sir Edward Thornton and S. N. Braithwaite) have a circular headed "Virginia State Debt" now being circulated in Richmond, and also made public in Richmond papers this morning, in which circular there appears statements at variance with the final report of the joint committee made to the General Assembly; and whereas this circular is calculated to make false impressions and produce a controversy on facts which really occurred in the conference between the legislative committee and the agents of the foreign bondholders;

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Delegates concurring), That the joint committee appointed to confer with the foreign bondholders, be instructed to examine the circular headed "Virginia State Debt," and report whether this circular be true, and state definitely and accurately what the final proposition was tendered by the bondholders made. The report is to be made from the record of proceedings of the joint conference and not in any way to have further official intercourse with the agents of the bondholders—

Your committee begs leave to say that, in the discharge of its duty of making a report to the legislature of Virginia of the several propositions made to and by the commission representing the council of foreign bondholders, it reported the exact language and figures of the commission, in order that no erroneous impressions would be created thereby; and it was loth to believe that the statement published in the morning papers, purporting to be the *complete* proposition made to the legislative committee by the representatives of the council of foreign bondholders, was made or published without the consent or knowledge of Sir Edward Thornton and S. N. Braithwaite, English accredited agents of that body. But this committee can no longer doubt that which it was so unwilling to believe, for it has secured a copy of the circular which gives only a portion of the final proposition tendered by the representatives of the council of foreign bondholders, and yet declares it to be the "final proposition of the English bondholders," signed by Sir Edward Thornton and S. N. Braithwaite over their own sign manual.

This committee knows not for what purpose a partial statement of the English bondholders' proposal was published in this morning's paper, and circulated in hand-bills; but we say the statement is misleading and incorrect—misleading in cause from it could be inferred that the only annual revenue required by Virginia to pay the interest on her public debt would be \$706,231; incorrect because it fails to state the principal of the debt at the time of redemption at \$17,692,831, when, in fact, from the figures of the representatives themselves in the conference, the principal

the time of redemption would amount to about \$25,000,000, (see their reply of — day of May, 1887, to the sub-committee), whilst the annual interest required of the State would be \$922,538.

These differences result from the omission to include, on the part of the English commissioners in their published statement, all Riddleberger bonds in the hands of the public and those held by the literary fund, and all outstanding peeler bonds held unfunded, which amount to \$7,237,773.42, exclusive of the bonds held by the commissioners of the sinking fund, board of public works, and those held by the United States.

To show how inaccurate and misleading the partial statement is, in contrast with it, we present below the correct result of the final proposition made to this committee:

Statement taken from circular signed by Messrs. Thornton and Brithwaite.

PRESENT AMOUNTS.		LOANS AND RATES OF REDEMPTION UNDER PROPOSALS.		AMOUNTS TO BE PROVIDED BY THE STATE UNDER THE PROPOSAL.	
Principal.	Annual Interest.			Annual Interest.	Principal payable on redemption.
\$14,230,321	6 per ct. 3, 4, & 5 per cent. average- ing $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.	\$853,819 Consols 1871 redeemable at 75 per cent.....	3 per ct.	\$426,906	\$10,672,741
7,393,000	314,203	Ten-forties 1879 redeemable at 63 per cent.....	$2\frac{1}{2}$ per ct.	184,825	4,657,590
4,424,000		Over due coupons and interest on registered bonds—less, say, \$224,000 face value coupons tendered for taxes—reduced on funding (at 75 to \$3,150,000 which amount would be redeem- able (at 75 at option of State.	3 per ct.	94,500	2,362,500
\$26,047,321		\$1,168,022		\$706,231	\$17,692,831
			Offered to be surrendered to the State.....	461,791	\$354,490
				\$1,168,022	\$26,047,321

Result of Final Proposal of English Bondholders.

PRESENT AMOUNTS.			LOANS AND RATES OF REDEMPTION UNDER PROPOSAL.			AMOUNTS TO BE PROVIDED BY THE STATE UNDER THE PROPOSAL.		
Principal.	Percentage.	Annual Interest.						Principal payable on redemption.
\$14,230,321	6 per ct.	\$853,819	Consols redeemed at 75 per cent.....		3 per ct.	\$423,908	\$10,672,741	
7,388,000	4½ p. c. av.	313,990	Ten-forties 1879 redeemed at 63 per cent.....		2½ per ct.	184,700	4,654,440	
4,391,496	.....	.....	{ Overage coupons—less say \$224,000 face value coupons tendered for taxes—reduced on funding to \$3,125,622, which amount would be redeemable at 75 per cent, at option of State.)		3 per ct.	93,748	2,344,967	
\$21,009,817		\$1,167,899	Peelers and interest thereon.....				\$705,377	\$17,672,148
758,452	3 per ct.		Old unfunded bonds and interest thereon.....				22,753	758,452
12,139,287	3 per ct.		Ridleberger bonds in hands of public and literary fund.....				64,778	2,150,287
14,320,032	3 per ct.						129,600	1,320,032
							\$922,508	\$24,900,919

a This does not include the bonds or interest thereon held by the United States.

b Bonds held by sinking fund commissioners and board of public works not included.

Your committee would have unhesitatingly accepted such a proposition as that suggested in the circular, had it represented the whole debt, and had the commissioners been authorized to speak for all classes of the debt.

CHARLES E. STUART,
Chairman.





51.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

REPUBLICAN
STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PETERSBURG, VA., November 4, 1887.

DEAR SIR:

It is well understood that the Democratic managers mean to resort to any and every *device* whereby to secure the returns for their candidates, especially in close counties; therefore I urge that you be in attendance on the County Board of Canvassers, at the Clerk's office of the county, Thursday, the 10th day of November, and have with you a good lawyer—to see that the returns are canvassed and made up in conformity with the law.

In case there has been any fraud or irregularity at any precinct, that can be reasonably established, whereby the election is turned against you and the returns awarded to the Democratic candidate, or in case the Board of County Canvassers throw out the returns from any precinct, by which your competitor is given the certificate of election—then in either case, cause your lawyer to prepare, at once, a notice of contest, and serve same on your competitor—and proceed diligently according to law, to get up your case and have it ready to go before the House of Delegates on the very first day of the session of the Legislature.

Meanwhile please advise me of the case, and give me the grounds of contest.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM MAHONE,
Chairman.

REPUBLICAN
STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PETERSBURG, VA., September 26th, 1887.

DEAR MR. MORTON:

Yours of the 23rd instant is received.

I am sorry that any of our Republican friends should be dissatisfied with the action of the Republican Convention which met at Jetersville on the day of September.

That Convention was composed of Delegates selected by and from the body of the people. The Republican voters of each precinct in the counties assembled at their respective polling places on the same day and at the same hour—and thus the Republican voters of the two counties were left free to meet and to select their own delegate.

The Convention was fully attended, and as I am advised by Messrs. Gills and Wilson, respectively, Chairmen of the Party in Amelia and Nottoway, it was fairly conducted.

W. H. Ash was nominated and his nomination made unanimous. No grounds of exception to such action of the Convention have been submitted to this Committee.

In view, therefore, of these facts, W. H. Ash is by this Committee recognized as the fairly authorized candidate of the Republican party for the House of Delegates from the counties of Amelia and Nottoway, and all true Republicans ought to give him an active and hearty support.

Yours truly,

WM. MAHONE,
Chairman State Executive Committee.

J. M. MORTON, Esq.,

Burkeville, Va.

REPUBLICAN
STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PETERSBURG, VA., 5th October, 1887.

The matter of the Republican Convention which assembled at Cumberland Court-house on the 29th day of August, 1887, to nominate a candidate to represent the 30th Senatorial District, composed of the counties of Amelia, Cumberland and Prince Edward, in the Senate of Virginia, having been brought to the attention of this Committee—this is to say:

I. That it appears to the satisfaction of this Committee that there is no warrant for interposing any exceptions to the conclusion reached by that Convention. That whatever objection may have been taken to some of the preliminary proceedings of the Convention, the fact remains that N. M. Griggs, of Prince Edward, received a majority of the votes cast by the undisputed delegates of the Convention.

II. That N. M. Griggs, in the judgment of the Committee, is the regular candidate and nominee of the Republican party for the 30th Senatorial District, and is entitled to the open, active and earnest support of every *true* Republican in the counties of Amelia, Cumberland and Prince Edward, and this Committee urges that he be given such support.

WM. MAHONE,
Chairman State Executive Committee.





REPUBLICAN
STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PETERSBURG, VA., 5th October, 1887.

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II. That N. M. Griggs, in the judgment of the Committee, is the regular candidate and nominee of the Republican party for the 30th Senatorial District, and is entitled to the open, active and earnest support of every *true* Republican in the counties of Amelia, Cumberland and Prince Edward, and this Committee urges that he be given such support.

WM. MAHONE,
Chairman State Executive Committee.

Gregg matter
Drawing of a Co.

REPUBLICAN
STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PETERSBURG, VA., November 3, 1887.

I am this moment advised that it is proposed by the Democratic managers to flood the white counties with a garbled statement of a speech made at Cumberland C. H., by Caesar Perkins, which will represent Perkins as saying, that the negro had his foot on the white man's neck, and the way to keep it there was to vote the Republican ticket.

I am credibly advised that there is not one word of truth in this statement.

I know Caesar Perkins personally and well, and a more conservative, prudent and respectful colored man is not to be found in the State.

Look out for this Democratic fraud and nail it.

WM. MAHONE,
Chairman.

30.

— TO THE VOTERS OF —
SINCE WILLIAM, STAFFORD AND KING GEORGE,
— BOTH —
Democrats and Republicans !

Last winter, during the session of Congress, I worked hard to get a bill through Congress, for the purpose of dredging out Aquia Creek, so that large vessels could come up the Creek and carry off to distant ports the large amount of wood, ties, timber, lumber and country produce, by which we all could get a fair price for what we have for sale—for instance \$5 and \$6 for wood, 80 c. to 100 c. for ties, \$15 to \$20 for timber, and other things in proportion, in place of the present prices—wood \$1.50, 35 c. to 40 c. for lumber, 7 to 10 dollars for lumber, &c.

After working hard, I finally got the chairman of the River Harbor Bill to agree to put down \$10,000 to extend and carry on the work. By his request, I called on the Hon. John S. Barbour, and asked him to be so kind as to join the Hon. Wm. Mahone and go before the board and endorse the bill, as it was proposed if they endorsed it, it would be all right. After receiving quite roughy, and saying that he had no time and did not want to be annoyed—although it was not five minutes' walk from where he was—he finally promised to go to Gen. Mahone's room and meet him and go before the committee. I immediately went to Gen. Mahone's room and reported to Capt. Rogers that the Hon. John S. Barbour had promised to meet and go with Gen. Mahone to endorse the bill. After waiting some time, and he failing to keep his promise, I gave the papers to the Hon. Wm. Mahone, who immediately carried them in and endorsed them, and they were placed on the bill appropriating ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) for the dredging of AQUIA CREEK.

Now I would ask the voters, which of these two men, the Hon. John S. Barbour or the Hon. Wm. Mahone, was their friend, and which of them was their enemy? If Mr. Barbour and his Democratic friends had not killed the River Harbor Bill, you would have had that \$10,000 to spend up and down that Creek this last season, and would now be enjoying advanced prices on your wood, ties, timber, &c., instead of ruinous prices you are now selling at—not enough to keep your wives and children from suffering for bread.

As the election is now close at hand, stop like wise men, reflect for a moment, and then vote for—

5 c. and

AQUIA."



THE RIDDLEBERGER DEBT LAW.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

AN ACT

To ascertain and declare Virginia's equitable share of the debt created before and actually existing at the time of the partition of her territory and resources, and to provide for the issuance of bonds covering the same, and the regular and prompt payment of interest thereon.

Approved February 14, 1882.

Whereas to the end which this act comprehends, a full statement of the debt is essential; and whereas the following has been carefully made up from the records of the second auditor's office of the state, it is confidently submitted as presenting a true state of the account between the state and her creditors—the account is as follows:

A STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT OF VIRGINIA.

	Interest.	Principal.
		<i>Principal outstanding at this date.</i>
1861, January 1st.		
Sterling debt bearing 5 per cent. interest.....		\$1,973,000 00
Dollar debt bearing 6 per cent. interest.....		29,533,582 90
Debt guaranteed bearing 6 per cent interest.....		294,130 00
Total principal.....		\$31,800,712 90
	<i>Interest.</i>	
1863, July 1st.		
Past due and uncalled for at this date.....		101,023 63
Maturing at this date, January 1st, 1861.....		944,156 38
Total interest.....		\$1,045,183 01
		<i>Principal July 1st, 1863.</i>
1863, July 1st.		
The state of West Virginia was formally admitted into the Union June 20th, 1863. The property and resources of Virginia, upon which the above debt has been founded, were, by this partition of the old state, reduced, one-third of her territory and one-fifth of her population going to form West Virginia. This and the consequences of war to her and her people made a loss of full \$500,000,000 of property, and her taxable values were reduced from \$723,000,000 to \$336,000,000, and her annual revenues from over \$4,000,000 to \$2,500,000.		
		<i>Principal July 1st, 1863.</i>
1863, July 1st.		
Sterling debt bearing 5 per cent. interest.....		1,973,000 00
Dollar debt bearing 6 per cent. interest.....		29,827,712 90
Bonds issued since January 1st, 1861, in discharge of debts contracted, and appropriations made prior to that date.....		1,340,500 02
Total principal July 1st, 1863		23,141,212 99

1863, July 1st.	Past due January 1st, 1861, and uncalled for.....	1,045,188 01
	Accrued between January 1st, 1861, and July 1st, 1863, inclusive.....	4,909,533 07
	Total interest to July 1st, 1863, inclusive.....	5,954,716 08
1863, July 1st.	Two-thirds of the above debt, principal and interest, to this date is assumed as Virginia's equitable portion, in consideration of the partition of her territory, population, and resources, upon the well established principle that debt in such cases follows territory. Upon that basis, Virginia's portion of the debt of the entire state is—	
	<i>Principal.</i>	
	Two-thirds of \$1,973,000 sterling debt.....	1,315,333 34
	Two-thirds of \$31,168,212 92 dollar debt.....	20,778,808 62
	Total principal, two-thirds, to July, 1863, inclusive.....	
	<i>Interest.</i>	
	Two-thirds of \$5,954,716 08, amount in arrears at that date, inclusive.....	3,969,810 72
	Less amount of interest paid by Virginia since January 1st, 1861, exclusively out of revenues of the present state of Virginia, the territory and resources of West Virginia being inaccessible during that period, and contributing nothing thereto.....	3,662,434 55
	Balance of interest due and unpaid July 1st, 1863, inclusive.....	307,376 17
1871, July 1st.	Principal July 1st, 1863, in sterling bonds as above.....	1,315,333 34
	Principal July 1st, 1863, in dollar bonds as above.....	20,778,808 62
	Less amount of dollar bonds redeemed between July 1st, 1863, and this date.....	3,710,449 67
	Total dollar bonds.....	17,068,358 95
	Total principal...	

STATEMENT—CONTINUED.

Principal.

Interest from July 1st, 1863, to July 1st, 1871, inclusive.

On \$1,315,333 34 sterling bonds at 5 per cent.....	526,133 28
On \$20,778,808 62 dollar bonds at 6 per cent.....	9,973,828 14
<hr/>	
Less amount covering average time of the redemption of the \$3,710,449 67 dollar bonds redeemed.....	445,257 58
Less amount paid in money during that period—July 1 st , 1863, to July 1 st , 1871, inclusive.....	3,594,289 11
<hr/>	

10,499,961 42

To which add balance on account of interest to July 1 st , 1863, as above.....	.....
Total interest to July 1 st , 1871.....	6,767,790 90
<hr/>	

Principal.

Sterling bonds, as above.....	1,315,333 34
Less bonds redeemed between July 1 st , 1871, and this date..	42,175 77
<hr/>	
Total.....	1,273,157 57
Dollar bonds, as above.....	17,068,358 95
Less bonds redeemed between July 1 st , 1871, and this date..	1,498,482 35
<hr/>	
Total.....	15,569,876 60
<hr/>	

Total of both classes of bonds.

Interest from July 1st, 1871, to July 1st, 1879, inclusive.

8 years { On \$1,315,333 34 sterling bonds at 5 per cent.....	526,133 34
On \$17,068,358 95 dollar bonds at 6 per cent.....	7,763,804 28
<hr/>	

16,843,034 17

1882, July 1st.

3 years { Interest on \$1,273,157 57 sterling bonds at 5 per cent..... 180,981 62
 Interest on \$15,569,876 60 dollar bonds at 6 per cent..... 2,802,578 79

Total from July 1st, 1879, to July 1st, 1882.....

Add interest accrued to July 1st, 1871, as above.....

Total.....

Less amount paid between July 1st, 1871, and October 1st, 1881—in money.....

In coupons..... 2,415,973 56
 8,707,615 50

Less amount covering average time of the redemption of the \$1,540,658 12 bonds redeemed.....

Less tax-receivable coupons outstanding October 1st, 1881, and to be paid as part of the floating debt..... 331,800 00

Less tax-receivable coupons maturing in January and July, 1882..... 895,722 00

1,117,724 87

Amount of interest (spacial).

Redeemed and cancelled..... 380,110 02

Total deductions.....

Balance of interest to July 1st, 1882..... 13,848,945 95

Total debt to July 1st, 1882.

Principal, as above.....

Interest, as above..... 4,192,342 98

Total.....

Including bonds held by the literary fund to the amount of \$1,428,245 25, and interest on the same—in arrears July 1st, 1881, \$516,322 19—and interest added from that date to July 1st, 1882, \$85,694 71, making \$602,016 90 included in the above sum of \$4,192,342 98.

Total debt..... 21,035,377 15

And whereas by this account it appears that Virginia owes her creditors, as of the first July, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, including the bonds held by the Literary fund and arrears of interest thereon, cast to such date, twenty-one million, thirty-five thousand, three hundred and seventy seven dollars and fifteen cents; and that she may cause to be issued her own bonds for the same, and provide for the certain payment of interest thereon; that is for her equitable share of the bonds known as consols, and here designated as class A, and whereof there are outstanding fourteen million three hundred and sixty-nine thousand nine hundred and seventy-four dollars and eighty-one cents; and for her equitable share of the bonds known as ten-forties, and here designated as class B, and whereof there are outstanding eight million five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred dollars; and for her equitable share of the bonds known as peeler, and here designated as class C, and whereof there are outstanding two million three hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and five dollars and twelve cents; and for her equitable share of the interest thereon, designated as class D, and whereof there is now in arrears nine hundred and twenty-eight thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven dollars and forty-five cents, and counted to the first of July, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, makes the amount of such interest then to be in arrears, one million, seventy-two thousand five hundred and forty-five dollars and seventy five cents; and for her equitable share of the bonds known as unfunded bonds—dollar and sterling—here designated as class E, and whereof there are now outstanding, computed at two-thirds, three million seven hundred and seventy-three thousand four hundred and ninety-three dollars and sixty-eight cents; and for her equitable share of the interest thereon now in arrears, two million six hundred and thirty-six thousand four hundred and forty-four dollars and thirty-four cents, and counted to the first of July, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, making as of that date (two hundred and twenty-six thousand four hundred and nine dollars and sixty-two cents more) the sum of two million eight hundred and sixty-two thousand eight hundred and fifty-three dollars and ninety-six cents; and here designated as class F; and for her equitable share of the bonds held by the commissioners of the Literary fund, whereof there are one million four hundred and twenty-eight thousand two hundred and forty-five dollars and twenty-five cents; and whereas the rate of interest which any people can safely undertake to pay must be determined by the measure of their productive resources; and whereas these have long been burdened by a rate of taxation which is conceded to be as high as can be endured; and whereas the means of prompt and certain payment should be apparent to the creditor, while the people have assurance for the support of government and the maintenance of their schools, as required by the constitution; and whereas the net revenues of the state remaining and so derived, after providing for the proper and gradual liquidation of the balance of the moneys heretofore diverted from the public free school fund, after liquidating gradually the arrearages to the Literary fund, and leaving some small margin for the immediate and subsequent exigencies, which are, and are likely to be demanded by the public welfare—notably in respect of the humane institutions now inadequate to the proper accommodation of that unfortunate class of every population—do not warrant the assumption of a larger rate of interest than three per centum upon the full amount of Virginia's equitab

share of the debt of the old and entire state, as the same is ascertained and now formally declared by the foregoing account; therefore,

1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia, That the board of commissioners of the sinking fund of the state, be, and they are hereby empowered and directed to create bonds, registered and coupon, to such extent as may be necessary to comply with the provisions of his act.

2. The said bonds shall be dated July first, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, and be payable at the office of the treasurer of the state on the first day of July, nineteen hundred and thirty-two: provided that the state may, at any time and from time to time, after July first, nineteen hundred, redeem any part of the same, principal and interest, at par. In case of such redemption before maturity, the bonds to be paid shall be determined by said board of commissioners, and notice of the bonds so selected to be paid, shall be given in a newspaper published at Richmond, New York, and London, England, when interest from and after ninety days from the date of such publication in London, shall cease upon the bonds so designated to be paid.

3. The form of the bond shall be as follows, to-wit:

The commonwealth of Virginia acknowledges herself indebted to _____ (in the case of a coupon bond to the bearer, and in the case of a registered bond, inserting the name of the person or corporation) in the sum of _____ dollars, which she promises to pay in lawful money of the United States at the office of the treasurer of the state, Richmond, Virginia, on the first day of July, nineteen hundred and thirty-two, with the option of payment at par, principal, and interest, before maturity, at any time after July first, nineteen hundred; and interest at the office of the treasurer of the state, in such lawful money, in the first days of January and July, at the rate of three per centum per annum until paid (according to the tenor of the annexed coupons, in the case of coupon bonds).

In testimony whereof, witness the signature of the treasurer and the counter-signature of the second auditor, hereto affixed according to law.

_____, Treasurer.

_____, Second Auditor.

4. The form of coupon for coupon bonds shall be as follows, to-wit:
No. _____ (of bond).

The commonwealth of Virginia will pay to bearer _____ dollars, in lawful money of the United States, at the office of the treasurer, Richmond, Virginia, on the first day of January and July, alternately—the first coupon to be payable January first eighteen hundred and eighty-three.

_____, Treasurer.

Each coupon to be impressed on the back with its number, in the order of maturity, from one forward.

5. The said board of commissioners are authorized to issue such bonds, in denominations of five hundred and one thousand dollars, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act, each denomination to be of different tint: provided that registered bonds may be issued of any denomination, multiple of one hundred; all registered bonds to be of the same tint; and they are authorized and directed to sue such bonds, registered or coupon, in exchange for the outstanding

evidences of debt hereinbefore enumerated, including the bonds held by the literary fund, as follows, that is to say:

(a) For her equitable share of class A, at the rate of fifty-three per centum; that is to say, fifty-three dollars of the bonds authorized under this act, (principal and accrued interest, at par, from the preceding period of maturity to the date of exchange,) are to be given for every one hundred dollars, face, principal and accrued interest from the preceding semi-annual period of maturity to the date of exchange of such evidences of debt, and for any interest which may be past due and unpaid upon the same, funded bonds issued under this act may be given, dollar for dollar.

(b) For her equitable share of class B, at the rate of sixty per centum, reckoning and accounting for any interest, as provided in the case of class A.

(c) For her equitable share of class C, at the rate of sixty-nine per centum, reckoning any current interest, at the date of exchange, as in the cases of classes A and B, and accounting for the same as provided in class D.

(d) For her equitable share of class D, at the rate of eighty per centum.

(e) For her equitable share of class E, at the rate of sixty-nine per centum, reckoning any current interest, at the date of exchange, as in the cases of classes A, B, and C, and accounting for the same as provided in class F.

(f) For her equitable share of class F, at the rate of sixty-three per centum.

(g) For her equitable share of the bonds of the Literary fund, as in the case of class C; her equitable share of the arrearages of interest—three hundred and seventy-nine thousand two hundred seventy dollars—to be paid in money.

6. For all balances of such indebtedness, constituting West Virginia's share of the old debt, principal and interest, in the settlement of Virginia's equitable share as aforesaid, the said board of sinking fund commissioners shall issue a certificate, as follows:

No. _____.

The commonwealth of Virginia has this day discharged her equitable share of the (registered or coupon, as the case may be) bonds for _____ dollars, held by _____, dated the _____ day of _____, and numbered _____, leaving a balance of _____ dollars, with interest from _____, to be accounted for by the state of West Virginia, without recourse upon this commonwealth.

Done at the capitol of the state of Virginia, this _____ day of _____ eighteen _____.

_____, Second Auditor.
_____, Treasurer.

7. The said board of commissioners are empowered to issue for any fractional part of one hundred dollars of the indebtedness funded under this act, the following certificate:

Fractional Certificate.

Register No. _____.

Transaction No. _____.

This certificate entitles the holder hereof to the sum of _____ dollars fundable at its face in the bonds of the commonwealth of Virginia, authorized by an act approved _____ day of _____, eighteen hundred

and eighty-two, when presented with certificates of like tenor or in conjunction with other evidences of debt fundable under said act in amounts of one hundred dollars and multiples thereof.

Done at the capitol of Virginia, this — day of —, eighteen hundred and eighty —.

—, Second Auditor.

—, Treasurer.

The certificates so issued, shall be registered by the second auditor in a register kept for that specific purpose, giving the date and number of the transaction to which it relates, the amount of the same, and the name of the person or corporation to whom it was issued; and as such certificates are refunded, the same shall be canceled and preserved as herein provided in respect to the evidences of debt refunded.

8. All the bonds and certificates of debt and evidences of past-due and unpaid interest taken in under the provisions of this act, shall be canceled by the treasurer in the presence of the board of commissioners of the sinking fund as the same are acquired, and by the treasurer the same shall be carefully preserved until such time as the General Assembly may otherwise direct. A schedule of the bonds, certificates and other evidences of debt so canceled, from time to time, shall be certified by said board and filed with the treasurer for preservation.

9. All the coupons and registered bonds and fractional certificates issued under this act, shall be separately registered by the second auditor in books kept for the specific purpose; and in each case giving the date, number and amount of the obligations issued, and the name of the person or corporation to whom issued, and the date, number, amount and description of the bond, bonds or indebtedness surrendered.

10. The plates from which the bonds and fractional certificates authorized by this act, are printed, shall be the property of the commonwealth, and shall remain in the keeping of the said board of commissioners of the sinking fund.

11. In the year eighteen hundred and ninety, and annually thereafter until all the bonds issued under and by authority of this act are paid, there shall be set apart of the revenue collected from the property of the state each year, two and one-quarter per centum upon the bonds at the time outstanding, which shall be paid into the treasury to the credit of the sinking fund; and the commissioners of the said sinking fund shall, annually or oftener, apply the same to the redemption or purchase (at a rate not above par) of the bonds issued under this act, and the bonds so redeemed shall be canceled by the said board, and the same registered by the second auditor in a book to be kept for the purpose, giving the number, the date of issue, the character, the amount, and the owner at the time of purchase of the bonds so redeemed and canceled; and in case no such purchase of bonds can be made, then the amount which can be redeemed shall be called in by lot, as provided in section two of this act.

12. Executors, administrators and others acting as fiduciaries, may exchange any state bonds held by them as provided, for bonds issued under this act, when so authorized by the court having jurisdiction in the premises, and the same, when so made, shall be considered a lawful investment.

13. The treasurer of the commonwealth is authorized and directed to pay the interest on the bonds issued under this act, as the same shall

become due and payable, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

14. All necessary expenses incurred in the execution of this act, shall be paid out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, on the warrants of the auditor of public accounts drawn upon the treasurer, on the order of the board of sinking fund commissioners.

15. That from and after the passage of this act, no bonds, certificates, or other evidences of indebtedness, shall be issued for any portion of the debt of this state, nor shall any interest be paid upon any part or portion of said debt, except as hereinbefore provided.

16. This act shall be in force from its passage.

Number 11.

THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE,

23 WEST TWENTY-THIRD STREET, NEW YORK.



THE VITAL QUESTION.

SHALL AMERICAN INDUSTRIES BE ABANDONED, AND
AMERICAN MARKETS BE SURRENDERED?

IT is proposed by the advocates of free trade to reduce the revenue of the Government one hundred million dollars, by lowering the barriers between the cheap labor of Europe and the well-paid labor of the United States. Labor has made America, and owns it. Any changes in our fiscal policy must be made with a view to protecting and stimulating the labor of this country. The removal of one hundred millions of customs duties would have the opposite effect. It cannot be done without reducing the wages of labor to the low level of foreign wages, and without the destruction of flourishing industries, which now give plenty and comfort to millions of households. *It would make the three millions of men now employed in manufactures competing producers instead of buyers of food, and thus bring ruin upon our farmers.*

The people must decide how this reduction of revenue shall be made. The American policy of protection must either be sustained or abolished. There can be no compromise. A part of the protected labor of the country cannot be selected for destruction, and a part left. The policy which has promoted our metal industries, and given us cheap iron and steel, and that has established textile mills

and given us cheap clothing, has likewise developed our mines and increased our flocks. It has also, in the words of Jefferson, *placed the manufacturer by the side of our farmers, and given them the incalculable benefits of home markets.*

TARIFF, OR WAR TAXES?

The real question the country has to face is: Shall the revenue be reduced by lowering the license which foreigners have to pay for the privilege of American markets, *or shall it be reduced by abolishing internal taxes, which originated in war, and have never been levied in this country except for war purposes?*

Free-traders demand that \$100,000,000 revenue shall come off the customs duties on "necessities." How is this reduction to be distributed?

FREE RAW MATERIALS.

First. They demand "free raw materials." What are these articles? How much will the revenue be reduced? How will the removal of duties now imposed affect American labor? These are fair questions, and must be answered fairly. The chief items on the list of raw materials are flax, flax-seed, wool, coal and iron ore. Take every dollar of the present duty off these articles, and you reduce the revenue less than \$10,000,000.

In many States the flax and kindred industries are of vast importance. To *destroy our wool industry, by admitting wool free, would materially lessen the income of over one million American farmers.* In five years it would destroy the sheep industry of the United States, which now yields 300,000,000 pounds of wool, and, by diminishing the number of sheep, it would increase the price of mutton as a food.

Transfer the mining of coal to Nova Scotia, and of iron ore to Spain and Cuba, and hundreds of thousands of American miners would be compelled to crowd into other occupations or starve.

CRUDE MANUFACTURES.

Second. The customs duties would also have to be removed from crude manufactures. What are these articles? How much will the revenue be reduced? How will the removal of these duties affect American labor?

The list includes many chemical products, pig-iron, scrap-iron, salt, lumber and a number of minor articles required for advanced manufactures. The revenue thus taken off would be less than

\$8,000,000. If all raw materials and all crude manufactures were put on the free list, as proposed, the total reduction of revenue would be less than \$18,000,000.

Under a protective tariff our chemical industries have flourished, and the number employed has increased from 6,000 in 1860, to probably 40,000 in 1887. In this time every product has been cheapened. Under the protective tariff, the production of pig-iron has increased over six-fold. *The cost to the consumer has steadily declined.* To put pig-iron on the free list would deprive of employment vast numbers of the half million people engaged in our metal industries, and lower the wages of those remaining to the level of the foreign wages.

Once in the history of the country—1808 to 1813—we tried free salt, with most ruinous results. The works were abandoned, foreign prices were advanced, and when the war of 1812 broke out the foreign supply was cut off altogether.

In 1860 we produced 13,000,000 bushels of salt, and the price was eighteen cents per bushel. We now produce 40,000,000 bushels, and the price is less than half what it was at the beginning of the protective period.

FREE TRADE AT LAST.

But after putting raw materials and crude manufactures on the free list, and ruining industries which distribute *hundreds of millions of dollars among our working-people*, for the sake of reducing the duties \$18,000,000, the tariff reformers must get rid of \$82,000,000 more revenue in some other way. How is this to be done?

Experience has shown that revenues are not reduced by cutting down tariff duties. As the barriers against an influx of foreign products are lowered, importations and revenues increase. Proof of this is found in our experience under the tariff reductions of 1883. The only sure way to reduce tariff revenues is to place imported articles on the free list, *which is really the aim* of those who now so vigorously assail our protective policy from the ambush of a Treasury surplus.

Will they strike down the woolen industry? The wool manufacturers of the United States have invested more than a hundred millions of dollars, give employment to thousands of operatives, among whom they annually distribute in wages more than twenty-five millions of dollars, and are the *only consumers of the domestic wool clip*, for which they pay our farmers about \$60,000,000 every year.

Will the blow, then, fall on the silk manufacturers, who employ a capital exceeding \$25,000,000, and pay annually more than fifteen millions of dollars to more than 30,000 operatives? American silks made and used in this country last year, *kept at home among our own people more than thirty millions of dollars*, which, but for protection, would have been sent to Europe for foreign silks.

Or shall the steel and iron industries—the most important of all our manufactures—be paralyzed? When the country depended on England for axes, mechanical tools, cutlery, and the numberless necessities of the shop, the farm and the household, prices were double those now ruling, while the articles supplied were vastly inferior. Shall the hundreds of millions of dollars now invested in these industries remain unproductive, and the army of workmen now employed stand idle until necessity forces them to accept the low wages paid to European laborers—a contingency against which our tariff is the only barrier?

But upon all importations of woolens, silks, iron and steel, in 1886, we collected less than \$56,000,000 revenue. In order, therefore, to make up the sum of \$82,000,000 required to be taken from the duties on manufactured articles, it will be necessary to reduce the duties to the extent of more than \$26,000,000 on other protected industries.

In the same year, 1886, there was collected about \$25,000,000 from cotton manufactures, earthenware and china, glass and glassware, leather and manufactures of leather, rice, live animals, barley, hay and hops.

Shall protection on all these articles be removed, with the resulting embarrassment to those now employed in their production, at the demand of *a free trade propaganda* which makes the presence of a surplus in the Treasury the pretext for transferring the *very life-blood of American industries* to men beyond the sea, jealous of our growing strength, envious of our accumulating wealth, and chagrined at our prowess and independence?

Shall these enemies of American enterprise and progress succeed in their efforts to wreck our industries, *throw hundreds of thousands of our workingmen out of employment*, and reduce the earnings of those who can obtain work to the dead level of European wages?

THE FRUITS OF PROTECTION.

The wealth of the United States in 1860 was sixteen thousand million dollars, one-half of which was destroyed during the

Civil War. In June, 1887, our wealth touched the imperial figures of sixty thousand millions, earning seven millions each day. In 1860 the wealth of the United States was \$415 per capita; in 1887, \$1,000 per capita. In these years of protection *the United States has earned over one-half of the sum added to the world's wealth during that time.* We nearly equal Great Britain in production of iron, and excel her in the production of steel. In 1860 manufactures in the United States amounted to \$1,800,000,000; in 1887 to \$7,000,000,000. Our total industries now amount to \$11,000,000,000. The Western States manufactured nearly as much in 1887 as the whole country in 1860. The Southern States alone now make 10 per cent. more pig-iron than was made in the United States in 1860. The annual product of the United States exceeds that of England by more than one-half, and our trade is double that of England. England has increased her commerce less than six times since 1860; the United States has increased her commerce more than six times. While England has increased her export trade four times, the exports of the United States have increased eight times. In these years, *from the third producing power, we have risen to the first.* Up to 1860 the entire exports of the United States were \$9,000,000,000; since then they have amounted to \$14,000,000,000.

Protection has practically created many great industries since 1860—crockery, silk, steel rails, etc.—employing countless laborers, and distributing thousands of millions of money among our people. From no steel rails produced in 1867, we have risen to 1,764,000 tons produced in 1886, cheapening the cost of rails, enabling us to increase our railroads from 30,000 miles to 135,000, and *reducing cost of transportation to less than half what it is in England.* We have now more miles of railroad than all Europe, with rolling-stock worth nine times the merchant marine of England, and our inland trade is twenty times greater than her foreign commerce.

Protection, by creating home markets, has increased the value of our farms from \$6,645,046,007 in 1860, to \$10,192,006,776 in 1880. It has in the same time increased our farm products from \$1,675,724,972 to \$3,726,321,422. Of this vast increase less than one-tenth has been exported, *more than nine-tenths have been consumed at home.* The want of an adequate home market for our wheat has put our wheat growers at the mercy of half-civilized India. The only remedy is to diminish production or increase the home market.

Protection has maintained the high standard of wages in the

United States. They are double those of England. If the American laborer would live as English laborers do, he could save 37 per cent. of his wages. They save only 2 per cent. of their wages. American people should not, and will not, submit to the low standard of wages prevailing in other countries. They decrease the purchasing power and the consuming power of the people. Free trade in England meant cheap bread, and has ruined her farmers. *Free trade in this country means cheap labor, diminished power to consume, low prices for farm products, and in the end ruin for our farmers.*

Protection has increased the savings of our people. There is deposited in the savings-banks of the State of New York alone \$506,000,000, which is \$100,000,000 more than the entire accumulations in the savings-banks of England in four centuries.

Protection has diversified as well as created industries. It has opened new and fruitful fields for the employment of women. It has enriched and educated our people, and qualified them for the duties of freemen. *High wages have made happy homes and good citizens.* There never was on this earth a people so free, so prosperous, and with such splendid possibilities, as the sixty millions that dwell in this Republic. *Shall the protective policy which has accomplished this be overthrown?*

WAR TAXES.

The abolition of internal taxes on tobacco and spirits used in arts and manufactures, etc., with such changes in the present tariff as may be made judiciously in the interest of American labor and industries, would be more than sufficient to satisfy the need for a reduction of revenue. Internal taxes on our own industries serve to perpetuate monopolies and enrich the few. *They are finally paid chiefly by our working-people* in the increased cost of tobacco, medicines, and numberless articles of comfort and luxury in daily use, in the manufacture of which alcohol is indispensable, while tariff duties are chiefly paid by foreigners for the right to sell in our markets. They excite dangerous hostility to our own government among our own people, and deprive the States of an important source of local revenue. They finally encourage the use of inferior and dangerous substitutes for alcohol in the manufacture of all articles in which it is an essential ingredient.

The issue is now squarely presented: Shall we have Free Trade, or shall we reduce the War Taxes?

PERTINENT QUESTIONS BY ROBERT P. PORTER— HAVE NEVER BEEN ANSWERED.

Why an official report recently published by the London *Daily Telegraph* shows that 30 per cent. of the children of British workmen in London go to school every morning without a mouthful of food?

Why halfpenny (one cent) dinners for school children failed in Birmingham and other industrial centres, because the children could not procure money to pay for them?

Why thousands of men are constantly walking the streets of the great industrial centres without food or work?

Why more than 1,000,000 in a population of 35,000,000 are out of work under free trade?

Why does John Bright admit that under free trade the English farmer has lost in recent years \$1,000,000,000?

Why does Joseph Arch admit that in fifteen years 800,000 persons have given up the cultivation of the soil?

Why have the number of persons engaged in the gainful occupation in England decreased in fifteen years from 14,780,875 to 11,187,564?

Why does Mr. Hoyle say that the forty-second report of the Registrar-General shows that "one out of about every seven of our population end their days as paupers?" And, turning to Ireland, why did one in every four of the inhabitants of Connaught (population, 800,000) apply in 1886 for Poor Law Relief?

Why does the reports of the British Postmaster-General show that in 1875 artisans and laborers constituted 22 84-100 per cent. of the depositors in Postal Savings-Banks, and in 1882 only 17 8-10 per cent.?

Why do women working at the forge and anvil the whole week making nails only earn \$2.15?

Why does the current rate of wages for the common laborer rarely exceed 50 cents per day?

Why does Mr. Chamberlain say: "Never before was the misery of the very poor more intense, or the conditions of their daily life more hopeless or more depraved," if free trade has been successful?

Why has the cost of pauperism and crime under free trade increased from \$30,000,000 in 1840 to \$82,000,000 in 1881?

Why did Mr. Cobden receive during his lifetime \$1,000,000 cash (see Morley's *Life of Cobden*) from the manufacturers of Manchester in payment for his services to bring about free trade, if it was a grand principle calculated to benefit the workingmen of all countries, and not a means to cut down the wages of labor and increase the profits of monopolists?

Why does one iron and coal firm in the North of England control the annual output of more tons of iron ore than the total annual output of the entire Lake Superior regions if free trade does not create monopolies?

Why has the number employed in the five principal textile industries declined from 919,817 in 1861 to 883,303 in 1886 in England, and the number so employed doubled in the same period in the United States?

Why has the silk industry practically gone to the wall?

Why has the linen industry declined in England in the last twenty years and increased 300 per cent. in protective Germany?

Why has the number of workmen employed in the iron and steel industries in Germany increased since the return to protection 40 per cent., the wages paid 57 per cent. and the average paid to each workman 17.4 per cent.?

Why are these facts substantially true in many other industries in Germany?

Why has Germany increased her exports of manufactured goods under protection when free-traders said she would ruin her export trade by returning to protection?

Why do the official reports of British consuls inform us that the German Empire has been so benefited by protection that it is in the atmosphere; that it is the strongest of the government's policies?

If protection has been so ruinous to the United States, why have we, in twenty-five years of it, increased our population 20,000,000? Doubled the population of our cities? Increased our coal product from 14,000,000 tons to 100,000,000 tons? Increased our iron-ore output from 900,000 tons to 9,000,000 tons? Increased the number employed in our metal industries from 53,000 to 350,000? Increased the number employed in our wood industries from 130,000 persons to 350,000 persons? The number employed in our woolen industries, from 60,000 to 160,000? Robbed England of 55,000,000 customers in the cotton industry? Employ 35,000 instead of 12,000 in the pottery, stoneware and glass industries? Employ 30,000 instead of 6,000 in the chemical industry? Increased our railway mileage from 30,000 to 130,000 miles? Increased the number of our farms from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000? And their value from \$6,000,000,000 to \$10,000,000,000? Our production of cereals, from 1,230,000,000 bushels to nearly 3,000,000,000 bushels? Our live-stock, from \$1,000,000,000 to more than \$2,000,000,000? Our flocks, from 22,000,000 to upward of 50,000,000? Our wool products, from 60,000,000 pounds to 350,000,000 pounds? The number of persons engaged in gainful occupations, from 12,500,000 to 17,500,000? And our aggregate of wealth to such figures that it makes Americans dizzy to contemplate the totals, and fills the advocates of British free trade with envy, hatred and other wrong passions in trying to explain that which isn't? Why are the wages of the laborer higher here than in any other country? Why do a greater percentage of workingmen own their homes? Why do their children go to school well fed and well clothed? Why is labor respected and the workingman supported in every legitimate endeavor to better his condition? Why do a greater percentage of workmen become masters here than in any other country in the world? Why do the intelligent American wage-earners, as a rule, support protection with their votes, and defeat free-traders like Hurd and Morrison? Because it is the winning cause and the cause of the American people. All of which is respectfully submitted.

Defenders of American Industry.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible.—*Last Annual Address, December, 1796.*

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Every manufacturer encouraged in our country makes part of a market for provisions within ourselves, and saves so much money to the country as must otherwise be exported to pay for the manufactures he supplies.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

An extensive domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil is of the first consequence. It is, of all things, that which most effectually conduces to a flourishing state of agriculture.—*Report on Manufactures, Dec. 5, 1791.*

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

We must now place our manufacturers by the side of the agriculturist. . . . Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort.—*Letter to Benj. Austin, 1816.*

JAMES MADISON.

It will be worthy the just and provident care of Congress to make such further alterations in the tariff as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture which have been recently instituted and extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens.—*Special Message, May 23, 1809.*

JAMES MONROE.

Our manufactures require the systematic and fostering care of the government. . . . Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials.—*First Inaugural Address, March 5, 1817.*

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The great interests of an agricultural, commercial and manufacturing nation are so linked in union together that no permanent cause of prosperity to one of them can operate without extending its influence to the others.—*Fourth Annual Message.*

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

When our manufactures are grown to a certain proportion, as they will under the fostering care of the government, . . . the farmer will find a ready market for his surplus produce, and, what is of almost equal consequence, a certain and cheap supply for all his wants.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Upon the success of our manufactures, as the handmaid of agriculture and commerce, depends in a great measure the independence of our country, and none can feel more sensibly than I do the necessity of encouraging them.—*Letter to Col. Patterson, May 17, 1823.*

♦ S·P·E·E·C·H ♦

— OF —

HON. JOHN S. WISE,
OF VIRGINIA.

At the Sixth Annual Banquet of the Young Republicans of Philadelphia, on
Monday Evening, April 11, 1887, in response to the Toast—
“The Campaign of 1888: Past defeat will spur youthful ambition to greater
and victorious efforts.”

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—

Owing to the absence of the distinguished gentleman who was assigned to the preceding toast, the Hon. John Sherman, of Ohio, my position has been advanced; a circumstance which I regret, not only as placing me in a position of undue prominence, but because I felt that we had much to expect from his presence and counsel at our gathering. The toast assigned to me is one which might well stimulate the Young Republican to his ablest effort; for, besides the natural restlessness we must all feel at the unforeseen accident which placed our party in the position of defeat, the times are so propitious and the omens of the future so encouraging, that there is scarce a feeling of doubt among us of our ability to

restore the Republican party to power in the approaching National contest.

Before I proceed, however, to discuss the present and the future of the Republican party, I trust I may be allowed briefly to notice the remark of our friend who has preceded me (Mr. Warwick), implying that my early education had involved some teaching of hatred or antagonism to the Union.

Permit me to say to the gentleman that such an idea is natural to one whose youth makes him unfamiliar with the circumstances surrounding me in Virginia twenty-six years ago. It is true that Virginia seceded. It is true that, with father and brothers, I fought in an humble way for Virginia in her struggle against the Union, and that in common with my people I cast my lot with the Confederacy. Yet, anomalous as the statement may seem, I was reared in a household where love of the Union was taught as a duty second only to the love of God and my native State. My father, like thousands of other Virginians, yielded to secession only as a last resort ; and, yielding against his conviction, still protested that the true policy of the Southern States, if they had cause for war at all, was to fight in the Union, under the flag. Virginia never sought to secede from the Union in the fierce spirit of antagonism to it which marked the course of some of the other States. Virginians for well nigh a century had been taught to feel that it was their father's house, built by the hands of our best and noblest, and endowed by a splendid gift of Virginia's territory ; that it was their citadel of strength and the ark of their safety. And, while the rush of events bore them onward to taking sides against the Union, and, having so decided, Virginia became the bulwark, the battle-ground, and the backbone of the Confederacy, yet the struggle which preceded her departure was one of agony and doubt as to her true duty ; and the step, when taken, was more in sorrow than in anger. I say all this in no apologetic spirit, because I know that our

people did what they believed was right, and, having decided on their course, were willing to accept its consequences uncomplainingly; but I mention this simply as the announcement of a truth, and as explaining how, now that the vexed questions of the war are forever at rest, I may lay claim to a love of the Union as the result of every teaching of my youth.

I feel, too, that I may speak freely in the presence of my fellow-citizens of Philadelphia; for, besides the ties of Republicanism, I may also rely upon those of blood and kinship. My mother was a Philadelphian; her father, the Hon. John Sergeant, of this city, whose name I bear, was candidate for the Vice-Presidency upon the ticket with Henry Clay when he first announced the doctrines of the American System of Protection—that idea which is to-day the corner-stone of Republican principles.

Under these circumstances I feel confident I shall have your sympathy at the outset, and your indulgence for the crude and undigested presentation I shall make of our party affairs and prospects.

In a post-prandial speech it is impossible to do more than sketch in outline the positions of the two great National parties, or to elaborate any line of policy which ours should pursue, even if so young a Republican as myself were bold enough to attempt advice to the veterans here assembled. I shall content myself, therefore, with a few general observations, and then speak with you of affairs pertaining to the party prospects in my own section. For while such a course is more or less provincial, I think we should all speak of the things we understand best. In the nature of the case, our views of current political events take their color and impress by the locality from which we come. What to you may seem most important, may not make any great impression upon my section, and *vice versa*. At the same time, the things which are operating in favor of our party there, though they be not so potential here, must be cheering to Republicans everywhere;

and the knowledge of what they are will enable our leaders so to frame our general policy as to add to the strength and power of the Republican party in the South, which, in my judgment, is the most promising field for its missionary work.

Speaking of our outlook generally, I feel that I am uttering the sound judgment of the thoughtful of all parties when I say that our prospects of success in the next Presidential election are most flattering. If I were asked to state the one thing which is doing most to restore public confidence in the Republican party of this country and put it back into power, I would answer, unhesitatingly, that our best campaign document in the next contest will be the record of the Democratic party itself.

TWO YEARS OF BLUNDERS.

Two years ago it took possession of the Government. Within that brief period it has not only failed to redeem every pledge it had given, but as to most of them it has positively evidenced its purpose to repudiate them.

It has blundered in every attempt at successful administration, and oftentimes made the Government ridiculous at home and abroad. It has failed in every effort it has made to formulate a platform or a policy upon which its warring and discordant factions could agree. It has permitted, so far as our section is concerned, the defeat of all the leading measures to which it was committed before it was restored to power; and it is to-day torn and lacerated in several States by factional struggles, which will, as I think, inevitably result in turning them over to the Republicans. It has come into its estate like a spendthrift heir, whose only hope of living now lies in escaping, on any pretext, from the reckless promises he scattered right and left while his estate was in expectancy—whose every act of prudence in possession of his property is at the sacrifice of his faith when he was a pauper seeking aid.

Like Prince Hal of old, it finds it highly scandalous to surround the throne with the coventry companions of its days of waiting; but, unlike King Henry, it will find that it cannot get along without them, because they are Democracy, and without them it is nothing. Two years of power yet remain to it, in which, judging by the past, we may look for other blunders and evidences of inefficiency.

BROKEN PROMISES.

In my own State, the Democratic party is decidedly better known, after two years' trial, for the things promised and unperformed, than for any brilliant redemption of pledges.

INTERNAL REVENUE.

For example, the Democratic party presented itself for many years as the champion and advocate of the repeal of the Internal Revenue System. It is an onerous tax; one the method of collecting which is more offensive to the tax-payer than any other tax that can be put upon him. The poor country farmer who sees his neighbor trading off his grain and other products without restraint, feels it to be a great hardship upon him that he cannot dispose of his tobacco in the same way. The poor mountaineer, whose means of transportation are very limited, and whose apple orchard on a cleared patch of mountain-side is worthless to him unless he can distill his fruit before it rots, feels that the complicated machinery and severe penalties of the Revenue Law are great hardships upon him.

These most obnoxious taxes were war taxes, levied originally from necessity; but the time when they were necessary has passed, for we do not need taxes now from both Internal Revenue and Tariff, and our policy is to raise revenue by impost duties, and thus, through the Tariff, protect

our manufacturers. The revenues collected at present yield a surplus, which, until they came into power, caused our friends, the Democrats, a great deal of solicitude. The abolition of these Internal Revenue taxes, at least upon tobacco and fruit brandies, would greatly relieve that surplus ; greatly relieve the people who have to pay them, and greatly relieve the Government ; for it is a tax, the expense of collecting which is heavy. It would be in the direct line of Republican policy, which by a tariff tax accomplishes the double object of revenue and protection. However, although this repeal would, I doubt not, have been effected before now by the Republicans, for the reasons above named, had they remained in power, it had not been in 1884 when the Presidential campaign came on, and denunciation of the Republican party for the continuance of the Internal Revenue taxes, and as responsible for the system of spies, agents and collectors under the law, was a favorite and very effective method of attack among the Democrats.

I recall particularly one doughty Democratic Congressman from Virginia, whose district, lying along the North Carolina line amidst the mountains, was much interested in this repeal of the Internal Revenue Law. At all places and times whenever he spoke, the burden of his speech was denunciation of the "bung suckers" of the Internal Revenue, who, as he insisted, were sent out by the Republican party to harass and torture his constituents. Following this blood-curdling denunciation invariably came a bewitching picture of the peace, security and happiness which would ensue upon Democratic success, when, according to the orator, the Internal Revenue would be repealed. Under this stimulus his constituents elected him along with Mr. Cleveland, by a majority of 2,400 votes in 1884. The sequel, however, was rather disastrous. He had wrought up the imaginations of his constituents, who were not very careful readers of newspapers and statutes, to the belief that the election of Cleveland and the accession of the Democracy to power was *ipso facto* a repeal of the

Internal Revenue Laws. As soon as the news of the election spread abroad, his constituents, taking him literally, conceived that they had a perfect right to begin distilling. Every old still and worm in the mountains was dragged from its hiding-place, and burnished up amidst merry-making and festivities ; the whole horizon was smoky with the busy work of distilling, in the confident assurance that it was all right.

The situation soon became embarrassing to our Congressman ; doubly embarrassing from the fact that not only were these innocent folk to be arrested, but because, having "turned the rascals out," it was not a Republican who was to arrest them, but an Internal Revenue Collector appointed by Mr. Cleveland and himself. The arrests were made, however. The fees for such services are what makes the office of Internal Revenue Collector valuable to Democratic collectors, and enables Democratic Congressmen, in bestowing the office, to reward the faithful.

In due time the Federal Court assembled. A great throng of culprits and a "cloud of witnesses around" made it a busier scene than had ever been witnessed at a previous term of the Court. Fees, fees, fees, were plentiful ; fees for the Democratic Marshal ; fees for the Democratic United States Attorney ; fees for the Democratic posse ; fees for the Democratic Revenue Collector. It was a singularly happy time for all the Democrats present except the prisoners.

Moved by the extraordinary spectacle of so many violators of the Revenue Law, the Judge, a Republican (for thank God they have not yet gotten control of the Judiciary), began to inquire the meaning of so large a criminal docket. It was not long before first one prisoner and then another arose and stated that he had violated the law and engaged in distilling as charged ; but one after another insisted in perfect good faith and earnestness that he believed, from the representations made to him in the Presidential canvass, that by the election of a Democratic President the law was repealed. This statement was so universally made by the accused, and so honestly

persisted in, that it was thought unwise to punish a whole community for a mistake made through ignorance and encouraged by those who should have taught them better, and the offenders were dismissed with a warning that the law had not been repealed and against violating it again.

When the election in 1886 came around, our Congressman was again a Democratic candidate. You may imagine that those good people voted the Democratic ticket again. If you do, you were never more mistaken in your life. It was in vain he sought to explain to his constituents that he had not deceived them. Many looked upon him as the direct author of their arrest. Others held him responsible as having appointed the revenue collector who arrested them. All demanded to know how it was that after having so denounced the Republicans for the Internal Revenue laws, the Democrats had been in power two years and the law was still in force with Democrats carrying it out.

His assurance, which he doubtless gave them in good faith, that he had done all in his power to get the law repealed, only made the matter worse. He was beaten by 3,600 votes in the same district which had elected him two years before by a majority of 2,400, and I am inclined to think that district will remain Republican. His constituents had become sufficiently educated by their bitter experience to learn that his individual views were nothing unless they were in accord with those of the majority of his party, and that the majority of his party were opposed to him upon the repeal of the Internal Revenue laws. They have learned, what you and I know, that the pretence of any Democratic candidate that he favors the repeal of the Internal Revenue, the passage of the Blair Educational Bill, a Protective Tariff or any other measure, is virtually a false pretence in the light of what he does when he goes to Congress; because he at once submits himself to a Democratic caucus, the majority of which he knows to be opposed to every one of these measures, and agrees to be bound by its action, knowing it will force him to violate the

pledges upon all these questions which were made to his constituents at home.

Now, let us see.

In the Presidential election of 1884 there was not, I think, a Democratic candidate for Congress in Virginia, except, perhaps, Mr. Tucker, who was not pledged to a repeal of the Internal Revenue Law.

There was not a Democratic candidate for Congress from Virginia at that election, except Mr. Tucker, who was not pledged to support the Blair Educational Bill.

This Blair Educational Bill is a matter of great concern to us. We have a much larger per cent. of illiteracy than you have. We are very poor and unable to vote State money to educational purposes. We feel that this money would be a God-send to our people, and that it is but right that the Government, after having invested the negroes with freedom and franchise, and imposed upon us the duty of their education, should aid us in the task. This is, perhaps, only a secondary issue with you here, but it is a question of prime importance with us, and no man could be elected to Congress on either ticket in any district of Virginia, in my opinion, if he avowed his opposition to the Blair Educational Bill.

Again; we have Democrats in Virginia who call themselves Tariff Democrats, and run before the people as if, when they went to Congress, they could be Democrats and at the same time help the Tariff cause.

Our people are yearly becoming more and more of Tariff people. Formerly agriculture was our chief dependence, but the change in our system of labor; the construction of cross-country lines of railway, which bring the products of the virgin West to our doors cheaper than we can raise them; and the discovery of vast, inexhaustible and very rich mineral deposits in Virginia of late years, has turned the attention of a great many of our people towards the development of our mineral resources. Looking north to their Pennsylvania neighbors; seeing how similarly blessed with

you we are; beholding the teeming prosperity which protection has brought to you, our people are yearly realizing that they must abandon their old theories and look to a tariff as their true hope if they wish to have your affluence. I can point you out county after county in Virginia inhabited almost exclusively by white people, nearly all of whom were in the Confederate army, and in which, ten years ago, there was not to be found fifty white Republicans, yet which now give handsome Republican majorities under the Tariff influence.

Up to the time the Democracy came into power there was no way of demonstrating to our people that the Democratic party could not, and would not, advocate such measures as the repeal of the Internal Revenue, the passage of the Blair Educational Bill, and a Protective Tariff. Individual Democrats, aspiring to office, would pledge themselves to their support, and there being no responsibility upon the party while it remained in the minority, it was easy to conceal the truth.

But to-day things are changed. The Democratic party, as a party in power, is forced to take ground on all these questions, and it has done so in such a way that no individual aspirant can set up his views as those of his party and deceive the people any longer. Our people have seen their Democratic Representatives go to Washington pretending to favor the repeal of the Internal Revenue Laws, the Blair Educational Bill, the Tariff and the like, and do what? Why the first thing such an one does is to enter a Democratic caucus, knowing that a majority of that caucus is opposed to every one of these measures, and that it will elect a Speaker who is opposed to them. He knows that all legislation in Congress is controlled by and framed by the leading committees. He knows that the Speaker will appoint those committees from the free-trade, anti-repeal of Internal Revenue and anti-Blair Bill members of the House. He knows that those committees will bury in committee-room every measure

of this sort, and that that Speaker will refuse recognition to every one who may seek to call up those measures for consideration. Yet with a full knowledge of all this, these men first pledge themselves to their constituents that they are Tariff men, or Blair Educational men, or repeal of Internal Revenue men, and then pledge themselves to abide by the action of a Democratic caucus, knowing it will nominate and elect a Democratic Speaker opposed to them, and that the action of both caucus and Speaker will annul their pledges to their constituents. Look at the practical operation of all this in Virginia.

Several of our Democratic Congressmen were noisy Tariff men. Several professed enthusiasm for the repeal of the Internal Revenue Law. All of them claimed to be friends of the Blair Educational Bill. Yet, when Congress met, they all voted for Mr. Carlisle, a free-trader, knowing his position, knowing he would appoint committees who would stab to death the measures they professed to advocate before the people, knowing that, with him as Speaker and with the committees he would appoint, none of these measures could succeed. And he did not disappoint them. On the Committee of Ways and Means, the committee having charge of all bills relating to a repeal of the Internal Revenue Laws and Tariff, Mr. Carlisle placed Mr. W. C. P. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, a free-trader, who, instead of advocating a repeal of the Internal Revenue Laws, proclaimed that it was a war tax, and that the war is not yet ended, and will not be until the interest on the war debt and the pensions due the Federal soldiers are all paid, and that it should not be repealed until these are paid. He also advocated a repeal of a number of tariff duties.

This was consistent in Mr. Breckenridge. In order to reduce tariff duties according to the theory of free-trade Democracy, Internal Revenue duties must be kept up. And besides all this, Mr. Breckenridge and Mr. Carlisle and Mr. Morrison represent the large whiskey dealers who are willing

to pay the Internal Revenue taxes for the monopoly they enjoy, and do not want that law repealed, because it will bring too many small dealers in competition with them.

The Blair Educational Bill fared no better. It was committed to the tender mercies of the Judiciary Committee, presided over by Mr. Randolph Tucker, its sworn enemy, and there it died. So of many others.

Now, fellow citizens, with such a record of Democracy, I think you will see that it will be hard for candidates hereafter to claim to be Democrats, and at the same time friends of a repeal of Internal Revenue, or of the tariff, or of the Blair Educational Bill. If a man says "I am a Democrat, and yet a tariff man," or favors repeal of Internal Revenue or the passage of the Blair Educational Bill, he will be told that that is impossible. If he says the party did not kill these measures but the committees, sensible people will ask who appointed the committees. When he admits that Mr. Carlisle appointed the committees, he will be asked who elected Mr. Carlisle. And when he confesses that he did, he will be forced also to confess that his party is opposed to what he pretends to favor; that he is in the minority; and that although he professes to be for the measures, he votes in fact against them in the men he chooses in caucus, and unless he does so must leave his party.

Our people see all this. They realize it; and they are fast abandoning the name of Democracy for the substance of what they want, no matter what is the name of the party.

DISAPPOINTED OFFICE SEEKERS.

Another influence which has operated strongly against the Democracy in our State has been the disappointments attending the disposals of patronage. Mr. Cleveland has shown very little judgment or experience in his selections. He has ignored many of his most useful supporters, and appointed

people in the most capricious way. In one instance he appointed a person to one of the best positions in the State, not because he had any qualifications or fitness, or had done any work for the party, but because he was connected with a preacher in Buffalo who had sustained Cleveland's character when the scandal about him was agitated. You may imagine how several well-qualified applicants who had the strongest political endorsement felt when Mr. Cleveland gave the prize as a vicarious atonement to his Buffalo friend, to a man nobody had thought of.

HYPOCRISY OF CIVIL SERVICE PROFESSIONS.

The pretence that this administration has regarded any of its pledges about Civil Service, so far as Virginia is concerned, is absurd. It has slain Republican office-holders wherever found, with very few exceptions, and has seemed to take particular delight in "bouncing" the appointees of our gallant little Senator Mahone. Of this I have no complaint to make. If they can find it consistent with the honesty of their professions, I am glad to see the work go on. Office-holders, even under one's own party, are, as a class, indifferent party workers. When they hold office under the opposite party, they are worthless utterly. Every time a Republican head rolls into the Democratic basket, I feel that we have another earnest worker set free. Virginia Republicans are accustomed to take care of themselves, and we neither ask from nor show quarter to the Democracy.

NOT OFFICES ENOUGH TO GO AROUND.

The chief source of trouble with the Democrats with us is, that after taking all the offices they have not half enough to go around. Their followers were like Artemus Ward—they were all for the "Old Flag and an Appropriation."

The Virginia Democracy after Cleveland's election reminded me very much of the negroes just after the close of the war. It was said of the darkies that they all expected "forty acres and a mule." I am sure that the average expectation of the Virginia Democrat when he heard of Cleveland's election was not near so modest.

The Freedman's Bureau, seeing that the "contrabands" would not work while waiting for their forty acres and a mule, established several soup houses in our midst, and that thin pea soup which was bountifully supplied to the expectant darkies for some time, "without money and without price," was his nearest realization of his dream of reward. The luck of the Virginia Democrat after all his great expectations was not as general. For some time there was a perfect hegira of the faithful to Washington. The tin-bucket brigade paraded for "soup" and all were enlisted. But verily "Many were called and few were chosen." Where one was lucky, a thousand failed. Where one drew his full rations, a thousand are sitting wearily by the dusty road-side gazing sadly into their empty tins, perhaps concluding reluctantly that, after all, in view of many things that were promised and which have not happened, Democratic triumph is not as great an affair as they expected.

Another thing which has operated against them in local affairs is the utter inefficiency of our State government. I believe they all admit, or at least know, that the present administration was seated by the most bare-faced frauds practiced in the count, by which I was robbed of the returns of election as Governor of Virginia.

The gentleman addressed me as Governor. I have no doubt I am Governor of Virginia, but there is a slight cloud upon my title. I ran splendidly and stopped ahead, but a gentleman astride his uncle's saddle kept on riding after sun-down and never stopped until he had ridden as far as was necessary. Still, I do not care to enter upon the details of that matter, for his "little brief authority" has given the

party who occupies my seat such intense enjoyment that I would not have the heart to dislodge him if I could. Nor do I suppose that any qualm of conscience disturbs those who perpetrated the outrage. It is the imbecility of those they have selected, their unfitness for the position, their inability to manage the difficult problems with which they are confronted, or even to keep the party together, which is causing the thoughtful among them great apprehension and uneasiness.

SOMERSAULT ON COLOR QUESTION.

Another thing which will place them at great disadvantage all through the South is the attitude of the administration upon the question of the colored people. They cannot draw the color line as they have done in the past, and this has been one of their most powerful weapons. Verily, when I contrast their present attitude with that they occupied in our State and all through the South, even as late as 1883-4, I am forced to the reflection that the Democratic party is one whose record and behavior is full of strange contradictions. It cannot be said of it in the language of Hudibras that it

Compounds for sins it is inclined to
By damning those it has no mind to,

for it is a very common thing with our friends, the Democrats, to denounce bitterly the course of its adversaries, and then, unblushingly, do the very thing it has denounced. In passing, I may refer to the course of the Virginia Bourbons in regard to the debt question. Seven years ago, when that question was first agitated, the denunciation of the attitude of the Readjuster by the Bourbon press throughout Virginia was simply outrageous; yet I am sure that in their newspaper literature within the last two years we may find editorials going a bow-shot beyond anything contended for by the Readjusters in the early days of the agitation. Indeed, I have sometimes suspected that the editorials now appearing as leading Democratic doctrine were appropriated bodily, if not in words, from the very articles which they had denounced.

But it was not this thought about their change upon the debt question which prompted my first remark above. I spoke of their very peculiar record upon the question of the colored vote. There is not a man in the South, Democrat or Republican, who has not within the last five years heard Democratic speakers, great and small, put the stress of their opposition to the Republican party upon the point that it was composed mainly of the negro vote. They have presented in every form, from calm persuasive presentation to fiery denunciatory invective, the question whether the white people of the South, the Anglo-Saxon race, could afford to ally themselves with the Republican party, whose leading tenet, as they contended, was the equality of the African race with the Caucasian. They have insisted that the success of Republicanism necessarily involved taking the Government out of the hands of the wealth, the intelligence of the country, and placing it under the control of irresponsible negroes, who were unfit for the exercise of suffrage much less the management of the Government. It was in vain that we pointed out the folly of any such pretension. It was in vain we sought to divert attention from this bug-a-boo and direct it toward the real issues between the parties; for our enemies were cunning enough to know that this play upon race prejudice is one of the strongest and most effective grounds of their strength in the South. Time and again have I stood in the presence of my fellow citizens at home and sought to direct their attention toward issues of tariff; issues of finance or of currency; to discuss with them questions of public education; questions involving the power of the Government as to appropriations for internal improvements; questions upon the repeal of the Internal Revenue Law; questions as to the great cardinal difference in constitutional construction between the two parties, and the like. Oftentimes have I seen an audience half persuaded that the Republican party is right and the Democracy wrong. I would seem to have made a deep impression upon them, until some cunning

adversary, knowing the strength of the race question, would parry all of these issues by admitting that I might be right or might be wrong upon each and every one or all of them, yet insisting that paramount to all these, and of vastly more importance to the people, was the question of the supremacy of the white race. These appeals to prejudice were almost always pointed by the illustration, which was on the tongue of every Democratic speaker, of Frederick Douglas acting as Marshal of the District of Columbia. The audience would be asked whether their white blood did not boil at the spectacle of a negro introducing visitors to the President of the United States, etc., etc., etc. The people were schooled and exhorted to be impatient for the arrival of the day on which they might rebuke, with their votes, a party who would perpetrate upon them and their race so gross an outrage. The appeal was fiercely made and cunningly pressed. It struck home to feelings which were hard of control, and I have but too often felt its power and effectiveness, absurd as it was. We all know how easy it is to convince the judgment, and yet how next to impossible it is to overcome a prejudice. I forbear from recalling the bitterness of the past few years which has raged in my State upon this very score of race prejudice. I forbear to depict the vituperation, the insult, the falsehood, the frauds, the outrages, the bloodshed, the murder, that have found their excuse and justification under the plea that Republicanism meant negro rule, and Democracy the triumph of the white man's party. The story is a sad commentary upon the manhood and civilization of our people, and, alas, too well known to need recital! I would that it were forgotten, and if it were, I would be the last, for the sake of my State and my people, their good name and fame in the future, to revive it.

WHITE MAN'S PARTY.

Yet what do we behold now in the hour of the triumph of the so-called white man's party? One of the earliest acts of

Mr. Cleveland's administration was the selection of a colored man for an important office in the capital of the Nation. He was not a resident of the district in which he was chosen. He was not a man like Douglas, who had acquired a National reputation or was a representative of his race. He was an obscure local politician, selected upon the confession of Mr. Cleveland himself, as an overture to other negroes to vote the Democratic ticket, and placed, against the wishes of the citizens of the District of Columbia, in a position in which they were necessarily brought in daily contact with him. Nay, more, he was placed in a position in which he not only controlled the appointment and work of white men but of white women also, and patronizingly placed the widows of white Democrats alongside of "colored ladies," remarking, as he did so, in a condescending tone, that he was resolved there should be no discrimination against white ladies on account of their color. In this connection I publish the following extract from the *Alexandria Gazette* of December 20, 1886:—

The widow of the late ——— now holds a position as copyist in the office of Matthews, the colored Register of Deeds in this city. She interested ——— in her behalf. He asked Marshal Wilson, of the District of Columbia, to use his influence to get Mrs. ——— an office, and the Marshal complied to the extent of asking Matthews to give her a place among some colored women whom he employs as copyists, and with that request Matthews was kind enough to comply.

Now, if this had been done by a Republican official, what would not have been said by the Democrats?

Well may I say, contemplating the serenity with which it is regarded by the Democrats:—

Oh! he sits high in the peoples' hearts,
And that which would appear offence in us
His countenance, like richest Alchemy,
Converts to virtue and to worthiness.

But this does not complete the record of this white man's party. I pass over the amusing correspondence between Mr.

Cleveland and the United States Senate touching the appointment of this man Matthews. It is interesting, however, as showing that Mr. Cleveland had no other purpose in his selection than to make fair weather with the colored vote; a vote which, as nobody knows better than Mr. Cleveland, if it had been honestly counted, would have defeated his election. The District of Columbia is filled with Democrats in every way qualified to discharge the duties of the office of Register of Wills. It is peculiarly an office which should be given to residents of the District, for, situated as they are, deprived of political power and representation in other ways, it was but fair that they should have had the few offices pertaining to the administration of their own local affairs. Above all this, the demand for local self-government has been a leading tenet of the latter-day Democracy, and the complaint that they have been subjected to the control of imported carpet-baggers has been a leading count in the Democratic indictments against the Republican party. Yet, ignoring all these things, defying them, setting them at naught, Mr. Cleveland has not been content with the appointment of one negro to rule over his supporters, among the "best people" of Washington, but has chosen a second when Matthews was rejected, this time securing a tonsorial artist, from Boston, in the person of the Honorable Mr. Trotter. In what esteem Mr. Trotter is held by his Democratic brethren and sisters may best be inferred from the following extract clipped from the administration organ, the *Washington Post*, of Tuesday March 29, 1887:—

There was a slight improvement in Mr. Trotter's condition yesterday afternoon, his complexion being better and his pulse beating more regularly than for several days. At a late hour last night no further change was perceptible, but his wife and brother-in-law were more hopeful than at any time since their arrival.

About 10 o'clock yesterday morning Mr. Trotter was presented with a beautiful bouquet of exquisite cut flowers, with a dainty card, on which was neatly written, "Compliments of Mrs. Daniel S. Lamont."

It seems that Mr. Trotter was indisposed. It seems that his "complexion" was clouded, not only by nature, but by disease, and rare exotics have been sent to him from the Presidential green-house by the dainty hand of the wife of the President's private secretary in tender solicitude for his welfare. Mr. Trotter doubtless had the good manners and good breeding to call at the White House in person, upon his recovery, and spend a few minutes socially with the ladies who had remembered him in the hour of his sickness. And this is a specimen of the good faith and truthfulness of those who represented the triumph of Democracy as the triumph of the white man's party, and the triumph of Republicanism as the triumph of negro domination.

Apace with these performances, we find the present Governor of Virginia holding his seat upon the false pretence that he received 1,510 majority in the county of Halifax on a return of 3,910 votes for him, when the whole white voting population is but 3,054, and the black voting population is 3,814, and the further false pretence that he received a majority of 630 in the county of Charlotte on a return of 1,653 votes for him, when the whole white voting population is but 1,390, and the black voting population is 2,055, and similar majorities in a number of counties which I will enumerate later on—a pretence as transparent as it is false to every man who knows that in the two counties above named there are really several hundred white Republicans and not fifty blacks who are Democrats; and that the votes returned for him, by which these pretended majorities are manufactured, mount into the thousands over and above the whole white voting population of those counties. In Halifax the returns show 850 more than the whole white, and in Charlotte, 254. Taking their cue from these performances of their leaders, the Democratic editors are beginning to chime in chorus in favor of propitiating the negroes. I quote the following from the State newspaper, the same newspaper which, a few years ago, ridiculing a Republican State Convention, published a picture

representing Republicanism by a white man with a bucket of whitewash whitewashing a negro, saying "Just hold still, my man! A few more applications of this lovely whitewash and the last remaining point of difference between us will be entirely removed"—a paper with some local notoriety as a fierce whooper-up of the "Anglo-Saxon" cry in the past. It now sings in a new key, as follows:—

There was a time in Virginia when it was only necessary for Democratic politicians to draw the color line at the polls to win success. That time has passed. * * * It must be proved to the colored people that the white Democrats of Virginia and of the South are not their enemies. * * * Let the colored almshouses be placed in charge of trustworthy colored people; let their schools be conducted, wherever the colored people wish it, by colored men and women; let the colored people be encouraged to depend upon the best men of their own race to fill the places of honor and trust that are properly within their natural sphere, etc., etc.

RICHMOND STATE, March 9, 1887.

Curiously enough, at that same time that this new-born friendship is arising for the colored voter in certain Democratic quarters, we behold outcroppings of the old spirit here and there.

The telegraph informs us that in Democratic Alabama the views of the orthodox are so strict that a respectable delegation of colored men desiring to pay respect to Senator Sherman while he was visiting Birmingham lately, were denied admission to his hotel in Birmingham; and from Democratic Mississippi we get advices that the white military companies there refuse to participate in the National drill because negro companies are to be admitted. We are not yet advised as to the present condition of Democratic sentiment in Copiah and Danville on the negro question, but in the light of these other changes we may all be prepared to hear at any time that they are now posing as the best and truest friends he has, the gentlest and tenderest of his keepers.

If these current and contradictory facts prove nothing else, they demonstrate at least the wonderful versatility and

incongruity of the elements making up the hotch-pot known as latter-day Democracy.

Now, fellow-citizens, at some length I have elaborated the latter-day record of Democracy upon the negro question ; not that I propose to arraign them or denounce them, if they in good faith have repented of their wrongs to the negro in the past, and intend to do him justice in the future, but that I may show you the hollowness and insincerity in their denunciations of the Republicans ; in order that I may show you that they are as anxious to propitiate the negro vote and obtain it as ever the Republicans were or could be ; and that I may show you that the race question is one which has nothing to do with the determination by any man as to whether he will be a Republican or Democrat. Neither Republicanism nor Democracy can force or affect the question of social equality between the races. Neither the one party nor the other is the champion or advocate of anything pertaining to that question. Neither the one party nor the other can afford permanently to antagonize either of the races which make up the sum of our body politic.

WHY THEY ARE NOW COURTING THE NEGRO VOTE.

The solicitude of the Democratic party for the support of the negro voter now springs from the consciousness that the white people of the South, who have so long been trammeled by prejudice, are breaking away in great masses from their blind following of Bourbonism, and have ceased to be frightened by the race cry. It means that they have discovered the truth that unless they can recruit their thinned ranks from the negro race they are irretrievably lost ; for the greatest calamity that ever befell this latter-day Democracy was the day when by accident it came into power, and was called upon to redeem a few of its outstanding pledges, and was at last forced to show to every intelligent follower it had how false and delusive was everything to which it laid claim when there was no opportunity to test its sincerity.

GROWTH OF REPUBLICANISM IN VIRGINIA.

And now a word as to the growth of Republicanism in Virginia under the influences I have named. I know there is a widespread impression that Southern Republicans are principally colored people, and it is as to that I wish to say a few words.

At the last election we carried seven of ten Congressional Districts of Virginia against the nominees of the Democrats, and scored the largest Republican majority cast by any State in the Union, except Pennsylvania. This was done, too, in the face of an outrageous electoral commission law which puts the whole counting power in the hands of Bourbon partisans. Lest it be claimed that this was accidental, and due to Democratic apathy in an off-year, I will not rely upon the returns of that election, but take those of 1885 to show you how Republicanism is growing among the white people. When I say white people, far be it from me to disparage the loyalty, the constancy, and the devotion of the colored Republicans of the South. I could not if I would frame my tongue to speak aught but kindness of the colored race. Although their own freedom was the stake for which they saw us contending, they were true to their masters throughout the war. Although their freedom came to them as a clap of thunder from a clear sky, they accepted it in humility and gentleness, without marring it by any show of violence against, or even exultation over, those who had held them in bondage. Yet, gentle and faithful as they have been, in every relation, to those with whom their lot was cast, they have been equally true and unfaltering in their political allegiance to the party which struck the shackles from their limbs, and bade them cease to be chattels, and look up to the sunlight as freemen. Yes; they are Republicans whose loyalty may well set an example to every man whose feet are faltering. The cajolement of their old masters has never shaken their faith. Money has never had power to buy them. Fraud in counting their votes has never stopped them from doing

their duty in casting them. Violence and murder has never deterred them from voting, and, to-day, they are the truest, most unquestioning, and most unselfish voters, in this Republic. They are not Democrats. They never will be. Democracy never has done anything for them. It never can do a thousandth part of what Republicanism has already done for them. They know it. They feel it. They believe it. And no argument is necessary to convince them, and none can deter them, save that of force, from paying their debt of gratitude, which they cheerfully acknowledge, to the Republican party, whenever the opportunity is afforded.

SOME ASTONISHING FIGURES.

But as to the white vote in the South, I know the impression prevails that it is chiefly Democratic, and that even among our Republican friends in the North ; the persistent misrepresentation of the Democrats has created that impression. The white voting population of Virginia is 205,000 ; the black, 128,000. As giving you some idea of what proportion of our white voters are Republicans, I will show you the following table from sixteen counties of Virginia :—

	Males of Voting Age, as stated in Census of 1880.		Gubernatorial Vote in Election of 1885.	
	White.	Black.	Rep.	Dem.
Alleghany	1,074	391	925	723
Bland	1,034	43	530	519
Buchanan	1,036	5	393	412
Floyd	2,421	224	1,395	868
Highland	1,044	86	507	504
Montgomery	2,664	768	1,428	1,398
Page	1,973	224	1,255	1,166
Rockingham	5,871	644	2,950	2,937
Russell	2,593	221	1,408	1,390
Scott	3,231	129	1,732	1,485
Tazewell	2,253	337	1,971	1,042
Lee	2,826	140	1,303	1,440
Shenandoah	4,019	226	2,011	2,104
Stafford	1,323	351	859	670
Wise	1,496	17	595	666
Wythe	2,512	565	1,473	1,531
Totals	37,370	4,381	20,735	18,855

You will observe at a glance that these sixteen counties contain nearly one-fifth of the white population of Virginia, and less than one-twentieth of the blacks, the proportion of whites to blacks being about nine to one. I may also add that from these sections came the flower of that Confederate army which made the name of Lee's Infantry immortal. From these counties came the troops of Stonewall Jackson and Pickett; and three of them—Rockingham, Shenandoah and Page—were known in ante-bellum days and long afterwards as the "Tenth Legion" of Virginia Democracy. You will also observe that the vote cast was very full, being 39,590 out of a voting population of 41,750. And yet the Republican majority in these counties was 1880. So that if every colored voter voted and cast his vote for the Republican candidates, the white vote was nearly evenly divided between the two parties. If any one doubts whether the Republican party is growing among the white voters in Virginia, let him glance at the following tabulated statement of the votes cast for Republican candidates in these same sixteen counties in the successive elections of 1876, 1880 and 1885:—

SIXTEEN THOUSAND GAIN IN SIXTEEN COUNTIES.

	1876. Hayes.	1880. Garfield.	1885. Wise.
Alleghany	146	146	925
Bland	60	60	530
Buchanan	2	33	393
Floyd	440	345	1,395
Highland	50	75	507
Montgomery	810	601	1,428
Page	139	149	1,255
Rockingham	508	690	2,950
Russell	117	190	1,408
Scott	531	519	1,732
Tazewell	148	148	1,971
Lee	290	267	1,303
Shenandoah	265	350	2,011
Stafford	234	268	859
Wise	138	126	595
Wythe	430	382	1,473
Totals	4,308	4,349	20,735

From the foregoing it will be seen that whereas the vote cast in 1876 for Hayes, and in 1880 for Garfield, were less than the colored voting population, the Republican vote cast in 1885 shows a gain of 16,000 in sixteen counties, which must represent a gain in the white vote.

As illustrative of the methods by which the State of Virginia was carried by the Democrats, I present to you the following tabulated Statement of the voting population of five counties and the votes returned from them:—

	Males of Voting Age, as stated in Census of 1880.		Gubernatorial Vote in Election of 1885.	
	White.	Black.	Dem.	Rep.
Charlotte	1,390	2,055	1,653	1,023
Halifax	3,054	3,814	3,910	2,407
Isle of Wight	1,438	1,078	1,534	999
King and Queen.....	998	1,092	1,003	904
Southampton	1,768	2,147	1,938	1,801
 Totals.....	 8,648	 10,186	 10,038	 7,134

You will observe that the total voting population of these counties is 18,834, and the vote returned as cast was 17,172. You will also observe that the black voting population exceeds the white by 1,538, and yet, according to the returns, the Democratic vote cast exceeded the whole white voting population by 1,390, while the whole Republican vote returned was 3,052 less than the black voting population. In the county of Halifax, where we certainly have several hundred white Republicans,—and there are not fifty colored Democrats in the county,—the vote returned for Fitzhugh Lee is 856 more than the whole white voting population of the county, and the Republican vote returned is 1,307 less than the black voting population. A similar criticism applies to Charlotte and Southampton. The truth of such returns, which I refer to as mere specimen bricks, may be judged when I add that in 1882, when I ran for Congressman-at-large from Virginia, against a man for whom the ballot-stuffers did not care to cheat, my majorities in these three counties aggregated 1,811, as against 2,280 returned against me to seat General Lee. It

was by such means that our State was carried for the Democrats. The tales which came to me from poor colored friends who saw these false returns made before their eyes, and were yet powerless to prevent them, were piteous. Loyal and devoted as they are, they are nevertheless an element of weakness to our party ; for, whereas, in sections where the blacks are few the whites are not afraid of the race question, and vote with us and protect the count, in the sections where the blacks predominate, the white are deterred by the race cry from joining us. We have no white men to protect the polls and guard the count, and thus it is that false majorities, manufactured by the Bourbons in certain black counties, overcome our real majorities elsewhere. We have no redress. An appeal would only lie to a Legislature with a Democratic majority, packed by the very process of which we complain. From the Senatorial district composed of Charlotte and Mecklenburg, which have a majority of 1,700 colored voters, we have a Democratic Senator. A statement of these facts without comment is, I think, a sufficient argument with any man who knows that the colored voters are not Democrats.

Notwithstanding all these embarrassments and discouragements the Republican party is steadily growing in Virginia, and will win in the next election. Do you ask me why? I will tell you, and when I express my judgment, I only mean to say the things which I hear on every hand from men who in the past have not been Republicans, but are now resolving to abandon the Democracy.

WHY VIRGINIANS ARE BECOMING REPUBLICANS.

Within the past six months I have shaken hands with more Virginians who declare that they have voted their last Democratic ticket than I ever saw before. Even Richmond, the citadel of Bourbonism, is tottering in its allegiance, and may be ranked as Republican yet. If it does go Republican,—if

I can come to your next banquet with that scalp dangling at our belt,—then indeed may I lay claim to be called a chief in your wigwam.

I am sure that I speak within bounds when I say that ten years ago there were not exceeding ten thousand white Republicans in Virginia. I am equally confident that the white Republican vote of Virginia to-day is not less than 60,000 to 70,000 out of 205,000, and that it is increasing every year. I will not charge this increase of our vote simply to the lack of leadership among our opponents, or to their bad political record. That is not only a dangerous negative reliance for any political party and disagreeable method of statement, but would not do justice to the merits of the Republican principles and record as positively and actively contributing to these results. The influences and prejudices which operated against the Republican party years ago were strong and natural. The record of the Republican party as the adversary of every position taken by our people before and during the war necessarily antagonized them. Its attitude upon slavery, secession, the prosecution of the war, emancipation, extension of suffrage and reconstruction, all contributed, while those were living issues, to drive the Southern people in mass into the Democratic party without reference to their antecedent views upon Democracy. There are many men who are not, and never have been, believers in Democratic principles, and yet have been for many years voting with the Democratic party, not from any affirmative agreement with its principles, but, on the contrary, with views on Federal questions antagonistic in every way to Democratic theories; men driven there originally by the stress of the circumstances above referred to, and never yet grown bold enough to leave it altogether, although feeling that they are entirely out of accord with its sentiments.

Besides this element, which is large, there is another. Young men who feel that the changed condition of things as they existed before the question of secession was decided,

before slavery was abolished, and before final and practical decision of the many vexed theories and doctrines of States' Rights, justify a recast of political views and their adaptation to facts as they are. They care nothing for theories of things as they were. They feel that the time has come when they may discard alliance with a party that is not entitled to the allegiance of their convictions, without disloyalty to their past record as Confederates, or to the memory of their dead cause and comrades.

Year by year, as the issues on which they fought the Republican party, fade into the past; year by year, as the prejudices of that conflict die away; year by year, as it becomes more apparent that the Republican party of to-day is the party advocating a broad, liberal, sensible, generous construction of Federal power, while the Democratic party is little better than the Nullification party of Calhoun—the Democratic party in Virginia is losing strength among the white voters, both old and young. Among the old because some remember that even Virginia Democracy in the past was not of that type which looked with constant jealousy and distrust upon Federal power, and others recognize the resemblance between the American system of their old leader, Henry Clay, and the Republican platform of to-day on tariff, finance and internal improvements. Among the young, because, without any traditional trammels of party to hold them longer to Democracy or early prejudices to repel them from Republicanism, they are fast realizing that the principles of Democracy, if a party so discordant and heterogeneous may be said to have principles, are narrow, visionary, jealous and antagonistic alike to the altered necessities of our particular section, and to the growth and prosperity of our nation as realized under the application of Republican principles during Republican rule. The average Democratic principle of to-day is a reminiscence and a theory totally inapplicable to facts fixed by the events of the past twenty-five years. It is the announcement as an impossibility of something so often proved possible that it

has become commonplace. It warns against things as dangerous that have been proved beneficial until they are as household comforts. It counsels inaction and inertia against policies, through some vague fear of disaster, as if speaking of experiment, in the face of active Republican tests, which have long since demonstrated them to be blessings, and shown that the danger pointed out is a mere megrim of Democratic dyspepsia.

They feel that Democracy plans nothing, that it creates nothing; that it is a party of no polarity of thought or action; no unity of design; no homogeneity of the elements composing it. That it is a mere denial and obstruction.

I do not state the case thus strongly to be offensive to any one, but to express a conviction—a conviction based upon a careful study and observation of the Democratic record, and a comparison of it with the robust, aggressive, progressive career of Republicanism for a quarter of a century, with its wonderful brain and brawn, which sent this country bounding forward on a career of growth and prosperity without a parallel in history. Ofttimes that career has been pressed forward against every conviction of my brain and heart. Ofttimes it has trampled upon my most cherished traditions. Aye, sometimes it has ground me and mine pitilessly beneath its car-wheels in torture and agony. But it has ever gone, with a giant intellect there was no mistaking, and an awful earnestness there was no resisting, upward, onward, forward in the race of civilization and progress.

Our people feel all this most keenly. Every comparison between the principles of the two parties brings it out in stronger light. Every comparison of their two careers makes the contrast more startling.

WILL YOU FIGHT FOR THE SOUTH?

The tide is steadily and strongly setting in, in the South, toward Republicanism, and it is for you to determine whether

Virginia and other Southern States are worth fighting for, or whether in the future as in the past you will stake all upon New York.

I will not tire you with the threadbare old story of a New South. There is no New South, but there are many new conditions in the Old South, all favorable to the advancement and growth of liberal ideas, which is the same thing as the growth of Republicanism.

North Carolina and Tennessee are in much the same condition politically as Virginia, and show every inclination to break away from Bourbonism if they but receive proper attention and encouragement. In Alabama, with its wonderful growth of manufacturing and its city of 40,000, which has sprung up in a night like Jonah's gourd, there is a new-born zeal for protection most promising for our party.

As to Indiana, it was always Republican at heart. Nothing but the personal popularity of Mr. Hendricks kept it in the Democratic column. He is dead—Mr. McDonald has been slaughtered in the house of his friends, and Mr. Cleveland has managed the distribution of the Democratic patronage so badly that all these things conspire to make Indiana reasonably sure for us in 1888.

The Democracy of West Virginia is also divided. When their Legislature adjourned, refusing to re-elect Senator Camden, they killed the goose that laid the golden egg. With the loss of Standard Oil money the very meagre majority of Democracy in West Virginia is gone.

Here in Pennsylvania they are threatening to drive Mr. Randall out of their party and into ours. A very sensible thing to do; for Mr. Randall's views on tariff are entirely in conflict with his party, and can never prevail with Democracy. I may say of him, as I would not of many others of them, that we would be glad to have him.

Even in New York, the fair spot where Free-trade and Mugwumpry do their best "nest-hiding" for Democracy, there is a deep-seated feeling that all is not right. The

“Stalwarts,” that noble band of brothers, with heavy jaws and flowing moustaches, with short hair and cigar stumps to match; with spring-bottom pants and box-toed shoes; that striking style of men who have fixed the type of Democratic statesmen; the Stalwarts, who for a quarter of a century have looked forward to a National victory for the Democracy as opening fresh pastures of “boodle”—these Stalwarts, who are the life, body and soul of New York Democracy; who know not the meaning of any sentiment, and look on their trade of “practical politics” as synonymous with public plunder,—these great, good and wise statesmen, I say, are groaning under a deep sense of wrong. They feel that their labors were in vain when they behold a king in power “who knows not Joseph.” They realize that while they have borne the heat and burden of the battle, the fruits of the victory are poured into the lap, and the garlands of triumph entwine the mutton-chop side locks, of George William Curtis and his brother Mugwumps, while they are not only slighted and ignored, but Cleveland, their own creature, wishing to become respectable, is ashamed of them.

Now, with all these encouraging signs, I respectfully submit to you whether it will not be wise in the Republican party not to “put all its eggs in one basket” in the next National campaign; whether it is not the part of prudence not to devote all our energies and campaign funds or stake all our chances upon New York.

New York is naturally antagonistic to the tariff idea. It is controlled by the City of New York with all its free-trade interests and predilections. We may be able to gain it to our support by a liberal and generous advocacy of a system of coast defences. The Democrats seem unwilling to do this, and yet the lack of it is a shame and reproach to our country. We stand exposed to-day on our whole coast line and the lakes to utter annihilation. Meanwhile, however, and until we can regain New York by this or some such overture, is it not the part of wisdom, with such an opening in the South as I

have pointed out to you, to seek, by a generous attitude and earnest exertion, to gain the support of the several Southern States named and Indiana?

WHO SHALL THE STANDARD BEARER BE?

As for Virginia, I feel confident you may count upon her for the Republicans. We are not Republicans favoring any particular man, or with grudges against any individual. One advantage, at least, of our youth in Republicanism is, that we are not burdened with any of the old feuds or resentments of past differences in the party. We are not for any man or set of men, but for the cause, whoever may be its candidate. All that we ask is, that a great party, with great principles and a great future, be not ham-strung or sacrificed by the ambitions or resentments of individuals. The Republican party has hosts of men within its ranks fit for any office within the gift of the people. If any person suggested is obnoxious to any respectable body of true Republicans, and they honestly feel that they cannot conscientiously support him, then let us pay a decent respect to the convictions of the minority, and, from the splendid array of great names at our disposal, select one against whom no murmur can be raised. Thus may harmony be fostered, energy stimulated, and victory brought back to the Republican camp.

KICK OUT MUGWUMPS.

I do not say this to propitiate Mugwumps, for I believe the sooner we are rid of all such the better for all concerned.

A great drawback to our party in Virginia in the past has been from the mischief of certain Mugwumps of our own. There are a few men—a very few—among us who call themselves Republicans at home, and yet vote with and work for the Democratic party on all occasions. When they come

North they assume to be Republicans, to criticise our party, and create the impression that it is divided by dissensions. These people pretend that their object is the good of the party. Their real grievance is, that they have no following and no influence at home, and are jealous of those who have. They, in most cases, are men who were leaders when the Republican party was in a pitiable minority, on the principle that "among the blind, the one-eyed are kings." Now, that it is recruited and they are no longer recognized, they vote with the Democrats through spite, and pretend to deplore the degeneracy of the party, when the fact is that it is in a thousand times better condition than when they led it to defeat and found balm for themselves in fat Federal offices. To all such, I beg you to turn a deaf ear. Our party is singularly united and prosperous. They are mere mischief-makers, such as you doubtless have here. Do not, I beg you, do us or yourselves the injustice of listening to such false clamor. Pass them on and commend them to those whom our friend Dolliver of Iowa describes as the "political sopranos of Beacon Hill, who, with a copy of Emerson's poems under one arm, and an account of the latest mill of John L. Sullivan under the other, sit serenely basking in the sunlight of Civil Service Reform." Let the Southern sore-head mingle his whinings with those of his Northern congener, the Mugwump, while we, who love our party, are battling for its return to power, and with its return, a return of that prosperity and thrift which make the record of Republicanism glorious.

REPUBLICANISM IS NOT DEAD.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I am not one of those who believe that the career of the Republican party, with its splendid record of great men and great deeds, extending over a quarter of a century, was ended by a single defeat. I cannot believe that the people of this country have forgotten its services to the Nation in war and peace so quickly, or that

they will adhere to the nondescript party now in power when they contrast what Republicanism was with what Democracy is. What is the story on which the Republican party lays claim to a return to popular confidence? I omit its early history as a war party, leaving that to others who can tell it more appropriately and sympathise with it as I do not. It is its record as a party of peace which won my allegiance, and appeals to my people. We recognize it as the party which in peace claims ample power to build up the places laid waste by war; as the party which holds that a Nation with power to free millions in war, has power in peace to educate them and fit them for the enjoyment of the citizenship it has bestowed; as the party which insists that the Nation has power to adopt and enforce a liberal system of National improvements; as the party which has given us, in lieu of a fluctuating and uncertain currency, different in every State, a splendid Banking System, the envy of all nations, and a paper currency preferable to gold or silver, and uniform throughout the land; as a party which has redeemed every pledge of the Government financially, and brought back specie payments, until Government securities are far above par; as a party that, under a wise and judicious system of tariff, has protected American labor and dignified American industry until our manufactures and exports have multiplied tenfold—aye, a hundredfold—beyond anything realized under Democracy, until the laboring men of this land are happier than anywhere else on the Globe, and until the growth of America in wealth, population and intelligence is the wonder of the world. These are but a few of its many triumphs. Time forbids that I should longer dwell upon them.

To him who is still a Democrat, I can only say: Point me to a single thing done or proposed by the Democracy to compare with these or any of them. Nay, I say to him further: The Democracy, true to its obstructive record, opposed and resisted every one of these things as they arose, and is yet unwilling, even in the face of the results of such

as have been accomplished, to admit their merit or their benefit.

When we contrast the present commercial and financial condition of this country with what it was under Republican rule, can any sane man doubt that the people will do the same and return to the Republican party as the sheet-anchor of their safety and hope of their prosperity? Others may doubt it. I do not. I believe that our party will rise from its temporary disaster strengthened and purified by adversity to enter upon even a wiser, abler, more glorious career than that of the past; and that another quarter of a century of power lies before it, filled with untold wealth and blessings for the American people, and triumphs greater than any yet achieved.

I am sometimes asked if I never feel that I am fighting against the traditions of my family and my people, when I oppose this latter-day Democracy, and support the Republican party. I do not. I do not recognize the Democracy as the legitimate successor of any political organization existing in the days of secession and slavery. My father, whose name is often brought up to me as if to reproach me for not belonging to the Bourbons, lived long enough, thank Heaven, to spurn and denounce Bourbonism as unworthy of the name of Democracy. He said of them that they had "outscallawaged the scallawaggers and outcarpetbagged the carpetbaggers," and so say I.

When I behold a party that nominated Horace Greely: that boasts in every procession in the North, "we whipped the rebels and the Republicans got the credit for it;" that has as its leader here Governor Curtin; that has promoted Gen. Rosecrans, and was supported by Henry Ward Beecher, I can most assuredly oppose it without feeling that I am disloyal to the memory of the Confederate dead, or to any sentiment or tradition of my people; especially as that party represents no principle with which I agree, and nothing which will benefit the people with whom my lot in life is cast. It is true they fly the flag of Democracy, but I look upon it as

the false colors of a pirate craft. That Republicanism can be sunk by a single broadside from such a crew I do not believe.

But if I be wrong, if the day of victory for Republicanism has passed and gone, if we are to be the vanquished in the struggle, then may I be seen on our sinking ship, powder-begrimed and battle-scarred, amid the last flashing of her guns as she sinks beneath the waves, proudly dying for principles which we know are right.

With a heart full of thanks for your generous welcome, I bid you God-speed and good-night.



COMMUNICATION
FROM THE
AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS
IN COMPLIANCE WITH

A RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE OF APRIL 2, 1879, SHOWING THE COST OF MAINTAINING THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE YEARS 1877, 1878 AND 1879, TOGETHER WITH ESTIMATE OF WHAT SAID EXPENSES WILL PROBABLY BE FOR 1880.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA,
OFFICE OF THE AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS,
RICHMOND, *August 1, 1879.*

*To the Honorable JAMES A. WALKER,
Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia,
President of the Senate:*

DEAR SIR:

In compliance with a resolution of the Senate agreed to April 2, 1879, in the words and figures following—

“Resolved, That the auditor of public accounts be requested to prepare a statement showing the cost of maintaining the state government for the years 1877, 1878 and 1879, together with an estimate of what said expenses will probably be for the year 1880, and that one thousand copies of said statement be printed for the use of the Senate”—

I beg leave to submit herewith :

No. 1. A statement showing the amount of warrants drawn upon the treasury from the 1st October, 1877, to the 30th September, 1878, inclusive.

No. 2. An estimate of probable charges upon the treasury during the fiscal year commencing October 1, 1878, and ending September 30, 1879.

No. 3. A statement of the probable expenses of government for the fiscal year commencing October 1, 1879, and ending September 30, 1880.

I am, very respectfully,

WM. F. TAYLOR,
Auditor of Public Accounts.

No. I.

STATEMENT *Showing the Amount of Warrants Drawn upon the Treasury from the 1st of October, 1877, to the 30th of September, 1878, inclusive.*

Agricultural Commissioner, contingent expenses of.....	\$2,995 50
Artificial limbs.....	15,100 00
Attorney-General's office, rent of.....	333 33
Auditor's office, contingent expenses of.....	2,410 65
Board of Public Works, contingent expenses of.....	941 20
Boundary line, Virginia and Maryland.....	5,500 00
Boundary line, Virginia and West Virginia.....	350 00
Civil contingent expenses.....	7,301 43
Civil prosecutions.....	1,806 28
Collectors' commissions.....	86 68
Contingent expenses of courts.....	45,534 79
Criminal charges.....	152,979 80
Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institution, Staunton.....	35,000 00
Debt, public, expense of funding the.....	120 25
Debt, public, interest on the.....	1,305,055 25
Delinquent lands, sale of	43 37
De Tubeuf lands.....	117 12
Escheated lands.....	10 00
Fish Commissioners.....	2,950 00
General Assembly.....	123,519 00
General account of revenue.....	48,262 85
General appropriation.....	56,851 83
Grattan's Reports.....	3,248 70
Historical papers, preservation of.....	729 00
Immigration fund.....	1,263 25
Literary fund.....	241,000 00
Lunatics, expenses of.....	33,809 67
Lunatic Asylum, Central, Richmond (colored).....	46,210 78
Lunatic Asylum, Eastern, Williamsburg (white).....	46,244 03
Lunatic Asylum, Western, Staunton (white)	50,830 20
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond.....	1,500 00
Military contingent expenses.....	83 56
Militia, officers of.....	133 33
Moffett registers.....	32,190 08
Officers of government.....	124,019 25
Oyster fund.....	3 66
Penitentiary, criminal charges.....	8,900 72
Penitentiary, exterior guard.....	12,948 00
Penitentiary, interior guard.....	3,240 00
Penitentiary, house expenses.....	19,793 34
Penitentiary, officers of.....	8,675 18
Penitentiary, for the purchase of raw material.....	7,500 00

Pensions.....	96 00
Printed records.....	5,360 57
Public printing.....	19,213 71
Public warehouse.....	79 00
Railroad Commissioner, contingent expenses of.....	433 56
Register of the Land Office, contingent expenses of.....	49 70
Registration, expenses of.....	5,009 92
Reporter of the Court of Appeals.....	1,653 27
Second Auditor's office, contingent expenses of.....	267 97
Superintendent of Public Buildings, contingent expenses of.....	73 75
Secretary of the Commonwealth, contingent expenses of the office of the.....	240 00
Temporary loans.....	388,467 54
Treasury office, contingent expenses of.....	107 70
Treasury office, temporary clerk in.....	1,193 73
University of Virginia.....	23,750 00
University bonds.....	180 00
Vaccine agent.....	688 00
Virginia Military Institute.....	25,000 00
Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College.....	10,833 34
Warrants on account of over-payments of revenue.....	64,777 25
 Total.....	 \$2,997,067 09

RECAPITULATION.

Total amount of disbursements on general account.....	\$2,997,067 09
Deduct amount paid as interest on the public debt....	\$1,305,055 25
Deduct amount paid Second Auditor for public free - school purposes (literary fund).....	241,000 00
Deduct amount paid for temporary loans, principal, - discount, interest, &c.....	388,467 54
Deduct amount paid for artificial limbs.....	15,100 00
Deduct amount paid for Agricultural Commissioner..	2,995 50
Deduct amount paid for Agricultural and Mechanical College.....	10,833 34
Deduct amount paid for boundary lines.....	5,850 00
Deduct amount paid for boundary lines, lithograph- ing plates, &c.....	20 00
Deduct amount paid for Clay statue repairs.....	308 63
Delinquent lands, sale of	43 37
De Tubeuf lands.....	117 12
Fines refunded.....	135 00
Escheated lands.....	10 00
Fish commissioners.....	2,950 00
Historical papers, preservation of.....	729 00
Immigration fund.....	1,263 25
Moffett registers.....	32,190 08
Messenger in Auditor's office.....	491 04

Public warehouse.....	10,775	71
Railroad Commissioner, contingent expenses of, salary of, salary of clerk, &c.....	5,000	00
Treasurer's office, purchase of safe for the.....	500	00
Treasurer's office, commission to examine.....	223	25
Warrants on account.....	64,777	25

Balance constituting the ordinary disbursements.....		\$2,088,835 33

Balance constituting the ordinary disbursements.....		\$908,231 76

Add to the above balance of..... the appropriation for the Agricultural Commissioner, which is now a permanent office; the sum was only deducted above so as to make a comparison with the previous year, when the office did not exist.....		\$908,231 76

Makes the ordinary expenses.....		\$911,226 76
But deduct from this sum the amount included in the above item of "general appropriation" on account of the support of convicts hired to the James River and Kanawha Canal Company.....		34,153 24

And the actual expense of government for the fiscal year 1877-78, is.....		\$877,073 52

Ordinary expenses of work
given in his Report
Dec. 14. Aug 3- at
\$908,931.26

No. II.

ESTIMATE of Probable Charges upon the Treasury during the Fiscal Year
Commencing October 1, 1878, and Ending September 30, 1879.

[The actual charges are given to July 1, 1879, and for the remaining three months the estimate is made.]

Agricultural Commissioner, clerk, &c.....	\$2,900 00
Attorney-General's office, rent, fuel, &c.....	650 00
Auditor's office, postage on books, blanks, &c.....	3,000 00
Artificial limbs, appropriation to be paid after August.....	15,000 00
Board of Public Works, secretary, expenses of, &c.....	1,070 00
Boundary lines, Virginia and Maryland and Virginia and West Virginia.....	350 00
Civil contingent fund.....	10,000 00
Civil prosecutions.....	500 00
Collectors' commissions.....	500 00
Capitol, repairs to.....	1,000 00
Contingent expenses of courts.....	40,000 00
Criminal charges.....	90,000 00
Dawson fund, interest for schools in Albemarle county.....	2,052 00
Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institution.....	30,000 00
Of this sum there was paid on account of arrearages for 1877-78.....	\$10,000 00
For the year 1878-79.....	27,500 00
Leaving a balance of.....	\$2,500 00
(which it is estimated will be paid prior to October 1, 1879).	
Debt, public, expenses of funding, &c.....	202 00
This sum is paid under the act of March 30, 1871. What will be paid under the act of March 28, 1879, will have to be provided for by future legislation.	
Debt, public, interest on, under act of March 31, 1871.....	1,367,513 31
Of this sum, \$1,168,766.79 has been paid to July 1, 1879, and it is estimated that to October 1, 1879, coupons, &c., will be received amounting to \$198,746.52, the amount paid in July, August and September, 1878.	
Debt, public, interest on, under act of March 28, 1879.....	70,000 00
Of this sum, \$35,000 has been paid, and it is estimated that \$35,000 will be required to October 1, 1879.	
Delinquent lands, sale of.....	45 00
Ischeated lands.....	10 00
fish Commissioner for propagation, hatching-house, &c.....	5,000 00
General Assembly, regular session 1878-79, and extra session of 1879.....	120,310 53

General account of revenue.....	50,000 00
General appropriation.....	56,851 83
This includes \$42,405.29 for support of convicts hired to the James River and Kanawha Canal Company.	
Grattan's Reports, printing 29th volume.....	3,500 00
Historical papers, preservation of.....	166 00
Hollywood cemetery fence, repairs of.....	250 00
Literary fund, public free schools.....	300,000 00
Of this sum, \$286,000 has been paid, and it is estimated that \$14,000 will be paid by October 1, 1879.	
Lunatics, expenses of, in jails, &c.....	30,000 00
Lunatic Asylum, Central (colored), Richmond :	
Amount paid arrearages of 1877-78.....	\$10,298 38
Amount paid for 1878-79.....	17,100 00
Amount paid for conveying lunatics, &c.....	637 35
Estimated amount to be paid to October 1, 1879.....	5,000 00
	33,035 73
This will leave a balance on account of the appropriation (\$35,000) for the year 1878-79, due October 1, 1879, of \$12,262.65.	
Lunatic Asylum, Eastern (white), Williamsburg :	
Amount paid arrearages of 1877-78.....	\$35,000 00
Amount paid for 1878-79.....	15,000 00
Amount paid for conveying lunatics, &c.....	1,004 65
Amount paid building account, act March 10, 1876....	5,000 00
Estimated amount to be paid to October 1, 1879.....	5,000 00
	61,004 65
This will leave a balance on account of the appropriation (\$40,000) for the year 1878-79, due October 1, 1879, of \$18,995.35, and a balance on account of the appropriation (\$30,000) for building purposes, under the act of March 10, 1876, of \$25,000.	
Lunatic Asylum, Western (white), Staunton :	
Amount paid arrearages of 1877-78.....	\$30,000 00
Amount paid for 1878-79.....	10,000 00
Amount paid for conveying lunatics, &c.....	3,037 92
Amount paid building account, act March 10, 1876....	10,000 00
Estimated amount to be paid to October 1, 1879.....	5,000 00
	58,037 92
This will leave a balance on account of the appropriation (\$40,000) for the year 1878-79, due October 1, 1879, of \$21,962.08, and a balance on account of the appropriation (\$31,000) for building purposes, under the act of March 10, 1876, of \$21,000.	
Medical College of Virginia, at Richmond.....	1,500 00
Military contingent expenses.....	100 00
Militia, officers of, Adjutant-General's salary.....	100 00
Moffett registers, commissions to assessors, &c.....	10,000 00
Officers of government.....	100,000 00
Oyster fund.....	50 00
Penitentiary, criminal charges, conveying convicts, &c.....	5,000 00
Penitentiary, interior guard.....	3,000 00

Penitentiary, exterior guard.....	12,000 00
Penitentiary, officers of.....	7,000 00
Penitentiary, house expenses.....	15,000 00
Penitentiary, raw material.....	10,000 00
Pensions, killed at Harper's Ferry, John Brown raid.....	96 00
Printed records.....	5,000 00
Public printing.....	20,000 00
Register of Land Office, contingent expenses, &c.....	50 00
Registration, expenses of.....	5,000 00
Reporter to the Court of Appeals.....	1,500 00
Second Auditor's office, contingent expenses of.....	150 00
Superintendent of Public Buildings, contingent expenses of.....	75 00
Secretary of the Commonwealth, contingent expenses of.....	450 00
Treasurer's office, contingent expenses of.....	200 00
Treasurer's office, temporary clerk in.....	1,200 00
Temporary loans and interest thereon.....	164,000 00

This includes all indebtedness to banks, &c., and has been paid.

University of Virginia :

Amount paid arrearages of 1877-78.....	86,250 00
Amount paid for 1878-79	10,000 00
Estimated amount to be paid to October 1, 1879.....	5,000 00
	21,250 00

This will leave a balance on account of the appropriation (\$30,000) for 1878-79, due October 1, 1879, of \$15,000.

University bonds, interest on.....	135 00
Vaccine agent.....	675 00
Virginia Military Institute.....	25,000 00

Of this sum the regular appropriation (\$15,000) has been paid, and \$5,000 of the appropriation under the act of March 17, 1876, leaving a balance of \$5,000, which it is estimated will be paid prior to October 1, 1879.

Warrants on account—this sum is composed of all warrants issued on account of over-payments of revenue	39,533 16
Total estimated disbursements 1878-79.....	82,801,013 13

RECAPITULATION.

Total amount of disbursements.....	82,801,013 13
Deduct amount paid—	
Artificial limbs.....	\$15,000 00
Boundary lines.....	350 00
Capitol, repairs to.....	1,000 00
Dawson fund, interest on....	2,052 00
Debt, interest on.....	1,367,513 31
Debt, interest on.....	70,000 00
Delinquent land sales.....	45 00
Escheats.....	10 00
Fish commissioner.....	5,000 00

General appropriation, convicts on canal.....	42,405 29
Historical papers.....	166 00
Hollywood fence.....	250 00
Literary fund.....	300,000 00
Eastern Lunatic Asylum building.....	5,000 00
Western Lunatic Asylum building.....	10,000 00
Moffett registers.....	10,000 00
Temporary loans.....	164,000 00
Warrants on account.....	39,533 16
	2,032,324 76
Total ordinary disbursements, expense of government, estimated for 1878-79.....	\$768,688 37
If the Moffett register item.....	\$10,000 00
Is not deducted, it is.....	\$778,688 37

No. III.

STATEMENT of the Probable Expenses of Government for the Fiscal Year
Commencing October 1, 1879, and Ending September 30, 1880.

Agricultural Commissioner.....	\$2,900 00
Attorney-General's office.....	650 00
Auditor's office, contingent expenses of.....	3,000 00
Board of Public Works.....	1,070 00
Civil contingent fund.....	10,000 00
Civil prosecutions.....	500 00
Collectors' commissions.....	500 00
Contingent expenses of courts.....	10,000 00
Criminal charges.....	90,000 00
Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institution.....	30,000 00
Debt, expenses of funding, &c.....	202 00
General Assembly.....	60,000 00
General account of revenue.....	50,000 00
Grattan's Reports.....	3,500 00
Lunatics, expenses of in jails, &c.....	30,000 00
Lunatic Asylum, Central, Richmond.....	35,000 00
Lunatic Asylum, Eastern, Williamsburg.....	40,000 00
Lunatic Asylum, Western, Staunton.....	40,000 00
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond.....	1,500 00
Military contingent expenses.....	100 00
Militia, officers of.....	100 00
Officers of government.....	100,000 00
Oyster fund.....	50 00
Penitentiary, criminal charges.....	5,000 00
Penitentiary, interior guard.....	3,000 00
Penitentiary, exterior guard.....	12,000 00
Penitentiary, officers of.....	7,000 00
Penitentiary, house expenses.....	15,000 00
Penitentiary, raw material.....	10,000 00
Pensions.....	96 00
Printed records.....	5,000 00
Public printing.....	20,000 00
Register of Land Office, contingent expenses of.....	50 00
Registration, expenses of.....	5,000 00
Reporter to Court of Appeals.....	1,500 00
Second Auditor's office, contingent expenses of.....	150 00
Superintendent of Public Buildings, contingent expenses of.....	75 00
Secretary of the Commonwealth, contingent expenses of.....	450 00
Treasurer's office, contingent expenses of.....	200 00
Treasurer's office, temporary clerk in.....	1,200 00
University of Virginia.....	30,000 00
University of Virginia, interest on bonds.....	120 00

Vaccine agent.....	675 00
Virginia Military Institute.....	25,000 00
Total ordinary disbursements, expense of government, estimated for 1879-80.....	\$680,588 00
If the Moffett register item.....	\$10,000 00
Is added, it will make the expense.....	\$690,588 00
Balance due Central Lunatic Asylum.....	\$12,262 65
Balance due Eastern Lunatic Asylum, support.....	18,995 35
Balance due Eastern Lunatic Asylum, building.....	25,000 00
Balance due Western Lunatic Asylum, support.....	21,962 08
Balance due Western Lunatic Asylum, building.....	21,000 00
Balance due University of Virginia.....	15,000 00
Estimated balance due institutions October 1, 1879.....	\$114,220 08

It will be observed that nothing is said in this estimate of the amount that will be due the literary fund. This amount will be contingent upon the assessments of the commissioners of the revenue, and can only be ascertained when their books are in. The calculations will then be made as provided in the "Henkel bill," and reported to the Superintendent of Public Schools. It is confidently expected that the revenues will be abundantly sufficient to pay the expenses shown in the estimate, and pay as well whatever may be found to be due to the schools.

WM. F. TAYLOR,
Auditor of Public Accounts.

OFFICE OF THE AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS,
Richmond, Va., August 1, 1879.

לְרִאשָׁוֹת
בְּרִיאָה
לְרִאָה

PETERSBURG, 2nd July, 1887.

DEAR SIR:

The time is nearing when the call should be made for Senatorial Conventions, and I wish to have the sense of the County Chairmen of the counties composing each district, as to the time and place most fitting for the Convention in your Senatorial District.

Will you kindly give me your best judgment as to these two points?

I have also to advise that the meetings which appoint delegates to the Senatorial Convention, also appoint delegates to the Convention for the nomination of a Candidate for the House of Delegates; and to this effect, it is suggested that you supplement the call for the appointment of Delegates to Senatorial Convention, by hand-bills, &c.

The call for Senatorial Convention will be sent you as soon as I get the information here asked for.

Yours truly,

WM. MAHONE,

Chairman.

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THIS IS THE RESOLUTION

Tricked in on the Hicksford Convention, and which the Democratic papers and kickers are making a great ado about.

You want to look out for it, as the same trick may be tried on your Convention. I mean, to pass this resolution :

The Republicans of Greenville and Sussex Counties, in convention assembled, desiring most earnestly that harmony and good-will may obtain in the party ranks, and that thereby victory may be secured in the State, and believing that all individual interests should yield to considerations of party unity, do hereby *Resolve*,

1st. That every Republican has the indisputable right to aspire to any position in the gift of the party; that every post of honor is open to all Republicans alike; and to the people alone belongs the prerogative of awarding the fruits of victory.

2nd. That it is the will of this Convention that our Nominee for the House of Delegates be not pledged to any one of the aspirants for the U. S. Senate, but that he shall be left free to support and vote in the Legislature for any Republican candidate for that office, it being our instructions to said Nominee that he shall so vote as may seem best for the interest of the State, and of the Republican party, of which he is the representative.



o Y L

K

To the White Voters of Petersburg !

REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS,

And to all law abiding COLORED CITIZENS who disapprove of the dangerous appeals, which have been made to race prejudices by W. W. EVANS, candidate for the Legislature !

Not in the interest of any political party, but as an appeal for concord and good will between the races, and for the benefit of all classes, this statement is submitted to the calm consideration of the white voters of Petersburg, and also to every colored voter who has the city's welfare at heart.

The intense excitement in our community caused by the assault of a neg'r man upon the person of a white lady is still fresh in the public mind. Our discreet Mayor, who by virtue of his office knew more of the situation than any other citizen, in the performance of his sworn duty took official notice of the inflamed public feeling, instigated by the dangerous threats of riotously inclined negroes, and called out the military, for which wise and judicious precautionary measure, in the interest of peace and for the protection of property, he deserves the thanks of the good people of Petersburg. Matters had quieted down, the law, without fiction was taking its course, and

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Negro's Progress Since 1865

to
R

a leading Negroes of the coun-
North as well as South, are ask-
r a special place in the World's
nbian Fair, to be held in Chi-
in 1893, and they ought to have
heir progress since 1865 en-
them to it. In that year, as
maha Bee tells us, there were
Negro attorneys, three Negro
cians, two editors and \$12,000
of taxable property among all
Negroes of America. There
no colleges, no high schools, no
and no church property. It
enty six years, seven years less
a generation, since 1865, but to-
he Negroes of this country pay
on \$264,000,000 worth of per-
and real property. There are
physicians, and 654 of these are
e graduates. They have seven
es, seventeen academies and
nine high schools, all under the
e of Negro teachers. Three of
even college presidents were
e. There are 995 college-bred
o ministers and 247 Negro men
oung women in European capi-
studying foreign languages to
here as teachers. A bank in
nond, Va., with \$500,000 capi-
owned and conducted by black
and they are loaning money to
former masters. Of course a
deal of this is due to the help
e white people of the South.
nevertheless speaks trumpet-
ed for the race, for its eager-
o rise out of untoward condi-
and elevate itself to the common
of civilization. The Negroes
to have the space they ask for
e great fair that they may put
hibition some of the results of
amazing and very gratifying
ess.—Memphis *Commercial*.

THE OLD DOMINION Steamship Company.

PETERSBURG AND NEW YORK.

This Line now comprises seven large iron Steamships, namely: GUYANDOTTE, OLD DOMINION, RICHMOND, ROANOKE, ENECA, WYANOKE AND ATLANTA.

A Steamer leaves City Point for New York every Tuesday and Friday nights, connecting with 6 o'clock train from Petersburg.

One leaves Norfolk for New York direct every evening except Friday and Sunday, connecting with train leaving Petersburg at 9:40 A. M.

Rates of passage are low.

JOHN M. WEST, Agent.

PETERSBURG
AND NORFOLK
STEAM-BOAT
LINE.

The only all-water route to Norfolk, Old Point Comfort, Newport News and James River Landings.

AMES RIVER BY DAYLIGHT.

The Steamer S. A. McCALL, leaves Petersburg at 6 A. M. every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, connecting at Norfolk with Baltimore and Cape Charles steamers. **Fare** through to Norfolk \$1.25; to Claremont 75 cents. elegant Meals on steamer, only 50c. Freight received daily for all stations on A. & D. R. R., S., S. & S. R. R.; Roanoke River and all Eastern North Carolina Points.

RAYMOND MANCHA, Pres't.

PETERSBURG, VA.

last tribute paid to the members of a tribunal representing the majesty of constitutional law and the rights and immunities of the people; invested with the power to annul and overthrow action of the legislature and executive. Chief Justice Waite, of all his illustrious predecessors in a tribunal unlike any in the world in the exalted character of its duties and responsibilities, was to receive a homage seldom paid, but never more deserved. Mrs. Cleveland and the ladies of the cabinet appeared in the executive gallery shortly before the services commenced. The front row had been specially reserved for them, and many eyes were turned in that direction as they entered and took their seats.

There was but little conversation, and the hum and buzz oftentimes so apparent were scarcely audible. There was a full attendance of members, but none of the customary bustle and agitation.

A few minutes before noon the Senate of the United States was formally announced and at the tap of the Speaker's gavel the Representatives rose to receive the Senators. With measured steps they followed their sergeant-at-arms, and silently dropped into the seats reserved for them. Following closely came the members of the diplomatic corps, not in glittering regalia, not with the jewels of their decorations and orders flashing on their bosoms, not in silk and velvet, but in plain black. Upon all official occasions, whether of society or grief it has always been the custom of the diplomatic corps to appear in court costumes, and the departure from custom was recognized as a touching testimonial.

The members of the Chinese legation appeared in the regulation official mourning of the Chinese Empire. Their mourning robes were of dark purple and blue. Around the red caps denoting their rank were broad black bands, covering all but the top of the cap, and on their hands they wore black gloves. Then came the members of the Court of Claims, the members of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and the District Commissioners.

In a minute more the President and his cabinet came in at the main entrance and proceeded down the aisle to the seats reserved in front of the Speaker's chair for them. The President walked alone. Behind him came the members of the cabinet—first Secretary Bayard, and then the others, two by two. The President wore dark trousers and a Prince Albert coat of black. His hands were encased in dark yellow gloves. Secretary Bayard, who sat next to the President, had his hands bare, but carried in one of them a pair of gloves of the same shade as the President's. Secretaries Fairchild and Endicott wore black kid gloves; Attorney-General Garland, black cotton; Secretary Whitney, very light yellow gloves, which he soon removed, and Postmaster-General Dickinson and Secretary Vilas, dark gloves of undressed kid.

In a moment the members of the joint committee appointed by the Senate and House appeared, under the escort of Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms Chaistie, of

W. G. Colmery, cashier of the Crystal Springs (Miss.) Bank, committed suicide by shooting himself; a social disagreement was the cause.

Mrs. John Garlich, of Cincinnati, was crushed to death in a store elevator, from which she tried to step out while it was moving.

The sudden melting of six inches of snow and heavy rains caused the overflow of the several streams near Detroit, Mich. Sixty bridges have been washed away.

J. W. Hill, a wealthy contractor of Trenton, Mo., playfully pointed a shotgun at Miss Sarah Brown, who was visiting his sister. The weapon exploded, killing Miss Brown.

At Kearney, Neb., Albert J. Murrish, a farmer, fired one pistol shot, which instantly killed his wife and hired man, Thomas Patterson. He at once surrendered himself to the Sheriff.

Three little children of T. S. Richardson, a farmer, living near Macon, Ga., were burned to death during the absence of their parents from home, in a playhouse that had been made for them of rails, thatched with straw, which one of them set on fire with a lighted match.

Great damage was done to wheat and fruits throughout Illino's by sleet.

Two school children were killed in Vicksburg, Miss., by a bank caving in on them. Several were injured.

Over nine hundred convicts are idle at Auburn, N. Y., Prison in consequence of the exhaustion of the appropriation.

Timothy Dodge was fatally shot, near Cooperstown, N. Y., without provocation, by a ruffian named Smith, in a saloon.

There are grave fears for the safety of the Iowa crops on account of the "freeze" that has prevailed in the state for a week.

Two Workmen at Stickney's factory, near Ashford, N. Y., were blown to atoms by the explosion of a large quantity of gunpowder.

Reville, Dak., is snowed in and no help can reach there. The people are without fuel or food, and it is feared they will perish.

Bertha Wise, a cook in a Pittsburg restaurant, was instantly killed by Frank Liddell. Liddell was shooting rats and a stray bullet struck the girl.

Mrs. Sessums, wife of a commercial traveler, accuses her husband, with whom she did not live, of poisoning their five children, at Houston, Texas.

Captain W. W. Peabody, general manager of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway west of the Ohio river, fell on the ice at his home in Madisonville, Ohio, and was very badly injured.

The United States District Attorney at El Paso, Texas, has begun suit against a smelting works company in that place for importing laborers from the Mexican side of the Rio Grande.

Knights of labor in the employ of Charles Mullin, the largest manufacturer of morocco leather at Wilmington, Del., demand that he discharge non-union men. He refuses and a strike is threatened.

The Detroit police have locked up Howard.

ABOLITION INTERNAL REVENUE.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS SHOULD BE LAST RESORT FOR
REVENUE BY ANY FORM OF TAXATION.

TOBACCO FRUIT DISTILLATIONS.

REBATE OF DUTIES PAID ON IMPORTED INGREDIENTS
USED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF TOBACCO EXPORTED.

SURPLUS—REDUCTION OF TAXES DEMANDED.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. WILLIAM MAHONE,
OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 28, 1887.

WASHINGTON.

1887.



S P E E C H
OR
HON. WILLIAM MAHONE.

THE TOBACCO TAX.

Mr. MAHONE said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I present the proceedings of the Tobacco Association of Lynchburg, Va., urging the abolition of the tax on tobacco.

I also present a similar petition of manufacturers of tobacco at Richmond; a like petition of the Tobacco Board of Trade of Farmville, Va. I also present a similar petition of the South Boston (Virginia) Tobacco Board of Trade, and also the proceedings of the Tobacco Association of the city of Petersburg, Va.

In moving the reference of these petitions to the Committee on Finance, I wish to call the attention of that committee and of the Senate briefly to the subject to which they relate.

Mr. President, on the 14th day of December, 1885, I introduced here two bills relating to the laws affecting the manufacture of tobacco—one, (S. 476,) repealing section 3151 of the Revised Statutes, which subjected tobacco manufactured for export to the perfunctory performance of inspection and the burden of a fee that, till lately, was collected at the rate of ten (10) cents per package.

This fee, which did not in fact nor constructively either go into or come out of the Treasury, composed the salary of the inspector. It was the mere perquisite of an unsalaried office. It in no manner touched the subject of revenue, and yet this bill was reported to the Senate adversely and so stands upon the Calendar now, and was so reported, as I am advised, because it was held to be a revenue measure.

The other of these two bills, (S. 477,) provided for a drawback of duties paid upon all imported ingredients used in the manufacture of tobacco exported. This bill was likewise so reported to the Senate and

for the same reason. Meanwhile, a bill covering the same object as that described in Senate bill 476 came to the Senate from the House of Representatives, and it is now a law.

Likewise a bill (H. R. 2522) of similar import as that of Senate bill 477 passed the House, and is yet with the Finance Committee of this body.

On the third day of August, 1886, I introduced and the Senate referred to the Finance Committee an amendment to House bill 8738, which that committee held and still holds under consideration, repealing the internal-revenue laws so far as they apply to tobacco.

It is conceded, Mr. President, that to the House of Representatives belongs the constitutional right of originating revenue measures—all bills touching the sources of taxation—imposing, increasing, diminishing, or repealing income derived from any form of taxation.

House bill 2522, to which I have referred, sent here for the action of the Senate and remaining with the Finance Committee of this body, is by fair, legitimate interpretation a revenue measure, and must be so regarded by the Finance Committee of the Senate, under its own ruling—by its own deliberate judgment in respect to Senate bills 476 and 477.

If to abolish an office which neither put in nor took out of the public Treasury a dollar, can be considered as a revenue measure, and the Finance Committee of the Senate report adversely upon a bill to refund duties paid upon imported materials used in manufactures for export, because of the conceded prerogative of the House of Representatives to originate revenue measures, House bill 2522, it must be admitted, is a measure, open here in this body to such amendment as a majority of the Senate by virtue of its constitutional authority shall see fit to impose.

It is, therefore, Mr. President, I hold that the Senate is in possession of a desired opportunity to deal directly and practically with a subject which concerns the pretended if not manifest solicitude of all parties—certainly the great body of the people.

We have here, Mr. President, an opportunity to reduce taxes and to arrest the unnecessary accumulations of the money of the people in the national Treasury. It is admitted—by the end of the current year, when there will be no longer any portion of the public debt redeemable

for some years to follow—there comes an annual surplus in the Treasury—more money than is needed for the expenses of the Government—of ninety millions.

Whatever the arithmetical process by which that statement of the Administration is disputed, distinguished leaders of opposing political parties and the President of the United States are all agreed that the income of the Government is in excess of current expenses, supplemented, if you please, by any expenditure for betterments, which may be in the reason of any possible legislation, whether for coast defenses, Navy, or other objects.

The people in every State of the Union, and everywhere in all of the States, are educated to this belief and are inspired with the anxious hope that practical effect will be given, and by this sitting of the National Legislature, to such judgment, by an outright reduction of taxes. They expect, and they have a right to expect, that such action will be taken as will preclude the withdrawal from circulation and the congregation of so large an excess of the needed currency of the country in the vaults of the national Treasury. They sorely need, and are weary of the promise of, a reduction of burdens long and patiently endured.

They will not be content with any play of political parties for future stakes of power which shall longer postpone a reduction of burdens, when the needs of the Government no longer require the imposition of taxes that may be safely removed.

They will hold to account, and justly, those who may be responsible for any inaction which shall leave to proceed that retirement to the vaults of the Treasury and idleness such accumulating sums of money of the country, and for the disastrous consequences to every industrial interests, which such inaction must superinduce.

A policy which can not fail to paralyze industrial development, narrow the employments of labor, and harden the times for the masses of the people.

No attempt by inaction or failure on this question to meet the popular expectation as the means of compelling an abandonment of the successful policy of a tariff for the protection of American products, whether of the field, forest, the mine, the forge, or the factory, and for the welfare of the laboring classes of our own country, will, permit me to suggest, be approved.

Our tax-payers have borne with irritating impatience the imposition and burden of internal taxes. The occasion comes by a hurtful accumulation in the Treasury, when they may be removed and some measure of relief extended.

The Constitutional inhibition which has forbidden legislative action on the part of the Senate is no longer in the way.

Hence, Mr. President, with no thought or lack of the highest and most profound consideration for the Finance Committee of this body, or for any member of it, I venture upon these remarks more in the way of a reminder than for the purpose of compelling the action of that committee upon the subject.

All of us, Mr. President, well know that no system of taxation is more distasteful, more irritating and uneven in its application than that of an excise tax—and the fields of agriculture should be the last resort—however wisely discriminating may be the objects chosen for its application.

What industry, Mr. President, and that an agricultural product, more or less common to the fields of every State in the Union, is so severely embarrassed, incumbered, and harassed as is the growth of and the trade in tobacco?

Under our internal-revenue laws the grower of tobacco is forbidden to barter, or to market, or to manufacture his own crop, and so environed by pains, penalties, and taxes is the distillation of the fruit of the citizen of scanty resources, whose only means of providing clothing and table groceries for his family may depend upon such conversion of fruit otherwise valueless and unmarketable.

The time, Mr. President, has gone by when the pretext to any acceptability may be used for imposing proscriptive laws and burdens upon tobacco as a luxury. "Bread or tobacco," said the philosopher Locke, "may be neglected, but reason at first recommends their trial, and custom makes them pleasant." It has long since ceased to be the nature-imposed narcotic of any race of people. In one form and another its use among men is too nigh universal at home and elsewhere for either of such classifications.

Taking the average population of the United States, for ten years preceding 1881, at forty-five (45) millions, the annual average consumption here and for that period is estimated at five (5) pounds per capita,

while the average for the whole world is stated at seventy (70) ounces, equal to an aggregate consumption of more than two and three-quarter billion (2,750,000,000) tons.

Neither coffee nor tea is classed among the staples of life, and is no more essential to the comfort of man than tobacco. Upon these stimulants the consumer no longer pays any tax, and yet the consumption of coffee in the United States, per capita, is not double that of tobacco, and of tea only one-fifth.

If tobacco is an enemy to the human family, obnoxious to "the general welfare," why not otherwise, as the Constitution may be turned, hinder yet more severely its cultivation here, and its importation into the country.

If a luxury, why so embargo its productions and the trade it creates as to place its use beyond the reach and enjoyment of the masses? If neither, and its cultivation and value are of respectable concern to the fields of industry, the commerce and wealth of the country, why not liberate the plant and the product, and allow them to proceed with their increasing contributions to wealth and employments?

Mr. President, tobacco enters too largely into our agricultural and manufacturing interests, and furnishes too many of our people employment and the means of sustenance; it gives activity to too much capital, and composes too large a share of the commerce, wealth, and exports of the nation, relatively small as these may be, to be classified as a narcotic or a luxury, or to be treated as an alien interest.

We must not forget, Mr. President, that its cultivation in 1885 occupied an acreage of seven hundred and sixty-two thousand two hundred and fifty (762,250) acres of American soil, yielding a crop of five hundred and sixty-two million seven hundred and thirty-six thousand (562,736,000) pounds, which added forty-three million two hundred and sixty-five thousand five hundred and ninety-eight dollars (\$43,265,598) to our wealth, and gave employment to over two hundred thousand (200,000) of our population—equal to about three and one-third (3 $\frac{1}{3}$) per cent. of the persons over ten (10) years of age employed in agriculture.

Until the year 1840 Virginia, where the formal cultivation of the plant in our colonial year of 1607 was introduced, led in this agricultural product, furnishing from her own fields fully one-third of the national

crop. Since then her eldest and esteemed daughter, Kentucky, has held that distinction, and yet one hundred and forty thousand (140,000) acres of Virginia's cultivated lands are now devoted to the growth of tobacco, and of the two hundred and fifty-five thousand (255,000) of her population above the age of ten (10) years engaged in agriculture, forty-seven thousand (47,000), or about eighteen (18) per cent., are employed in that agricultural pursuit.

In measuring the interests which are concerned in the growth and manufacture of tobacco and the commerce it generates, we must remember there were in the year 1880 five hundred and eight thousand (508,000) taxed dealers engaged in the trade, and in the manufacture of chewing tobacco, snuff, cigars, cigarettes, and in stemming seven thousand six hundred and seventy-four (7,674) establishments, where the capital invested was thirty-nine million nine hundred and ninety-five thousand two hundred and ninety-two dollars (\$39,995,292), and eighty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-seven (87,587) persons found desirable employment, and for wages twenty-five million fifty-four thousand four hundred and fifty-seven dollars (\$25,054,457) were paid; where the value of materials converted into other forms of commerce was sixty-five million three hundred and eighty-four thousand four hundred and seven dollars (\$65,384,407), and the value of the product was one hundred and eighteen million eight hundred and seventy thousand one hundred and sixty-six dollars (\$118,870,166).

The manufacture of tobacco, as did its culture, had its crude beginning in Virginia as early as the year 1732.

It has now become an important industry to at least twenty of the States, and its culture is common to all.

Virginia losing the lead in the field, occupies it in the line of the manufactured product. She manufactures the equivalent in quantity of five-eighths ($\frac{5}{8}$) of her own crop, going to Kentucky, Ohio, and North Carolina for a part of the forty-eight million five hundred thousand (48,-500,000) pounds her factories consume. Her proportion of the capital invested in the manufacture of tobacco is nine and one-half ($9\frac{1}{2}$) per cent. of all. Her share of the employment given to labor on this account is sixteen and one-half ($16\frac{1}{2}$) per cent., and her proportion of wages paid is thirty (30); and her measure of our exportations of manufactured tobacco is full eighty-five (85) per cent. of that furnished by all the States.

The plant is the staple of a large section of that State, the dependence of a conspicuous portion of her population in field and factory. Its growth and manufacture enter largely into the trade, commerce, and wealth of the Commonwealth.

As a factor in our export trade, tobacco bears no insignificant part. In the twenty-three years last gone by it has brought into the country six hundred and forty-three million dollars (\$643,000,000) of foreign gold, and to-day represents full seventy (70) per cent. of the merchandise balance to our credit on account of that trade.

It brings into the country now thirty and a half millions gold—equal to the amount derived from our exportation of corn and sixty (60) per cent. of that derived from our exportation of wheat—and thirty-three (33) per cent. of the value of our exportations of wheat and flour.

Once set at liberty and relieved of the espionage and the restraining laws and burdens which hinder and repress development, as I trust it may now be the judgment of the Senate it shall be, and placed upon an even footing with other agricultural products, this important industry, Mr. President, will take new life and go on widening the avenues of employment for labor, and add fresh fields to the cultivated acreage of the nation. It will go on to multiply our manufacturing interests and to increase its contributions to the wealth of the country.

Surely, Mr. President, tobacco and fruit distillations have contributed their full share of the tribute to the exigency on account of which they have now for twenty-three (23) years been held under duress and burden.

In that period tobacco has contributed directly to the National Treasury seven hundred and seventeen millions eight hundred and seventy-three thousand three hundred and forty-three dollars and eight cents (\$717,873,343.08), and of this imposing sum Virginia paid ninety millions seven hundred and six thousand one hundred and seventy-seven dollars and thirty-nine cents (\$90,706,177.39), equal for the twenty-three (23) years of the imposed burden to an annual contribution on her part, and from this single industry, of four millions three hundred and seventy-eight thousand nine hundred and sixty-four dollars (\$4,378,964) or the equivalent of one dollar and twenty-five cents (\$1.25)

on the one hundred dollars (\$100) assessed value of the real and personal property of her people.

In the same period fruit distillations contributed twenty-one millions thirty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-four dollars and eighty-seven cents (\$21,037,584.87), of which Virginia's share was two million two hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and thirty-six dollars and eighty-one cents (\$2,220,536.81), or an average of ninety-six thousand five hundred and forty-four dollars (\$96,544) per annum, equal to twenty-eight (28) cents on the one hundred dollars (\$100) of the assessed value of the real and personal property of the Commonwealth.

Mr. President, there is no longer any occasion for continuing the burden and bondage under which these two agricultural products have been sorely oppressed.

The revenue derived from these sources of an exigency tax is not needed either to pay debts, provide for the common defense, or for the general welfare. The income of the Government from other sources is yet sufficient, and in excess by many millions of any probable demand for these three several purposes for which Congress is empowered to levy taxes.

It appears an arbitrary exercise of the constitutional power, as certain it is repugnant to the spirit which governed the formation of the Constitution, to impose an excise tax as a mere means of revenue when no exigency exists—when it is estimated by the administrative head of the Government that we are to have at the end of the current fiscal year a surplus over and above all demands full ninety millions of dollars (\$90,000,000), not counting thirty-two millions (\$32,000,000) of fractional silver.

Mr. President, it is agreed in all quarters and by both political parties that this excess of revenue ought to be arrested; and to what subject can you apply the remedy more fittingly—with equal justice and with the hope of larger public approbation and better results than to the important agricultural product of tobacco?

If it has manfully borne burdens and will bear them longer, if you please, why continue them when the Government is not needing the tribute exacted of this industry and so largely drawn from the great body of the people—that class of consumers least able to bear the tax

you impose on an article they will and must have—if, as a luxury, it may be said it is a nature-imposed necessity with them for all that?

If it is the consumer who pays the tax entire, the greater is the reason, in this case, for its removal. It is relief which will be more directly and sensibly felt by the working classes of the country than any other which may be conferred by recourse to the tax list. It will enter the home of the workingman everywhere in our own country, and leave a saving on every five (5) pounds of tobacco consumed sufficient to purchase eight (8) pounds of sugar, or three (3) pounds of coffee, or one (1) pound of tea, or fifteen (15) pounds of flour, or five (5) pounds of bacon, or eight (8) yards of calico, or six (6) yards of shirting, or two (2) yards of flannel.

Mr. President, let us remove this odious and onerous tax of an American product, and remind the American citizen that he may once more use this product of his own country upon the same even terms on which we offer it by exportation to the citizens of other countries. Let us unfetter a potential factor of American industry, of commerce, and of wealth, and rid the beneficent policy of protection, which has contributed so immensely to the growth, power, and wealth of the nation, of the singular contradiction which the tax and the proscriptive laws in respect to this American industry—present.

Let us now and here, so far as the action of the Senate may effect such result, emancipate this American industry and save to the national Treasury and the people the five million dollars' (\$5,000,000) expense for collecting a revenue no longer needed to pay debts, or for the common defense, or for the general welfare.

If we assume that the consumer pays the tax, let us not forget that by it his capacity to buy is lessened, and the incentive to increased and increasing production is diminished. Let us remember that each and every successive step taken in the direction of a reduction of the tax has added to the acreage of cultivation, increased the product, and multiplied factories, dealers, and employments.

Let us complete the emancipation of this industry, and, as the amendment to House bill now in possession of the Finance Committee of the Senate since the 18th of June, 1886, proposes, unburden our export of manufactured tobacco, and thus stimulate the expansion of that trade

by remitting the duties paid on imported ingredients actually employed in the manufacture thereof.

There is here, in this proposition, no new principle. It is merely the adaptation of existing laws—liberalized, if you please—as will be seen by reference to sections 3022 and 3026, Revised Statutes, which respectively allow drawbacks on imported salt used in the curing of fish, and on saltpeter used in the manufacture of gunpowder; and further, as will appear by reference to section 3019 and section 3433, Revised Statutes, the latter as amended by section 14 of the act of the 28th of May, 1880. (Supplement, Revised Statutes.)

Under these last-named sections foreign and domestic distilled spirits in bond may be withdrawn without the payment of duty or tax, and after being manufactured into various preparations, these preparations or products are exported without the payment of tax or duty, and the result has been to increase the export of such manufactures.

Let us put this article of American industry and export, whether produced by manufacturers wholly or partly engaged in the manufacture of tobacco for export, upon even terms with those of other home products manufactured for export, and thus conform our treatment of it to established policy, and remove a burden by the indirect tax so levied on export, estimated at 3 per cent. on the value of the article which has largely transferred our export trade in manufactured tobacco beyond the borders of our country, notably to Canada and Australia.

We are advised, Mr. President, by the Internal-Revenue Bureau of the Treasury Department, that there can be no difficulty in ascertaining the quantity of dutiable goods so consumed, and it is seen that the cost of keeping the necessary accounts to this end amounts to a mere bagatelle, the paltry sum of one-tenth of 1 per cent., which if not in full, is largely covered by the non-collectible claims—below \$10.

But why should the owner of such goods be charged for any such clerical work when we have a customs service, the cost of which is paid out of the common treasury of the nation?

It is a trifling affair; too small for a government of such proportions as ours.

In all of such imported ingredients so consumed it is estimated there are of licorice one million (1,000,000) pounds; of sugar, nine hundred thousand eight hundred (900,800) pounds; and of all other ingredients,

assimilated, a half million (500,000) pounds, while in the manufacture of tobacco consumed in the United States there are used fourteen and a half millions (14,500,000) pounds licorice, one million three hundred thousand (1,300,000) pounds sugar, and of other ingredients, assimilated, six millions eight hundred thousand (6,800,000) pounds, leaving, as will be observed, yet such an immense demand for these ingredients as forbids hurtful encroachment upon the market for the home product thereof by remission of duty upon the relatively small quantities of such ingredients as are consumed in the manufacture of tobacco—exported.

Let us, Mr. President, now that we may without apprehension of any possible shortage in the income of the Government to meet its every necessary and contingent liability and cover every imaginary demand which either exigency or progress is likely to impose, repeal all laws and parts of laws in any manner restricting the grower of tobacco in the disposition of his crop, and in any form imposing a burden by tax, license, or otherwise, upon the dealer in the same, the peddler, and manufacturer thereof, and by this means enlarge the fields of production, extend the avenues of employment, and level down the barriers which now confine its manufacture and commerce, and without measure of capital, allow all who will, to engage in either.

Mr. President, if I express the hope, as earnestly I do, that the honorable Finance Committee of this body will quicken its consideration of this matter, and return at the earliest day to the Senate, House bill 2522 so amended as to reduce taxes in the respect I have spoken and otherwise, and further, as that committee may advise, I feel that I but voice the impatient sentiment of the people.





considerations that may palliate his rashness.

It has been rumored for some time that Capt. Wise was going "out of politics," or going back to the Democratic party; and even in this recent address he openly suggests, as an alternative for himself and other dissatisfied Republicans, that they may "go into some other party." But this unexpected somersault into the ranks of dissention and disorganization goes a bow-shot beyond anything supposed to be

only 82,000 strong, we cast 113,000 in 1881; 127,000 in 1883, and 144,000 in 1884; and if in 1882 and 1885 we fell back in numbers, while the enemy held their own, or increased in force (as largely in 1885), those were the years when Capt. Wise led us, and whose results he is on

Capt. Wise is a genius, an orator, "a jolly good fellow," with popular manners, much wit and humor and other attractive traits; but I think all will agree that he lacks sobriety of judgment and steadiness of character, while his record as a "Boss" at Richmond does not commend his present professions of regard for popular rule, nor certify his capacity to conduct a party discreetly to victory.

W. C. ELAM.







73
66.

REPUBLICAN CALL

— FOR —

STATE AND DISTRICT CONVENTIONS.

In pursuance of the call of the National Committee of the Republican party for a National Convention, to be held at Chicago, Ill., the 19th of June, 1888, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, the following call is issued by the State Committee of the Republican party of Virginia:

1. That the Republican voters of the State assemble at their respective polling or other usual places of meeting within the precinct, in counties on Saturday, the 21st day of April, at 12 M., and in cities on Friday the 20th day of April, at 8 o'clock P. M., and appoint delegates to county and city conventions—one delegate for every one hundred (100) votes returned from their respective voting precincts for the Republican candidate for Governor at the election in November, 1885, and one delegate for any fraction of that number of one half and over, provided, that where the vote so returned was less than fifty (50), one delegate shall be appointed. Such delegates so appointed shall be given certificates of the form No. 1 annexed, signed by the Permanent Chairman and Secretary of such precinct meetings, and countersigned by the precinct chairman of the precinct. Such precinct meetings shall be called to order by the Precinct Chairman thereof, or in his absence by any member of the precinct committee, or in the absence of both, by any voter of the party.

That the delegates so appointed and certified will assemble in Convention, in counties, at the court-house on Monday the 23rd day of April, and in cities at such time and place as the Chairman for the party there shall designate; provided, that the

County Chairman and committee, if they shall deem it more acceptable to the majority of the party, may give notice at each precinct, not later than the 10th April, that instead a mass-meeting will be held at the court house on some day not earlier than 23rd day of April, and in such meeting the proceeding shall be as prescribed for delegated county Conventions.

2. That such County and City Conventions, so appointed, will be called to order by the County or City Chairman, or in his absence by any member of the county or city committee, and a Temporary Chairman and Secretary of such Convention designated by him, and in case the Convention is formed by precinct delegates, he shall at the same time lay before the Convention a roll of the delegates made up by precincts, giving opposite to each the names of the persons who file with him the certificates of their appointment, as provided in section one (1) of this call.

3. That the County and City Convention so appointed and organized will appoint from among the voters of their respective counties and cities the number of delegates and alternates allotted to each, by the annexed schedule marked X to represent the party of their respective counties and cities in the State and District Conventions as hereafter provided; and that to each delegate and alternate so appointed, certificates will be given of the forms No. 2 and No. 3, signed by the Permanent Chairman and Secretary of such Conventions, and countersigned by the County or City Chairman.

That the Secretay of such Conventions will certify and mail a list of the delegates and alternates so appointed by such County or City Conventions to the Secretary of the State Committee, Capt. Asa Rogers, at Petersburg, Va.

4. That the delegates so appointed and certified by such County and City Conventions will be to represent the party of their respective counties and cities, first, at the State Convention to be held in the city of Petersburg, on Thursday the 17th day of May, to appoint two (2) electors for the State at large and four (4) delegates, and four (4) alternates for the State at large, to the Convention at Chicago, and, second, at the District Conventions for each Congressional District to which they belong, to be held then and there, or at such time and place within the bounds of their respective Districts as a majority of the delegates from and representing each Congressional District shall separately and among themselves agree, to appoint an elector for the Dis-

trict, and two (2) District delegates and two (2) alternates to the National Convention to be held at Chicago.

5. That certificates of appointment will be issued as follows: To the delegates and alternates for the State at large after the form No. 4, and to District delegates and alternates after the form No. 5.

6. That the Permanent Chairman and Secretary of State and District Conventions shall certify to the Chairman of the State Executive Committee, the names and address of electors and of the delegates and alternates appointed by the same.

7. That District Conventions will be called to order by the Chairman of the District Committee of the District, or in his absence by any delegate of the district, and the roll of delegates will be made up of persons bearing certificates as provided in section three (3) of this call.

8. That the delegate or delegates so appointed and certified to either County, City, District or State Conventions, will cast the vote returned for the Republican candidate at the election in November, 1885; that is to say:

In County or City Conventions the delegates or delegate in attendance and so appointed and certified, as provided in section one (1) of this call, will cast the vote returned from their precinct for such candidate for Governor.

In State and District Conventions the delegates or delegate in attendance and so appointed and certified, as in section four (4) of this call, will cast the vote returned by such county or city for such candidate for Governor.

By the State Committee,

WM. MAHONE,

Chairman.

1st District—LAW TALIAFERRO,

J. R. WADDY, by Law Taliaferro.

J. J. McDONALD, “

2d District—H. LIBBEY,

GEO. E. BOWDEN,

J. J. DEYER.

3d District—EDMUND WADDILL,

B. T. McCUE,

C. W. HARRIS.

4th District—ROBT. McCANDLISH,

B. F. JARRATT.

5th District—W. S. GRAVELY, by B. F. Jones.

6th District—JAS. W. WRIGHT, by J. B. Walthall.

7th District—JNO. C. SIMS,

J. G. NEWMAN, by J. C. Sims.

8th District—W. C. ELAM,

W. W. WEST,

EDMOND BURKE.

10th District—W. E. CRAIG,

CÆSAR PERKINS,

JAS. A. FRAZIER.

ASA ROGERS, SECRETARY.

PETERSBURG, VA., *March 29th, 1888.*

X.

Schedule of Delegates and Alternates to be Appointed by County and City Conventions.

10TH DISTRICT.—

	DEL.	ALT.
Augusta,	12	6
Highland,	3	2
Bath,	2	1
Alleghany,	5	3
Rockbridge,	10	5
Amherst,	6	3
Nelson,	5	3
Appomattox,	4	2
Buckingham,	7	4
Fluvanna,	4	2
Cumberland,	5	3
Staunton,	2	1
	—	—
Total,	65	35

9TH DISTRICT.—

	DEL.	ALT.
Lee,	7	4
Scott,	8	4
Wise,	6	3
Dickenson,	1	1
Buchanan,	2	1
Russell,	7	4
Washington,	10	5
Smythe,	5	3
Bland,	3	2

Tazewell,	10	5
Wythe,	7	4
Pulaski,	4	2
Giles,	3	2
Craig,	1	1
	—	—
Total,	74	41

8TH DISTRICT.—

	DEL.	ALT.
Alexandria City,	6	3
Alexandria County,	2	1
Loudoun,	9	5
Fairfax,	8	4
Fauquier,	8	4
Culpeper,	6	3
Orange,	6	3
Louisa,	8	4
King George,	4	2
Stafford,	4	2
Prince William,	3	2
	—	—
Total,	64	33

7TH DISTRICT.—

	DEL.	ALT.
Winchester,	2	1
Charlottesville,		
Frederick,	3	2
Clarke,	2	1
Warren,	1	1
Rappahannock,	2	1
Madison,	4	2
Greene,	2	1
Albemarle,	13	7
Rockingham,	15	8
Shenandoah,	10	5
Page,	6	3
	—	—
Total,	60	32

6TH DISTRICT.—

	DEL.	ALT.
Lynchburg,	8	4
Roanoke City,	4	2
Roanoke County,	5	3
Botetourt,	5	3
Montgomery,	7	4

Bedford,	9	5
Campbell,	7	4
Charlotte,	5	3
Halifax,	12	6
 Total,	 62	 34

5TH DISTRICT.—

	DEL.	ALT.
Danville,	3	2
North Danville,	2	1
Pittsylvania,	15	8
Franklin,	7	4
Floyd,	7	4
Henry,	8	4
Patrick,	4	2
Carroll,	5	3
Grayson,	5	3
 Total,	 56	 31

4TH DISTRICT.—

	DEL.	ALT.
Petersburg,	12	6
Prince George,	6	3
Sussex,	7	4
Dinwiddie,	7	4
Greensville,	5	3
Brunswick,	8	4
Mecklenburg,	12	6
Lunenburg,	5	3
Nottoway,	6	3
Amelia,	5	3
Powhatan,	4	2
Prince Edward,	8	4
 Total,	 85	 45

3RD DISTRICT.—

	DEL.	ALT.
Richmond City,	26	13
Manchester,	3	2
Henrico,	10	5
Goochland,	5	3
Chesterfield,	7	4
New Kent,	3	2
Hanover,	7	4
King William,	5	3
 Total,	 66	 36

2ND DISTRICT.—

	DEL.	ALT.
Norfolk City,	9	5
Norfolk County,	17	9
Williamsburg,	1	1
Portsmouth,	4	2
Princess Anne,	5	3
Nansemond,	10	5
Isle of Wight,	5	3
Southampton,	9	5
Elizabeth City,	7	4
Warwick,	3	2
York,	5	3
James City,	3	2
Charles City,	3	2
Surry,	5	3
	—	—
Total,	86	49

1ST DISTRICT.—

	DEL.	LAT.
Accomac,	7	4
Northampton,	5	3
Lancaster,	4	2
Richmond,	4	2
Northumberland,	4	2
Westmoreland,	5	3
Gloucester,	6	3
Middlesex,	4	2
Matthews,	3	2
Essex,	5	3
King & Queen,	5	3
Caroline,	7	4
Spotsylvania,	4	2
Fredericksburg,	2	1
	—	—
Total,	65	36

No. 1.

*Form of Certificate to be Issued to Each Delegate Appointed by
Polling-Place Meetings.*

FORM. This is to certify, that at a meeting of the Republican voters of precinct in the of, held at 12 M, on Saturday, the 21st day of April, 1888, Republican voter of the precinct, was appointed a delegate to the Convention to be held at on the 23rd day of April, 1888.

• • • • • ,
Permanent Chairman Precinct Meetings.

• • • • • ,
Secretary.

Countersigned by

• • • • • ,
Precinct Chairman.

No. 2.

*Form of Certificates to be Issued to Delegates and Alternates
Appointed to District and State Conventions.*

FORM FOR
DELEGATES. This is to certify, that at a delegated Convention of the Republican party for the of held at the on the . . . day of 1888. a Republican voter thereof, was appointed a delegate to the district and State Conventions to be held as provided in the call of the State Committee dated the 29th day of March, 1888.

• • • • • ,
Permanent Chairman.

• • • • • ,
Secretary.

Countersigned by

• • • • • ,
County or City Chairman.

No. 3.

Form for
ALTERNATES.

This is to certify, that at a delegated Convention of the Republican party for the of held at the on the day of 1888. a Republican voter thereof, was appointed an alternate to the District and State Conventions to be held as provided in the call of the State Committee dated 29th day of March, 1888.

Permanent Chairman.

Secretary.

Countersigned by

County or City Chairman.

No. 4.

Form of Certificate to be Issued to Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention for the State at large.

FORM.

This is to certify, that at a delegated Convention of the Republican party for the State of Virginia, held at Petersburg, on the 17th day of May 1888, was appointed a delegate and , his alternate to the Republican National Convention to be held at Chicago, on the 19th day of June, 1888,

Name,

Permanent Chairman State Convention.

Secretary.

No. 5.

Form of Certificate to be Issued to District Delegates and Alternates to Chicago.

FORM.

This is to certify that at a duly delegated Convention of the Republican party of the

Congressional District held at on the day of 1888. was appointed a delegate and his alternate to the Republican National Convention to be held at Chicago on the 19th day of June, 1888.

Name,

Permanent Chairman District Convention.

Secretary.

MEMORANDUM.

Several of the States have made their call as we have—notably, Louisiana Tennessee, New Hampshire and Iowa.

Besides the annexed correspondance with the Chairman of the National Committee, I addressed to the Chairman of the party in each State a similar letter to that addressed Chairman Jones, and the result was a difference of opinion as to the meaning of the call. The current of opinion was, however, as expressed by the Hon. Samuel Fessenden, Secretary of the National Committee, who says, (by Mr. Henry E. Smith) "The question as to whether District delegates should in all cases be appointed by District Conventions, held within the bounds of each Congressional District, was not discussed in the general meeting of the Republican National Convention. * * Some States * * have already called District Conventions at the same place and on same day that the State Convention is called. * * * Gentlemen in those States have expressed themselves as entertaining no doubt of the right to hold District Conventions outside the bounds of the Districts. * *"

The Hon. Mr. Gallinger, Chairman of the party in New Hampshire, says: "In New Hampshire we interpret the call of the National Committee to mean that * * * the District delegates could be elected either by Disfrict Conventions, held on other days, or by *the State Convention resolving itself into District Conventions for that purpose.*"

The Hon. W. R. Bates, Secretary of the State Committee for

Michigan, says: "The Hon. L. P. Sanborn, who attended the meeting of National Committee, tells him that the formulation of the call was referred to a sub-committee, and that the question was not discussed by the committee proper at all, and he is of the impression that the *intent of the National Committee was to follow former precedents.*" He adds: "The effect of holding separate District Conventions and leaving to the State Convention merely the work of nominating the delegates at large, would be to take away the incentive to attend the State Convention, while if the old custom should prevail the first enthusiasm of the campaign of 1888 would be aroused by (in this State) 800 delegates assembling and securing a good start."

The Hon. Charles Beardsley, Chairman of the State Committee for Iowa, says: "These county delegates meet either in their respective Districts or at the capitol of the State. The latter has been our custom in Iowa, and my expectation is that we will follow it this year. * * * I am told by Mr. Clarkson (member of the National Committee and of the sub-committee that framed the call that the National Committee (*sub*) considered the *District delegate question and so framed the call that States which had been in the habit of selecting all delegates at one gathering, * * could continue to do so.*"

12th January, 1888.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN JONES:

I have no advice of the call for our National Convention, other than that published in the papers, and they were not in fact the same.

Meanwhile, some division of opinion in respect to the true intent and meaning of its provisions has been presented. In this, whether there must be District Conventions held within the boundaries of each Congressional District, then and there to appoint, each, two delegates to Chicago, and at another time and place, a State Convention to appoint four (4) delegates for the State at large, or whether as in '84, the State Convention may not, after appointing the four (4) delegates at large, resolve itself into District Conventions, and the delegates representing each Congressional District acting separately, appoint then and there, each two delegates.

The latter plan will insure much larger, more liberally attended, State and District Conventions and will save time and much expense.

The average Republican statesman who would eagerly go to a State Convention, where he would have the chance of being appointed an Elector or going to Chicago either as a District or State at large delegate, will not be tempted so much to travel, perhaps the like distance, encounter the same expense and the like loss of time, to attend a District Convention where all to be done is to elect *two* delegates to the National Convention. This when he has already been called on to attend the precinct primaries and the County Convention.

By the District plan, confining such Conventions to the geographical boundaries of each District, the opportunity will be lost to the party for distributing Electors, District and State delegates to the better advantage.

The State Committee here are anxious to conform its call for Conventions to the true intent and purpose of the National Committee, and therefore this letter.

Yours truly,

WM. MAHONE,
Chairman.

HON. B. F. JONES,
Chairman, &c.,
Pittsburg, Penn.

Hon. Wm. Mahone, Petersburg, Va.

DEAR GENERAL:—Referring to your esteemed favor of the 12th inst., I beg to hand you herewith a *correct* copy, which I have just had printed, of the call for the Republican National Convention of 1888, also a printed slip showing the action of the Republican National Convention of 1884, relative to the method of electing delegates to National Conventions. You will observe that the Convention left but little for the Committee to do. Very truly,

B. F. JONES.



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